

Spring 2-2-2012

Agency, Structures and Peru: Action and in-action during 1980-2000

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Agency, Structures and Peru

Action and in-action during 1980-2000

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

by

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February 2012

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this research project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to give my thanks to everyone who has helped me make this possible, Professor Susanna Kaiser for helping and guiding me through the process, my family for being there whenever I needed them and supporting me in my efforts, and my friends for keeping me from getting lost in research.

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Introduction

1980 marked the start of the most violent time in recent Peruvian history. In the span of 12 years nearly 70,000 people died as a result of various terrorist groups and responses to terrorism.¹ Of these deaths, the Shining Path is held responsible for to 54% by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that convened as a result of this conflict.² One of the main factor that explains the high percentage of deaths that the Shining Path is responsible for is a deeply ingrained philosophy of violence for the purpose of revolution which is closely linked to Maoism, a communist theory in which the Shining Path was based. While there were many non-violent protests and groups which attempted to combat the Shining Path, what was ultimately successful was not the nonviolent groups but rather the Peruvian counter-terrorism intelligence agency, DINCOTE, which had previously been linked to decidedly violent behavior. This leads to the idea that nonviolent techniques are not an effective way to counter rights violations when the main perpetrator is a group whose main philosophy is one centered on violence.

To give a brief overview of the conflict which will be discussed in this research, and as mentioned earlier, 1980 marked the beginning of this conflict which ultimately spanned through 2000 when President Alberto Fujimori fled the country. During this time Abimael Guzmán, a philosophy professor who also went by the nom de guerre Chairman/President Gonzalo, formed the Shining Path. This group was essentially a guerrilla group whose aim was to completely change the political realities of Peru through inherently violent and brutal means. To combat this group, the state opted to use increasingly violent means in response. The rise of the Shining Path was the first time

¹ Milton, C. E. (2007). Public Spaces for the Discussion of Peru's Recent Past. *Antipoda*, 149

² Ibid.

that Peru had seen terrorism to such an extreme degree and it was ill-equipped to do effectively counter this group using non-violent methods³ given the historic reaction to public uprising as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

While the use of indiscriminate violence is true for most of the administrations during the time that the Shining Path was active, President Alberto Fujimori is most well-known for his abuse of power during this time. His abuses would often lead to the use of excessive force on innocent civilians when searching for Shining Path members. For this, Fujimori was tried and convicted in the Peruvian courts for human rights abuses, as well as other charges all of which will be discussed in greater detail later. To be clear on the scale to which people lost their lives during this time, in these 20 years, more people were murdered as a direct result of either the Shining Path or the state action than had died during all of the wars in which Peru has fought, totaling over 70,000.⁴ Aside from the simple fact that it is a high death toll, what must also be noted is that both the Shining Path and the state were responsible for a large percentage of the deaths.⁵

It is important to expand on research that has already been conducted about this arena for a variety of reasons. For one, there maintains a gap in current research that requires a different perspective towards the conflict took place in the 1980s and 1990s, one which places greater emphasis on the role of society as a whole and its actions and in some cases inactions rather than that of the government to counter the offenses of the conflict. Secondly, this conflict has created its own lasting legacy that continues to be

³ Non-violent methods that could have been used could have included increasing state attention to the areas where the Shining Path was gaining members and address the reasons people were joining the Shining Path to begin with as well as applying increased efforts towards information gathering in order to detain influential high ranking members.

⁴ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n. d.). *Final Report*. Retrieved October 11, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/index.php>

⁵ Ibid.

seen today, especially after seeing how Alberto Fujimori's past affected his daughter, Keiko's race this past June, 2011. The topic of the possibility of Keiko pardoning her father for his convicted crimes against humanity and corruption charges became a key issue in her campaign.⁶ And lastly this same perspective could be applied to various other conflicts where the emphasis in study is placed more heavily towards the active groups over those who did not act but could have. It is important to remember that it is in both the ways individuals choose to act or not to act that has significant impacts on the course society ultimately takes.

Literature Review

In a historical context alone, there have been writings covering historical events that have led to the conflict of the 1980s and 1990s like the Velasco reforms along with the preceding periods of military rule and the rise of communism and particularly Maoism around the world. Even more relevant, however, is literature involving the Shining Path, its origins, philosophies and its policies; this included some produced by the Shining Path itself. There has also been a significant amount of literature dedicated to President Alberto Fujimori and the policies of his administration. This literature is not limited to the average book or historical article, but also includes various interviews from, Abimael Guzman, and President Fujimori, pamphlets written by the Shining Path, speeches by both leaders, and documentaries involving the conflict.

As both the relegated leader and the philosophical head of the Shining Path, Abimael Guzman offers an wealth of information regarding the Shining Path. He has

⁶ Otis, John. (2011, March 19). Peru: The return of Fujimori; Alberto Fujimori is in prison for human rights abuses. But his daughter Keiko Fujimori might be the next president of Peru. And she's running on his legacy. *GlobalPost: The Americas*.

offered interviews which have been published by the newspaper, *El Diario*, as well as transcribed excerpts from tape recordings from the Peruvian Anti-Terrorism police force that was responsible for Guzman's arrest. His speeches have been compiled in anthologies like The Peru Reader, and propaganda pamphlets have been made available through libraries. Though these sources may be biased and could contain some general misinformation in a historical point of view, they will no doubt be useful in understanding the underlying philosophies of the Shining Path, the reasons why it was able to attain the amount of support that it did, and the general understanding of the Shining Path's practices along with its justifications for its actions.

Offering a very extensive analysis of Alberto Fujimori's rise and subsequent fall is Catherine Conaghan in her book Fujimori's Peru.⁷ She admits to personally experiencing some of the events she writes about but also uses abundant use of media analysis to tell the story of Fujimori. Her analysis goes through Fujimori's entrance into the political scene as an unknown candidate, to his election, to his "auto-golpe" or auto-coup where he gained essential dictatorial powers through which he was able to commit various abuses of power, and ultimately up to the Montesinos embezzlement scandal that led to his self-imposed exile. Throughout this history that Conaghan develops, she emphasizes the role of the media and the way in which Fujimori utilized it to consolidate his power and to justify his policies. By building off of her findings and analysis by using other newspaper articles or offering a personal analysis of articles she has covered allows for another layer of analysis and an alternative perspective that helps fill some of

⁷ Conaghan, C. M. (2005). *Fujimori's Peru : deception in the public sphere / Catherine M. Conaghan*. Pittsburgh, PA : University of Pittsburgh Press, c2005.

the void within the current studies regarding the interlinked nature of the Shining Path and the presidency of Alberto Fujimori.

Jo-Marie Burt has written perhaps the most relevant literature to my thesis. Her research extensively works with the role of violence, particularly of the political nature, and civil society. In her book, Political Violence and the Authoritarian State in Peru: Silencing Civil Society, she makes note of various comparisons between the Shining Path and the Fujimori regime and emphasizes the socio-historical structures that resulted in both the authoritarian and violent nature that has been seen in the 1980s and 1990s.⁸ Important to her studies has been the idea of Peru as a historically weak state which ultimately led to the period of conflict. She also offers a significant amount of analysis regarding the role of power and how power was gained and utilized by both the Shining Path and President Fujimori primarily through the use of fear. In terms of state building, Burt makes the point that this conflict was both exacerbated by and originated from various state structures and the general lack of a strong state. When Fujimori was put in power, he was able to develop an authoritarian state with neoliberal values which helped solve many of the problems that Peru faced at the time, but it was this same hyper-authoritarian state building that led to abuses in power. While Burt's contribution to the study of the internal conflict of Peru is extensive and extremely useful in understanding the complex construction of the conflict, the emphasis is more often than not on the role of the Shining Path and the Fujimori administration. What would be interesting to see would be a perspective where the agency of the people who are being affected the most by this conflict, the civilians, is put into the spotlight.

⁸ Burt, J. (2007). *Political violence and the authoritarian state in Peru : silencing civil society / Jo-Marie Burt*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

As much of my study is dependent upon media and journalism, it is pertinent to look at the works of Gustavo Gorriti, a Peruvian journalist who is distinguished for his coverage of the conflict while working for the news magazine *Caretas*. Given that Gorriti was persecuted by the Shining Path, its journalistic supporters, and the Peruvian government itself via the army and the police, he has had a significant amount of experience. While for some this would deter a journalist from pursuing any further information for the sake of journalism, but for Gorriti, it seems to have inspired him further to gain a deep understanding of the inner workings of both the Shining Path and the investigative team that was put in place to put an end to terrorism in Peru. This extensive knowledge is especially evident in The Shining Path: A history of the Millenarian War in Peru where he commits an entire book to explaining the philosophies behind the Shining Path as well as its escalation in violence.⁹ What is of particular interest are his first-hand accounts his experience during the establishment of a state of emergency where his accounts give a clear view into the minds of those involved with the conflict or were affected by it. Passages like these are useful because of the insight they offer into the way people were thinking despite which side of the conflict they were on. They help develop and support the idea that the Shining Path and the government forces that fought against them were for the most part one in the same with the exception of political identity.

One particularly useful tool to support the idea of the demonization and idolization of various groups by various people will be the use of the Truth and

⁹Gorriti Ellenbogen, G. (1999). *The Shining Path : a history of the millenarian war in Peru / Gustavo Gorriti ; translated, with an introduction, by Robin Kirk*. Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, c1999.

Reconciliation Commission's Final Report¹⁰ which outlines on its findings on the period of terrorism. This report is particularly helpful considering my research limitations as it contains a vast amount of interviews which I am unable to conduct. One limitation to it, as well as one of its biggest criticisms is that the TRC did not have sufficient resources to conduct interviews in Quechua, the native language of the Andes which is where the majority of the violence was committed.¹¹ This means that not all accounts of this time were told and that the most marginalized group in Peru was not able to reap the full benefits of the TRC. Without their story, a considerable portion of the collective memory of terrorism could be lost unless those who were unable to speak in front of the TRC have been recounting what had happened on their own. Regardless of this, it gives an extensive amount of relative information regarding the cruelties of the Shining Path and the government's actions against it.

Carlos Degregori is another anthropologist who is closely linked to the conflict. In 2001 after Guzman's capture and Fujimori's self-imposed exile, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established where Degregori was appointed along with eleven other commissioners who investigated and collecting testimonies regarding the massacres, disappearances, and human rights violations that were committed during the 1980s and 1990s. This extensive involvement with the TRC no doubt made him a valuable asset as an editor of The Peru Reader which offers various texts and speeches regarding Peruvian history including the time of the internal conflict in Peru.¹²

¹⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n. d.). *Final Report*. Retrieved October 11, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/index.php>

¹¹ Corntassel, J., & Holder, C. (2008). Who's Sorry Now? Government Apologies, Truth Commissions, and Indigenous Self-Determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala, and Peru. *Human Rights Review*, 9(4), 482.

¹² Starn, O., Degregori, C., & Kirk, R. (1995). *The Peru reader : history, culture, politics / edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk*. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995.

Degregori establishes the militant aspect of members of the Shining Path as well as those fighting against the group in writings like “Reaping the Whirlwind: the *Rondas Campesinas* and the Defeat of *Sendero Luminoso* in Ayacucho”.¹³ He also has written extensively on general Andean culture which also played a large role in how the Shining Path was able to achieve the levels of membership that it had.

Orin Starn’s work is also an important resource for this research. Starn’s previous research provides a basis in much of the setting in the Peruvian Andean region. Along with setting up the cultural realities of the area, Starn also provides information regarding the kinds of actions that those living in the region took and their effect on the downfall of the Shining Path.¹⁴ As another editor of The Peru Reader, his expertise in this subject area helped include a greater indigenous voice in the anthology which is important given the marginalization that those from the Andean region have a tendency to experience. Orin Starn’s work with the indigenous movements during the 1980s and 90s will be used to discuss anti-Shining Path community groups, collectively known as “*rondas campesinas*.”

What many of these authors lack, however, is a clear discussion on a framework upon which to discuss the role of civil society. In most cases, the general population of Peru is portrayed as a group that is acted upon without an explanation as to why it is in the position to be acted upon in the first place. To understand such a situation, it is necessary to understand the anthropological concepts of agency and structuralism. To do so it is helpful to understand the theories set out by Laura Ahearn on the use of agency

¹³ Degregori, C. I. (1999). Reaping the Whirlwind: the *Rondas Campesinas* and the Defeat of *Sendero Luminoso* in Ayacucho. 63-87.

¹⁴ Starn, O. (1996). *Senderos Inesperados: Las rondas campesinas de la sierra sur-central*. In Degregori, C. I., J. Coronel, P. del Pino and O. Starn (Eds.), *La Rondas Campesinas y la Derrota de Sendero Luminoso* (227-269) Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos

through language, as well as the work set out by Anthony Giddens through which he explains both structuralism as well as structuration which bridges the ideological gaps between agency and structuralism. What makes these studies most relevant to my research is the way in which they are linked to ascribing responsibility for events

Laura Ahearn and Michel Foucault are at odds in their respective theoretical framework for viewing the world. While Ahearn uses the loose definition of agency as the “socioculturally mediated capacity to act.”¹⁵ Meanwhile, Foucault defines the origins of power as something that is exercised with “... a series of aims and objectives. But this does not mean that it results from the choice or decision of an individual subject.”¹⁶ Under this definition, agency does not exist and power comes not from the individual but rather the structures in which a person is bound. In the case of Peru, there is no doubt that both agency and structuralism play roles which scholars do not often associate with the conflict. This is why Giddens’s structuration theory is helpful in developing a theoretical framework for understanding the conflict in Peru. Structuration theory bridges the gap between agency and structuralism and in effect has the two concepts support each other by linking how an individual’s actions are influenced by social structures while these same structures are influenced and changed through actions that cause social change. In this way action does not exist apart from structure while structures themselves are enduring patterns of action.

Relating this to Peru, there is no lack of social structures that have been put in place over time, one of particular interest is the development of a racial hierarchy, a legacy of Spanish colonialism that to some degree continues even today. This hierarchy

¹⁵ Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and Agency. *Annual Review Of Anthropology*, 30 , 112.

¹⁶ Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon 95

structure made it so that, for the most part, power within Peru resided in the Lima elite of European descent. Of all of the social groups in Peru it was this that could have made an effective difference from the start of the conflict. As Giddens sets up in his theory, structures do not just exist in and of themselves; they require active conduct and actions that perpetuate the structure. This alone gives plenty of room for agency despite the structures that stand. So the question in Peru becomes why the one group that had the capacity to act effectively did not do so?

Research Questions

The period between 1980 and 2000 was a complicated time for Peruvian history which is why there have been so many researchers writing about it in hopes of making sense of it. Through this research, a few questions will be covered. While the main question remains at how did the imbedded structures in Peruvian society and agency (or the lack thereof) impact this conflict? In order to answer this main question many others must be answered as well regarding the theoretical framework that is used in this study, the history behind the conflict, the Shining Path as a group, the role of Alberto Fujimori's government, and the role of the general population. Each of these topics will have a dedicated chapter and will answer the following questions.

The first chapter will answer "what do structure and agency mean?" Included in this will be an explanation of structuration. Overall these three concepts of structure, agency and structuration can all be used to help give an understanding of action within a social structure. This chapter will also begin to create links to the case in Peru thus answering "how can structure, agency and structuration be applied to the period of

extreme violence in 1980-2000 in Peru?” This will create a better understanding of why people acted in the way that they did.

Next a historical background will be set up that will answer questions regarding what structures had been set up over time by discussing the beginnings of Peru as a country and the legacies of governments established before 1980. This chapter will answer questions regarding how race and instability play roles in laying the groundwork for this conflict.

The final three chapters will discuss the various groups involved in the conflict, their backgrounds and answers questions regarding how agency and structures affected them and the conflict which surrounded them starting with the Shining Path. Chapter 3 will go into how and why the Shining Path started including a background of their history and philosophy. How the Shining Path operated will also be discussed and links to structures of fear will be established. This chapter will also show how the Shining Path’s intended revolution could have been seen as an answer to the lack of agency on behalf of the government thus giving an explanation for support for the Shining Path.

Chapter 4 will answer questions regarding President Alberto Fujimori. Specifically these questions will include how structures and agency played a role in his election, how Fujimori’s campaign played off race, how his administration combatted terrorism, and how the actions of his administration helped to reinforce a structure of fear that has been in place throughout Peru’s history and had been strengthened by the rise of the Shining Path.

The final chapter will look into the roles of the third main group in this conflict, the citizens, meaning those not involved with the government, military, or

revolutionary/terrorist groups. Specific questions answered will be “what role did the average play?” and “how did this group act as an involved third party in the conflict?” By looking at this group a clearer answer to the question of how violence is a structure will be seen. While it may not be possible to get direct answers to all of these questions, it is possible to infer a significant amount by utilizing theories involving agency, structuralism and structuration in combination with the historical literature that is readily available.

Defining Terms

Throughout this work I will be discussing dualities in perceptions especially when speaking through the point of one group over the other. For this reason I must make clear how each term is used throughout this research. In an effort to remain neutral in while discussing a very polarized study, I will be discussing this study through using the relevant terms for the point of view that is being discussed. This means that when discussing the occurrences during the 1980s and 90s in general it will be referred to as a conflict, but when speaking of this conflict in terms of the Shining Path, the term revolution may be used, and when discussing through the lens of the government it may also be referred to terrorism. Yet another way in which this time period has been referred to has been as the “Manchay Tiempo” or a Quechua/Spanish hybridization of “Time of Fear” which I feel gives an appropriate name to this incredibly violent and uncertain time.¹⁷

It is important to point out that acts committed during this time period, especially those by the Shining Path, could genuinely be referred to in such opposing terms

¹⁷ Starn, O., Degregori, C., & Kirk, R. (1995). “Manchay Tiempo” *The Peru reader : history, culture, politics / edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk*. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995, 353.

depending on the belief system of those speaking about it. Guzmán as well as the Shining Path in general would refer to their struggle as one for the purposes of revolution,¹⁸ whereas the government (Fujimori in particular) would typically opt for calling acts against the government either subversive or terrorist.¹⁹ The malleable definition and use of the word “subversive” will also become a topic to be discussed, particularly with reference to Fujimori’s abuse of power.

For the purpose of this research, government cannot be limited to just the Fujimori administration if only because Fujimori was elected 10 years after the start of the conflict in 1990. This means that there were previous governments that were involved in the conflict and were responsible for some of the actions taken by the police and the military. That said, the emphasis here is on the Fujimori administration because it is the one that has been held the most responsible for the government actions during this time, which can be noted by Fujimori’s arrest due to his actions during this time.²⁰

Another set of terms that will be discussed are agency, structures, and structurality. All of this will be defined more extensively in the next chapter, but to provide their basic use for this research, agency will borrow from Laura Ahearn’s definition of “the capacity to act”²¹ whereas structures can be considered to be the parts of society that limit agency. This framework creates a competition between two opposing ideologies; however they are both used in Anthony Giddens’s structuration which places the two in a complimentary framework. This is important because it is a

¹⁸ Starn, O., Degregori, C., & Kirk, R. (1995). *The Peru reader : history, culture, politics / edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk*. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995. 327

¹⁹ Fujimori, A. (1993). A Momentus Decision. In Starn, O., Degregori, C., & Kirk, R. (1995). *The Peru reader : history, culture, politics / edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk*. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995. 460.

²⁰ Laplante, L. J. (2007). The peruvian truth commission's historical memory project: Empowering truth-tellers to confront truth deniers. *Journal of human Rights*,6(4), 435.

²¹ Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and Agency. *Annual Review Of Anthropology*, 30 . 112.

combination of agency and structures that helped lead to the conflict in the 1980s and 1990s.

In this study it is also important to differentiate the groups of people that were affected during this time. The two most obvious groups involved, of course, are the Shining Path and also the government. When speaking of the government, I include a multitude of bodies including the president, legal bodies, the police, the military, and the court system as well as those that are generally thought of as being a part of the government (congress, the judiciary, etc.). Aside from these two groups, this leaves the general population that could roughly be divided between lower and upper class populations. Within these two classes the ethnic divide can also be seen. The majority of the lower class tend to be poor, poorly educated, indigenous in roots, living in either the “pueblos juvenes” or shanty towns around the main cities of Peru whereas the upper class tends to be richer, better educated, white, and are located in urbanized areas of Peru, namely Lima. In this way, classes are not only economic classes but also social where it is not just the amount of money a person may have but also the person’s lineage, race, and education .²²

Typically the poor account for the lower class peasantry, also sometimes referred to as campesinos when located in the countryside or in the Andes. During the 1980s and 1990s there was also an increasing number of displaced campesinos that began relocating to the outskirts of major cities like Lima forming what are known as “pueblos juvenes”. Regardless of their location in Peru, the poor showed a greater involvement in this conflict through the establishment of militias called rondas campesinas (in rural areas) as

²² Bourque, S. C. (1980). Multiple arenas for state expansion: Class, ethnicity, and sex in rural Peru. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 3(3), 265-6.

well as community development projects who were openly against the Shining Path. Both of these will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. This group is also typically more grounded in indigenous roots that shows not only a physical distinction from the upper class but also a cultural one that stems from a variety of sources including a greater concentration of people speaking Quechua (a native language of the Andes) in comparison to the richer population. The rural poor that make up this group was the most affected by this conflict and experienced a disproportionately higher number of casualties in comparison to the rest of the Peruvian population.²³ As will be discussed later, this group tends to be marginalized and politically weaker. This is a key distinction from those in the upper class of Peru who are predominantly of greater European or mestizo descent.

For this study, the upper class population that is looked at typically consists of a predominately urban population focused in the capital, Lima. It is this population that has a greater amount of political pull when compared to the peasantry, but there are fewer instances of the upper class acting against the atrocities that happened during the 1980s and 90s unlike the lower classes who, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, formed resistances against the Shining Path as well as community groups in order to bridge the gaps between the needs of the community and the support from the government.

Methodological Design

This study will analyze the rise and subsequent fall of President Alberto Fujimori (and his administration) and Abimael Guzmán (and the Shining Path) by applying theories involving agency, structuralism, as well as structurality. The purpose of this is to

²³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n. d.). *Final Report*. Retrieved October 11, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/index.php>

better understand the reasoning behind the conflict as well as distributing the responsibility for what happened throughout the involved groups rather than taking sides. As can be seen in the existing research described in the literature review, many studies tend to emphasize one side of the conflict, usually either the Shining Path or Fujimori administration. However by understanding the concepts of structures and agency we can see that this conflict goes far beyond these two groups and includes even those who did not consciously act one way or another.

This study is essentially a dual-case study where the two main cases involved are those of President Fujimori as well as that of Guzmán and their respective power over those whom follow each. To make these comparisons, I will be using qualitative textual analysis and applying them to theories of agency, structuralism and structurality which form the theoretical framework that will be used analyze historical events. In this study I will be using sources including biographies, news articles, speeches and even interviews from both Abimael Guzmán and President Fujimori. These sources will help show the individual actions that had taken place during this time so that we can apply them to the theories that will be discussed. Because of the heavy emphasis on theory, the first chapter will cover agency, structuralism, and structurality.

In order to properly understand the context in which President Fujimori and Guzmán lived it is necessary to also look into the history of Peru, concentrating on the 1980s and 1990s. For this reason this research will also contain a historical overview which will serve as a useful tool to link structures to Peru's history. After this is established, the theoretical analysis of case studies will begin starting with Abimael Guzmán and the Shining Path (as their rise to power began before that of President

Fujimori) going through history of both Guzmán as an individual and the Shining Path as a group which will show both how they rose to the point that they did as well as show the types of agency they used and the actions they committed during this time. This will finally lead into a discussion about the actions by the rest of the population. This will help create a full picture regarding the actions that had taken place and will overall show how this conflict affected structures and agency in Peru as well as give a comprehensive look at how those same structures and level of agency affected the conflict in general. By linking this conflict to these theories, this study will help contribute to the existing research available and add another valuable point of view regarding the period between the 1980s and 1990s in Peru.

Chapter 1: Theoretical explanation of the conflict: Structuralism, Agency, and Structurality

Imbedded structures and agency are both factors that are immensely important when attempting to understand the reasons behind social movements or their absence. Regardless of whether or not they are perceived or acknowledged, they play a role in the lives of everyone every single day. Because of this, they can also be used to explain events that happen around the world. To use structuralism and agency as a theoretical framework for studying the Shining Path and the Fujimori administration in Peru requires an overview on not only structuralism and agency, but structurality as well. Structurality melds both concepts in a way that can be used in this study, but in order to be understood, it is necessary to first understand how structures and agency work.

Structures, be they class stratifications, laws or even cultural norms like the stratification of classes that can be seen in Peru where there is a separation between upper and lower classes, inevitably affect the way in which people act and can create situations where people feel like there is no action to be taken or that it is not necessary to act. They limit and restrict the power of some while giving that power to others. Agency, in the wide definition given by Laura Ahearn as “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act,”²⁴ maintains the belief that individuals can always act within and around these structures. In this way structures can be disregarded and even broken down. While it may seem like these two ideas are absolutely at odds with each other creating a dichotomy, they both build upon one another where structures can simultaneously constrain and inspire agency to some degree and agency builds, breaks down, and creates

²⁴ Ahearn, L. M. (2001). Language and Agency. *Annual Review Of Anthropology*, 30 , 112

structures as Anthony Giddens posits.²⁵ This forms a cyclical relationship between both positive and negative agents and the structures that are created, maintained, or altered by them.

We can use patterns in agency and structures to evaluate when changes are needed. This can directly be used in analyzing the twenty year conflict in Peru by analyzing patterns in agency and structures which will show the origins of these patterns and how they become reinforced by the actions of people within that society. In the case of Peru, we will see how violence is used as a method of governance and a way for individuals to make the changes that they deem necessary. By understanding structures, agency, and structurality and applying it to the history and current realities of Peru it can be seen that this type of governance is allowable by preexisting structures that promote violence and how it reinforces the notion of violence being a valid method of solving a problem. This, however, does not need to be the case, if the underlying violent structures are changed early enough. This will be discussed throughout this research, but it is important to first understand structuralism, agency, and structurality before moving on to the historical aspects of this conflict.

What is structuralism?

In the structuralist school of thought, society is bound by rules that are created over time through a series of patterns.²⁶ These patterns become rules within a society and based on these rules individuals make their decisions.²⁷ In structuralism, this rule

²⁵ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984.

²⁶ Radford, G. P., & Radford, M. L. (2005). Structuralism, post-structuralism and the library: de Saussure and Foucault. *Jurnal of Documentation*, LXI(1),61

²⁷ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984, 17.

bound society (and its coordinating structures) is emphasized over the idea that the human actor has full free will over his life and in this way his actions are undermined. This is because in this case the actions of the individual are instead bound by the existing social structures that surround him and it is therefore the structures themselves that ultimately create the action instead of the free will of the individual. The structures establish the available options for the individual so the individual does not have a free willed choice in the matter, but rather the structures create conditions that compel a certain action, be it a certain behavior, a type of obedience, even the language that is spoken is determined by structures. And it is through these patterns that individuals make sense of their world. In this way free will is ultimately limited as is the range of action an individual can make. We can therefore use structuralism to explain action according to the structural context in which it takes place.

According to Giddens, there are three types of structures: signification, legitimation, and domination.²⁸ While all of these are related, signification structures are those that deal in language. This would include the ways in which we communicate, including the languages we speak, the way we refer to others, and the changing meaning of the words we use. Legitimation structures deal mainly with laws and the legal institutions within a society. The way in which these structures alter behaviors is without a doubt the most recognizable and is seen on day to day basis. Lastly, domination structures control two types of resources: authoritative and allocative resources. Authoritative resources refer to the ability to generate command over people and actors (much like political institutions) while allocative resources refer to those structures that

²⁸ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984, 29-30.

generate a command over objects, goods, or general material (these can be physical institutions like the local tax collections agency or customary “rules” like tipping at a restaurant).²⁹ All of these structures work cooperatively to create social systems that are ever present in society. That said, society is constantly changing and with it so are structures. This is why in much of the world societies are no longer the same as they were 200 years ago. Laws have changed, as have customs, our use of language, our governments, and our economic systems. Along with these changes came changes in human agency and what types of actions were allowed under these new structures. One of the ways in which societies change is simply by revolutions which Sharon Hays notes “... are the most striking examples of structurally transformative agency.”³⁰ If anything this shows that structures are not absolute and are often changed quite drastically by agenic movements, not just revolutions but also social and human rights movements as well.

What is agency?

The term “agency” can be somewhat difficult to define. It has its role in many distinct areas of study which can make it difficult to understand. Agency has been studied in terms of accounting, economics, political science, organizational behavior, and sociology³¹ and is heavily linked to various fields of psychology. The variety in ways in which you can study agency shows both its versatility and also its complexity. For the purpose of this research, I will focus on the fields of sociology. This should help to keep a clear idea of what agency is as well as the role of agents.

²⁹ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984, 33.

³⁰ Hays, S. (1994). Structure and Agency and the Sticky Problem of Culture. *Sociological Theory*, 12(1), 64

³¹ Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Agency Theory: An Assessment and Review. *Academy Of Management Review*, 14(1), 1

Perhaps the most direct and to the point answer to the question of “what is agency?” is that answer from Ahearn that was mentioned earlier: “Agency refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act.”³² I’d like to emphasize this “capacity to act” because there is almost always some sort of action that can be taken at any given time whether it be by an individual or by a group. Those actions may not directly cause the sought outcome, but it is important to understand and accept that there is a possibility for action to be taken. In this definition, anyone who is capable of action, be it verbally or physically, can be considered to be an agent. It is not even required that there be intention in an action, “Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place.”³³ For this reason even simple inaction can be seen as a form of agency which we will see played a role in the conflict in Peru and the degree to which it escalated. This is without a doubt a broad definition; however it serves as a very useful tool in describing and explaining many of the events that occurred between the 1980s and 2000 in Peru.

Albert Bandura claims that there are three different forms of agency: personal agency, proxy agency and collective agency. Personal agency is what first comes to mind when thinking about agency in general. This would be actions an individual does on his or her own, of their own will. Proxy agency refers to actions taken by people who are bound by structures like institutional practices and social conditions. In this type of agency, actions become a socially mediated mode of agency where influence is exerted on others in order to achieve a desired outcome. Lastly there is collective agency where a

³² Ahearn, L. (2001). Language and Agency. *Annual Review Anthropology*, 30(109), 112

³³ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984, 8

group of people with a shared belief act together to reach a desired outcome.³⁴ All of these modes of agency play a role in the events that happened in Peru such as the personal decisions made by Alberto Fujimori and Abimael Guzmán, the passive decisions made by primarily the upper and upper-middle class populations which make up proxy agency, and the general actions conducted by groups including the Shining Path as well as others like the military which make up collective agency. These examples will be discussed in greater detail the following chapters.

The concepts of structuralism and agency are more often than not put at odds making it seem like the two are competing. This is because they work in opposing ways: while the structures in agency work to bind and constrict human action, human agency is the way in which people work against imposed structure. This doesn't necessarily need to be the case, however, because these two seemingly opposing concepts can build upon each other. Structures can spur agency and agency can make changes to structures, either breaking them down or building new ones. This is precisely what structuration theory suggests.

What is structuration?

Structuration theory is Giddens' venture in creating a bridge between theories which emphasize either structure or agency at the expense of the other.³⁵ Structuralism represents one side of the coin in which social structures such as class or race are seen as systems which are so inescapable that people have few options other than to act within them. This is often supported by a history of these systems being in place and of people

³⁴ Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of Human Agency through Collective Efficacy. *Current Directions In Psychological Science*, 9(3),75

³⁵ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984, 19

following these systems under that same assumption that it is simply how the world works and it cannot be changed thus creating a pattern where change does not happen. On the other side of this same coin, there is an emphasis on the individual and his or her actions where structures are seen as ephemeral; they are relative and secondary to the agenic nature of the individual. These extremes can be characterized as structures without actors in the case of structuralism, and actors without structures in the case of agency. The relationship between these two extremes is explained through the structuration theory which according to Giddens, "...provide[s] an account of human agency which recognizes that human beings are purposive actors, who virtually all the time know what they are doing (under some description) and why. At the same time... the actions of each individual are embedded in social contexts 'stretching away' from his or her activities and which causally influence their nature."³⁶ Understanding this "duality of structure," as Giddens calls it, is key to both how people act and how structures are built.

Giddens clearly lays out that, "one of the main propositions of structuration theory is that the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction (the duality of structure)."³⁷ This means that there is no argument regarding which theory holds true when it comes to structuralism or agency because they both work and build upon the other. In this way structures are held, created, and altered by actions while at the same time these structures affect the nature of actions in general, meaning that structures can both limit and illicit actions just as actions can both build or breakdown structures. The

³⁶ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984, 258

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 19

actions of the Shining Path are an example of a way in which people attempted to make such a change to the structures. While the intentions of the Shining Path were those of agents, its methods wound up alienating its potential supporters through excessive use of force which ultimately weakened its attempt at revolution.

To say that passive Peruvians, mainly the upper classes of Lima, were inactive because of structures that have been put in place, and could do nothing else but remain inactive is false. Even structures that start from things like the continuation of social norms like the acceptance of corruption in the political sphere with self-serving leaders and questionable police practices³⁸ (this is one of the reasons why President Fernando Belaúnde Terry was ousted during a military coup in 1968 and replaced with General Juan Velasco)³⁹ do not necessarily mean that people were frozen in their ability to act. Inaction in itself strengthens the very structures that limit action, and while structures may be limiting, they are not paralyzing which means that there is always room for action. Structures are not absolutes; they are constantly changed or maintained by the agency of groups and individuals. In this way inaction is nonetheless a form of passive agency.

This passive agency, which Giddens refers to as *praxis*, is one of the ways structures are maintained. Structures are constant in our lives and cannot be removed in their totality. Structures also build upon existing structures that are necessary for a stable society. “[I]t is not the case that actors create social systems: they reproduce or transform

³⁸Taylor, L. (1986). Peru's Alan Garcia: Supplanting the old order. *Third World Quarterly*, 8(1), 103.

³⁹Malloy, J. M. (1972). Peru before and after the coup of 1968. *Journal of International Studies and World Affairs*, 14(4), 437.

them, remaking what is already made in the continuity of *praxis*.”⁴⁰ This is another concept that is important to understand when analyzing the role of the citizen population (i.e. those not involved in armed conflict in groups like the military, police, and the Shining Path) in Peru. Particularly in the early stages of the “People’s War,” as it is often referred to by the Shining Path, there is little indication of involvement or action by those groups in the population with the most resources, the vast majority of which resided in the capital city of Lima.

Connecting to Peru

It is important to understand these concepts because they all play a part in the conflicts that took place in Peru particularly involving the Shining Path and the presidency of Alberto Fujimori. We will see that the Shining Path used collective agency to act against the realities of the political systems in place at the time and in that way change existing structures, often exploited existing structures in order to gain support. We will see that structures have been supported over centuries through the choice in language, laws that have been put in place or customs that have been repeated over years and that these same structures influenced all sorts of agency. The ways in which these structures affected agency range from the way in which Fujimori’s led his campaigns for the presidency, to the way in which a blind-eye was cast towards the Andes creating an opportunity for the Shining Path to form and grow. By applying these concepts to aspects of Peruvian history and culture we can see factors that helped foster and even support the intensely violent events that happened during the 1980s and 90s as we will see in the following chapters.

⁴⁰ Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society : outline of the theory of structuration* / Anthony Giddens. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1984, 171 (emphasis in original)

Structures that affected the Time of Fear⁴¹ can be traced back to even pre-Peruvian history beginning with practices of the Incas, going through colonial Peru and beyond as will be seen in chapter 2 where a very brief history of Peru will be looked at to expose these structures that would be unwittingly reinforced over time. These structures created the framework that allowed the Shining Path to flourish and also helped reinforce the structures of fear wherein people began to act out of fear rather than their will, which were established during a multitude of military governments which Fujimori would come to manipulate during his presidency as a way to maintain power.

The actions of the Shining Path can be labeled as instances of collective agency working to combat the existing structures within Peru, particularly those legitimization structures that could be seen through the type of conduct within the Peruvian government which had often been characterized as containing some level of corruption.⁴² These actions were facilitated by the upper class's praxis, or continuation and therefore reinforcement of structures, as we will see in the following chapters. It was this same praxis and continuation of violent structures that led to the creation of Rondas Campesinas who were essentially peasant militias who fought against the Shining Path as will be discussed in Chapter 5. This shows the symbiotic relationship between structures and agency, specifically how structures can spur agency in people despite the usually limiting effects of structures, which Giddens and his structuration theory support. All of this will be discussed in the following chapters, beginning with factors that established deeply engrained structures due to periods in Peruvian history involving colonialism

⁴¹ Starn, O., Degregori, C., & Kirk, R. (1995). "Manchay Tiempo" *The Peru reader : history, culture, politics* / edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995, 353.

⁴²Taylor, L. (1986). Peru's Alan Garcia: Supplanting the old order. *Third World Quarterly*, 8(1), 103.

followed by a discussion of the Shining Path, then the Alberto Fujimori administration, and lastly the roles of the peasantry and the upper classes.

Chapter 2: History leading up to the Shining Path and the Fujimori Elections

When speaking of Peruvian history, what comes to mind at first is typically the Incas and their empire that spanned the Andes. The next thing that is usually brought up is the subsequent fall of the Incas by the hands of the Spaniards, namely Francisco Pizarro, in the age of European expansion and global conquest. While these two points in history are immensely important, and will be looked at in terms of the start of the Shining Path and the election of President Fujimori, there are other, significant periods that play a part in the explanation of how one of the most terrifying periods in Peruvian history came about. Aside from the colonial period, which played a critical role in the setting up of structures that are to some degree still in place today, the way in which Peru gained its independence, the significant amount of instability found in government throughout its history as well as the globalization and proliferation of communist ideas (Maoist Communism in particular) all led to the situation in the 1980s and 1990s. This chapter will look into how race and instability in particular create and reinforce structures and would ultimately lead to the emergence of the Shining Path and this conflict.

The Incas, Colonialism and the Stratification of Race and Class

The Incas as a civilization are known for being the one of the largest and most powerful civilizations in South America before the arrival of the Spanish. Their civilization spanned the length of the Andes from the Pacific coast into part of the Amazon jungle. The ability to maintain such a vast empire requires an extraordinary amount of control over the population. This is particularly difficult in an ever increasing empire that conquers other civilizations because even as a civilization is conquered, its customs and traditions can remain intact. One way that the Incas were able to counter

this problem was by moving the conquered populations from their original locations, and distributing them throughout the empire thus fully incorporating them into the Incan civilization.⁴³ This full integration also allowed for a concentrated Andean culture that continues to be expressed to this day through various festivals (like the annual Inti Raymi festival also known as the festival of the sun), customs (particularly the continued use of Quechua to such a degree that there continue to be individuals speak only Quechua as opposed to Spanish, and traditions including simple ones like spilling some chicha de jora (a fermented corn beverage) on the ground to honor Pachamama. This also plays a factor in both the support of and objection to the Shining Path.

One reason that Andean culture (meaning the continuation of festivals, traditions, and even language) has continued in the way it has is the way in which colonial practices unfolded. In 1532 the Spaniards began their conquest against the Inca Empire and current day Peru. Because of the tumultuous state that the empire was in at the time, the Spaniards were able to take over after massacring between 5,000 and 10,000 Incas within an hour and a half period of time, despite being outnumbered considerably.⁴⁴ The violence seen by the Spaniards at on that day would continue to be seen throughout Peru's history (more often than not seen through the multiple coups that were done to change the government from one military leader to another,⁴⁵ but the most extreme period of violence was during the 1980s and 90s with the mass amount of bloodshed that came about from the rise of the Shining Path.

⁴³ Kuznar, L. (1999). The inca empire: Detailing the complexities of core/periphery interactions. In P. Kardulias (Ed.), *World-Systems Theory in Practice: Leadership, production, and exchange*(pp. 233). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

⁴⁴ Wright, R. (1992). *Stolen continents: The Americas through Indian eyes since 1492*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 80

⁴⁵Rozman, S. L. (1970). The evolution of the political role of the peruvian military. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 12(4), 540.

What came next is what helped maintain Andean culture: the Spaniards built the city of Lima near the coast on the banks of the river Rimac.⁴⁶ Instead of assimilating the old capital and turning it into the heart of the new colony, they built a new European city as the center of the viceroyalty complete with the olive groves and wheat fields, which could not grow in Cuzco due to the altitude and were necessary for the olive oil and bread that the Spaniards were accustomed to. The location of Lima meant two things; firstly that the indigenous populations were able to maintain their cultural identity and continue to practice their traditions as they did before while remaining in Andean city of Cuzco secondly the nearly predominately European capital allowed for the culturally segregated state that is now Peru.

The Spaniards made the founding and management of Lima very systematic and orderly. This included the city planning. Francisco Pizarro, who led the conquest and colonization of South America, had a vision for Lima was that included very precise blocks measuring 450 feet on each side that were then divided into four plots which were intersected by streets that were 35 feet wide. Also included in this orderly vision was the establishment of the Plaza Mayor which housed the viceregal palace to the north, the Archbishop's Palace and Cathedral to the east, merchants' shops to the south and the city council on the west.⁴⁷ This all goes to show the meticulous planning that was utilized when establishing the city of Lima. Another key feature of the planning of Lima shows the existing racial tensions, particularly between the Spaniards and the indigenous and also played a role in emphasizing the racial tensions. This is the creation of a walled

⁴⁶ Kent, R. B. (2006). *Latin america: Regions and people*. (1 ed.). New York: Guilford Publications, Inc.,89.

⁴⁷ Walker, C. F. (2008). Shaky colonialism: The 1746 earthquake-tsunami in Lima, Peru, and its long aftermath. Durham: Duke University Press, 54-55

indigenous quarter named El Cercado that housed the laboring population of Lima. This is only one of the many instances in which a clear separation between non-Europeans and Europeans.

Another instance in which the indigenous population was separated from the European area in Lima once the conquest had succeeded and colonialism began had to do with a difference in socio-economic status. Like the Black and Asian population that were eventually imported into Peru, the indigenous of Peru were more often than not limited in their social positions as well as their lines of work. Originally the indigenous population was used in a similar way that Blacks were used as slaves elsewhere: in hard labor, such as farming, mining, maid service, and even rebuilding cities that were destroyed during the conquest.⁴⁸ All of these types of work would be deemed too lowly for most of European descent living in Peru. During the initial colonial period, as the use of Black slaves was not common,⁴⁹ the indigenous population was used to work the notoriously brutal silver mines of Potosi as a continuation of the traditional mita system. This system, while originally used by the Inca, was used to exploit the indigenous population. It was a form of temporary forced public work program whose main differences from slavery was the fact that the workers in the mita system were not owned and therefore their work was intermittent.⁵⁰ This set up the scenario for a structure wherein an ethnic population is consistently treated worse than the rest.

⁴⁸ The indigenous influence in the rebuilding of Cuzco can be seen in the main Cathedral in the Plaza de Armas that includes depictions of the last supper including guinea pig and an edification of Jesus made of llama leather with a filling of a potato mash.

⁴⁹ Which can be explained by the difficulty in efficiently transporting people to the Pacific coast of the continent prior to the Panama Canal and the relative ease in using indigenous labor instead

⁵⁰ Stern, S. J. (2005). The tragedy of success. In O. Starn, C. Degregori & R. Kirk (Eds.), *The Peru Reader* (pp. 130-131). Durham: Duke University Press.

All of these factors helped lay the foundation for a racially segregated Peru that supported the domination structures wherein the rich, mainly white, mainly European population held the authoritative resources that made the indigenous population a marginalized group. This helped lead to both the Shining Path's attempt to a revolution as well as the election of Alberto Fujimori. As Peru gained its independence, institutions including those involving the government and municipality there was little mobility for those of the disenfranchised social group, meaning the indigenous which would maintain and stress the social gaps between the classes. The exception to this, however, has been access and mobility within the army where those of indigenous roots have been able fully participate.⁵¹ This, however, reinforces a pattern and the structure where the military (and by extension, violence) is the means of change and action for marginalized individuals.

These factors also helped to develop and continue the multiple structures, including economic structures as seen through the way wealth is distributed throughout society, social structures as in the perceptions of the role people from various walks of life play, and racial structures which have just been discussed. All of these examples fall under all of the three types of structures that Giddens has laid out. More importantly, however, it is these structures that helped contribute to the reasons why followers of the Shining Path felt it was necessary to begin a revolution. These same race based domination structures helped elect Alberto Fujimori under the idea that his election would break the structures and allow the indigenous population in Peru to act in the same way as the rest of Peru's citizens as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

⁵¹ Vargas, L. A. (1994). *The madness of things Peruvian: Democracy under siege*. New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A: Transaction Publishers,58.

A History of Political Instability

Peru's penchant for political instability also plays a major factor in the violent uprising of the 1980s as well as the policies developed by the Fujimori administration. As Alvaro Vargas Llosa has pointed out in 1994 that "[i]t has not been the political party system, but the absence of a permanent institutional life with political parties linked to an ongoing democracy, that has brought on this total failure of civilian politics from which Peruvians... of the 1990s are despairing."⁵² An example of this failure of civilian politics can be seen in the 1962 elections where Victor Raúl de la Torre won the presidential race despite not having more than the required 33% of the votes which prompted a military coup.⁵³ The reality is that since its independence, Peru has gone through coup after coup, to elected official turn dictator, over a dozen new constitutions, military and civilian autocrats. From 1823, with the election of José de la Riva Agüero, to the election of Alberto Fujimori, periods of true democracy, meaning one with officials who are elected from free elections and are bound to the very laws they pass, had been sporadic and not long lasting.^{54, 55} By this we can see that it had been rare, arguably until recently, to see a full democratic process in play where the leader was fully accountable for his actions.

What we see from 1821, the year Peru gained its independence to 1980 is a series of military governments with a few civilian leaders taking power from time to time. This starts with General José de San Martín, who abruptly left Peru after a little over a year as the "Protector" of Peru then to the first man to use the title of President, General José de

⁵² Vargas, L. A. (1994). *The madness of things Peruvian: Democracy under siege*. New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A: Transaction Publishers, 57.

⁵³ Fossum, E. (1967). Factors Influencing the Occurrence of Military Coups D'Etat in Latin America. *Journal Of Peace Research*, 4(3), 235.

⁵⁴ Vargas, L. A. (1994). *The madness of things Peruvian: Democracy under siege*. New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A: Transaction Publishers, 52.

⁵⁵ Kruijt, D. (1996). POLITICIANS IN UNIFORM: DILEMMAS ABOUT THE LATIN AMERICAN MILITARY. *European Review Of Latin American & Caribbean Studies*, (61), 8.

Riva Agüero, and follows throughout the first 50 years of the Republic of Peru. It wasn't until 1872 that there was a civilian president in charge of Peru despite over 5 decades of autonomy and independence from Spain.⁵⁶ However that was not the end of military governments, coups, or dirty politics. The following presidents would come to power through legitimate democratic elections, also through a series of coups. Of note there is the coup enacted by General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1968 and his following presidency.

While Velasco hoped to stabilize the state and allow for greater prosperity among the various classes, many aspects of his administration were mismanaged and sent mixed messages to the public. The first instance of this can be seen in the way in which he came into power. As an army general he led a coup utilizing the military, but not a single shot was fired. In this way, a coup which is usually a fairly violent process especially when instigated by the military, was actually peaceful. That is not to say that violence is needed in all coups, but rather that it creates a mixed image of a peaceful general. Once he gained power, Velasco established the "Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces" where he initiated a variety of reforms primarily aimed at developing an independent nation that was less dependent on foreign capital. However reforms like the agrarian reform as well as his attacks on foreign capital would worry those involved with Peruvian markets because of how it would damage rights to private property.⁵⁷ At the same time he managed to promote a consumerist lifestyle within Peru which would result in a greater dependency on foreign goods, which combined with a less than enthusiastic

⁵⁶ Vargas, L. A. (1994). *The madness of things Peruvian: Democracy under siege*. New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A: Transaction Publishers, 57.

⁵⁷ Gilbert, D. (1980). The End of the Peruvian Revolution: A Class Analysis. *Studies In Comparative International Development*,15(1), 28.

bourgeoisie led to the near collapse of the Peruvian economy and a skyrocketing inflation rate that would climb to over 7,000% by 1990.⁵⁸

Many of the goals of General Velasco were related to developing an autonomous financial strategy that did not require a dependency on export-oriented financial growth. In order to do so, he introduced a series of reforms that would overhaul the agrarian and educational systems in Peru while also changing many economic policies in order to complete his goals.⁵⁹ This would come to affect existing structures in a variety of ways. For one, a previously excluded area of Peru was getting some attention by the state, thus changing legitimization structures. In giving greater attention to the Andean region of Peru, the intention was to give greater economic and authoritative resources thus breaking existing domination structures that had previously held back the Andean population. As a result, all of these reforms would in one way or another influence the movements in the 1980s and 1990s.

Of these reforms, the agrarian reforms had perhaps the greatest effect particularly in the Andean region where the Shining Path movement began. These reforms aimed to diversify land ownership by redistributing haciendas. This was not outright thievery by the part of the state, “[I]andowners... were given the opportunity to discount the bonds with which they were compensated, for investment purposes.”⁶⁰ But the mismanagement of the economy led to such a high inflation rate, that these bonds became effectively worthless. This would lead to a disgruntled population of ex-

⁵⁸ Rochabrun, Guillermo. 1996. "Deciphering the enigmas of Alberto Fujimori. (Cover story)." *NACLA Report On The Americas* 30, no. 1: 16. *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 18, 2011).

⁵⁹ Heilman, J. P. (2010). *Before the Shining Path: Politics in rural Ayacucho, 1895-1980*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 149

⁶⁰ Gilbert, D. (1980). The End of the Peruvian Revolution: A Class Analysis. *Studies In Comparative International Development*,15(1), 27

landowners that would have a reason to join what they might have seen as a revolutionary movement, but it the Shining Path or other revolutionary groups like the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA) against the government.

The redistribution of land did not help the peasants either. “The regime’s orientation toward urban classes produced a pricing policy unfavorable to agriculture. Low prices tended to depress food production as did the failure to provide credit and technical support for the rural sector.”⁶¹ The new orientation of the regime would lead to an emphasis on the urban consumerist population in Peru, meaning the upper class as they had a greater consumer power, rather than those in rural areas regardless of their socio-economic situation. In the end this would help to destabilize the Peruvian economy, and would ultimately leave those which were supposed to benefit from the reforms in the same position they were in before the land was given to them.

The education reforms would also play a factor in increasing support for the Shining Path in the Andes. These reforms would lead to increased access to education to the Andean population. Having a greater educated population in the Andes would be the key to gaining the initial membership in the Shining Path which initially was popular among university students. This membership implies a level of subversive activity within the Andean universities that concerned the government to the point that, “[i]n the 1980s this concern was only exacerbated by the political fact that the leadership of Sendero Luminoso and many of its supporters had emerged from Peru’s universities and public schools.”⁶²

⁶¹ Gilbert, D. (1980). The End of the Peruvian Revolution: A Class Analysis. *Studies In Comparative International Development*, 15(1), 33.

⁶² García, M. E. (2005). *Making indigenous citizens: Identities, education, and multicultural development in Peru*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press. 76

Whether it was done on purpose or not, Velasco managed to sow the seeds of communism during his leftist administration. While not being altogether communist, his policies did follow some of the Maoist ideals of the Shining Path thus laying the groundwork for the beginning of the Shining Path movement twelve years after the installation of the Velasco regime. Much like Maoist beliefs and the Shining Path, Velasco would often attack the idea of imperialism⁶³ which explains his fervor for diminishing the reliance on foreign capital. We can find that policies like this as well as his land reforms and others have distinct similarities to Maoist beliefs (which will be discussed later) while not being all together Maoist or having communist intentions. On the contrary, Velasco's administration essentially straddled the line between capitalism and communism through its very policies. Regardless of the intention, this also has the effect of preparing society for the extremely anti-imperialistic views that come with Maoism

Instability in Ayacucho

While Velasco attempted to bridge many of the social gaps present among the classes, particularly between the Andean peasants and the upper class urban population, by creating more opportunity in the rural areas especially through education, his reforms ultimately failed. An area of the Andes that was affected by these reforms needs to be discussed. It is important to discuss the political realities of Ayacucho as it is where the Shining Path movement started. Located in the Andes, it is a rural area of Peru that suffered from Velasco's land reforms. The land reforms as well as the educational reforms would prove to be significant factors in developing the initial Shining Path

⁶³ Gilbert, D. (1980). The End of the Peruvian Revolution: A Class Analysis. *Studies In Comparative International Development*,15(1), 30

following because it fostered an environment with a newly educated population within a region that had been historically neglected.

Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, a philosophy professor specializing in Marxism, began teaching in Ayacucho at the San Cristóbal of Humanga University in 1962 and continued to teach there during the time which Velasco enacted his educational reforms which allowed classes to be taught in both Quechua and Spanish, thus opening up the opportunity to education to a greater indigenous population.⁶⁴ Here he was able to reach the disenfranchised middle class youth who were children of ex-land owners who due to the land reforms now had firsthand experience in ineptitude of the state. It was through the university that Guzmán was able to recruit the first members of the Shining Path by starting the PCP-SL (Peruvian Communist Party- Sendero Luminoso) and develop his military school dedicated to Maoism and the beliefs of José Carlos Mariátegui.

At first the residents of the Ayacucho, and the rest of the Andes, were willing to accept and support the Shining Path because of the way in which these areas were historically ignored by the central city of Lima and subsequently the government. “It has historically been one of the most neglected regions in the country. Even during the years of agrarian reform in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, land redistribution was not successful...”⁶⁵ Over time, however the increasingly extreme disciplinary actions like the public murder of individuals who actively worked against the recruitment of Shining Path members, as well as restrictive policies towards the business and a general lack of

⁶⁴ Palmer, D. S. (1986). Rebellion in rural peru: The origins and evolution of sendero luminoso. *Comparative Politics*,18(2), 138.

⁶⁵ García, M. E. (2005). *Making indigenous citizens: Identities, education, and multicultural development in Peru*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.39

improvement in the quality of living would turn many areas of the Andes, including Ayacucho against the Shining Path.

The agrarian reforms met out by Velasco, as stated earlier, were ineffective. They were not enacted throughout Peru or the Andean region. And while these reforms had the support of many peasants who were toiling away at land that was not their own, because the reforms were not completed (in the sense that there were still areas that were untouched by them) they would become yet another topic of conflict. The reforms created a situation where the hacendado system that the reforms were supposed to break would continue but through new people. This is precisely what made the Ayacucho region a perfect starting point for the Shining Path. Jaymie Heilman looks at two districts in Ayacucho, Carhuana and Luricocha, to come up with the same result. “Yet for all of their differences, one central point remains true of both districts: PCP-SL militants found their entry point into local life through a bloody completion of the work the Revolutionary Government had promised, but ultimately failed, to do.”⁶⁶ The Shining Path, especially when it first began, served as the solution to many of the let downs of the government over the years. This includes proper policing of the area, the completion of the promises from the Agrarian Reforms of Velasco’s time, and an integration of the indigenous population that was so often ignored by Lima.

It is clear that there was reason for the Shining Path to develop. Peru had traditionally been a fairly unstable country. The instability in government, due to the number of coups helped foster the idea that the government was unreliable and ripe for a takeover by someone who had a clear vision in mind. This belief would only be further

⁶⁶ Heilman, J. P. (2010). *Before the Shining Path: Politics in rural Ayacucho, 1895-1980*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 161

enforced by the lack of effective governance and social programs in the Andes. The prominence of military governments and coups lent itself to the idea that power and legitimacy was held in violence while also diminishing the feasibility of a true democracy. The Shining Path would use all of this to both gain support and also power throughout its Popular War. However, as the Shining Path grew, it began to alienate and attack those it originally claimed to protect which would lead to the emergence of anti-Shining Path groups like rondas whose original intention was to protect villages from attacks from the Shining Path through a use of a militia that only in its later years gained government support and proper weaponry. ⁶⁷

What can be seen through this brief history is that significant changes in Peru's history have been made through the use of force and of violence. By establishing violent patterns like this, violence and the fear that comes out of violence become structures by which people act. So, when a violent philosophy like Maoism can be applied to already violent structures it is possible for exceedingly violent groups like the Shining Path to come about in order to bring changes that they believe are necessary using their own methods of agency. This results in a cyclical series of responses where violence is met with even greater violence as the following chapters will show.

⁶⁷ Starn, O. (1995). To revolt against the revolution: War and resistance in Peru's Andes. *Cultural Anthropology*,10(4), 561.

Chapter 3: The Shining Path: Origins and Progression

The Shining Path, also known as Sendero Luminoso in Spanish, began its existence as members of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) in 1970. This is before it was deemed a terrorist group by the government and tens of thousands of people died as a result of its actions. This changed in 1980, however, when the Shining Path began the armed phase of its “people’s war” by stealing and burning the ballot boxes in the central plaza of Chuschi, in the Ayacucho region of Peru.⁶⁸ Headed by Abimael Guzmán, a philosophy professor at the University of Ayacucho, the Shining Path’s philosophy no doubt was very much influenced by Guzmán’s trips to the People’s Republic of China during the Cultural Revolution which Mao Tse-Tung had implemented. Maoism’s influence in the Shining Path led it to the goal of eradicating political and social order in Peru in order to have what it would deem a functioning government and ultimately a happy society. Another significant influence to the Shining Path’s philosophy was the Leninist-Marxist philosopher José Carlos Mariátegui whose studies help apply communism within a Peruvian framework which will also be discussed.

In order to better understand the Shining Path, it is necessary to first answer a few questions. These include questions like why the Shining Path started in the first place, what did the Shining Path base itself off of, what kind of underlying philosophy did the Shining Path act on, and what specific actions were taken by members? What this will point to is how the Shining Path’s actions as an intended revolution were an answer to structures that were limiting agency in the Andes on behalf of the government by forcing action from the government as well as individuals in the rural areas of Peru.

⁶⁸Becker, M. (2006). Peruvian shining path. In J. DeFronzo (Ed.), *Revolutionary Movements in World History, From 1750 to the Present* (pp. 651). Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

What is Maoism?

While Maoism builds off of the Marxist-Leninist framework, it is at the same time distinct from it by emphasizing a peasant fueled revolution rather than a proletariat which didn't exist in Peru and China in the quantities Europe had. This places the pending revolution on the peasantry in the countryside rather than within industrialized cities.⁶⁹ This switch to the countryside also meant a switch in military tactics to accommodate guerrilla tactics in order to more effectively control it. The second belief that Maoism espouses is that of constant change via permanent revolution, an idea that Leon Trotsky contributed to Marxism.⁷⁰ This was to keep leaders constantly challenged to meet the needs of the people. One belief common in all three forms of communism (Marxist-Leninist, Stalinist, Maoist) is a rejection of imperialism as it is a capitalist endeavor. This is one belief that the Shining Path often promulgated.

Maoism builds itself on Marxist-Leninist thought, and came to fruition after an ideological conflict between Communist China and Soviet Russia, also known as the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s. Over the previous few years, Soviet Russia and Nikita Khrushchev began changing the discourse of communism. The Leninist precept believes that so long that imperialism exist, wars will continue on an economic basis; Khrushchev, during the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, rejected this precept and furthermore offered the possibility for a peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries, something that had previously been unheard of.⁷¹ Maoist beliefs maintain that prolonged

⁶⁹ Navarro, P. (2010). A Maoist Counterpoint : Peruvian Maoism Beyond Sendero Luminoso. *Latin American Perspectives*, 157

⁷⁰ Schram, S. R. (1971, April-June). Mao Tse-Tung and the Theory of the Permanent Revolution, 1958-1969. *The China Quarterly*(46), 222

⁷¹ Alexander, R. J. (1999). *International Maoism in the Developing World*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 5.

violence and struggle are a key component of a revolution that will ultimately lead to a communist state.⁷²

Moreover, China interpreted the aid that Soviet Russia was providing to developing countries including India, Afghanistan, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Iraw, Guinea, Ghana, Cylon, Cuba, Ethiopia, Mali and Pakistan,⁷³ the Soviet influence that came with it as an imperialistic act that should not be accepted. This became particularly troublesome with Soviet aid nearly tripled in a period of three years (1958-1961) to nearly 2.5 billion rubles in international aid.⁷⁴ This aid was often coupled with requirements like having the country receiving aid to pay for materials, equipment, or specialists which would sometimes lead to relations with the capitalistic West. A particular problem with hiring specialists (be they Western or Soviet) was that relative to the receiving population these specialists led extravagant lifestyles. This increase in aid, coupled with the method in which the aid was being used showed somewhat imperialistic tendencies within the Soviet Union, which under the Leninist precept that Communist China accepted had to be challenged in order to maintain the Mao's vision of Communism.⁷⁵

In 1966 Mao Tse-Tung began the Cultural Revolution designed to empower his unwavering interpretation of communism. The goal of the Cultural Revolution was Mao's attempt in establishing a society where even the most complicated objectives

⁷² Navarro, P. (2010). A Maoist Counterpoint : Peruvian Maoism Beyond Sendero Luminoso. *Latin American Perspectives*, 160.

⁷³ Friedman, J. (2010, May). Soviet policy in the developing world and the Chinese challenge in the 1960s. *Cold War History*, X(2), 253.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 254.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 257-8

could be completed by the willpower of the common man and not the use of specialists.⁷⁶ Mao felt that they were unnecessary for a revolution to take place. This would also distinguish itself from the previous Soviet model and would also help unseat the ruling class in China that would have gained from the use of specialists. Ultimately, the Cultural Revolution would help solidify the Maoist model in the communist realm and would be used as a way to oust Mao's opponents from power. Much like what would eventually happen in Peru with Guzmán and the Shining Path, Mao recruited youth from high schools and universities who, inspired by Mao, formed the "Red Guards" who would attack authority figures verbally and physically, sometimes even killing them. It did not matter if these people were authority figures in schools (including universities), leadership in the Communist Party or in local and provincial governments, or even economic institutions.⁷⁷ We see the same practices taking place in the Shining Path as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Mao, Mariátegui and Abimael Guzmán

The Shining Path had its ideological start from the splintering of the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP). The Peruvian Communist Party, originally the Peruvian Socialist Party, was founded by José Carlos Mariátegui. The first split began in 1964 which created PCP-Bandera Roja and PCP Unidad. PCP-Bandera Roja split a total of three times until 1970 when PCP-Sendero Luminoso led by Abimael Guzmán was created.⁷⁸ The split between Bandera Roja and Sendero Luminoso was no doubt influenced by Guzmán's trip to China in 1964 (during Mao's Cultural Revolution) where

⁷⁶ Alexander, R. J. (1999). *International Maoism in the Developing World*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 14-5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁸ Navarro, P. (2010). A Maoist Counterpoint : Peruvian Maoism Beyond Sendero Luminoso. *Latin American Perspectives*, 154

the linkages between Maoism and Mariátegui became clear. This trip would become significant even in the methods that the Shining Path ultimately used. In *Interview to Chairman Gonzalo*⁷⁹, Guzmán recalls an explosives training course, a lesson he would pass on to Shining Path members in their bombing of infrastructure missions. It was during this time that Guzmán was able to see first-hand the peasant fueled revolution that Mao was leading and was able to connect it to the ideas surrounding Peruvian classes developed by Mariátegui.

José Carlos Mariátegui's influence in the development of the Shining Path is evident. His works developed the idea of Peruvian indigenismo that emphasized the role of the indigenous peasant in before the development of a communist state. Much like Karl Marx's association of the role of the proletariat in the Communist Revolution, Mariátegui emphasizes the indigenous peasant. This is because of the agrarian state (instead of the industrial apparatus within which the proletariat is associated) in which the indigenous population in Peru found itself. He also exposes the exploitation of the indigenous by the white and mestizo classes in both the urban and rural areas of Peru.⁸⁰ This agrarian state continued even into the 1970s and 80s when the Shining Path was taking shape. This agrarian state could also be found in Mao's China where the Maoist branch of communism seemed to be working at the time. Guzmán, having already studied Mariátegui with his involvement in the Peruvian Communist Party, benefitted from seeing this first hand during his visit there and was able to make a clear connection between Maoism and Mariátegui

⁷⁹ El Diario. (1991). *Interview with Chairman Gonzalo*. Berkeley: The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru

⁸⁰ Mariátegui, J. C. (1969). *Ideología Y Política*. Lima, Peru: Biblioteca "Amauta"

Progression of Violence

Based on the Maoist thought that he adopted and José Carlos Mariátegui's influence, Guzmán began his revolution in the Andes, the Peruvian version of the countryside. His location in Ayacucho only helped to start a revolution under Maoist principles. Around the start of the Shining Path, it was already clear that peasantry was being marginalized. Even the reforms General Velasco put in place failed to truly empower the peasantry. The Shining Path was able to become the de facto protector of the peasantry and began to work against the government in order to do so. This status as the protector of the peasantry helped to carry out the revolution in the way Mao had envisioned, by mobilizing the peasantry and ultimately cutting off the cities.⁸¹

However, the Shining Path had a very black and white view of the world. A person was either a part of the cause and willing to die for it or was against it and must die as a result. Their methods were truly brutal, involving strict adherence to the Shining Path philosophy to avoid punishments which would often end in death. Their philosophy was that the only way to create the utopia they searched for was to purify the nation, to cut out the cancer that was the corruption within the government. This was how the "river of blood" that Guzmán called for was created.⁸² This was how they became the terrorist group that forever changed Peru's history.

The Shining Path was very clear on its stance on violence. From the language that is used in speeches, to the philosophies its revolution was based on, to its practices,

⁸¹ Starn, O. (1995). Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the refusal of history. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 27(2), 408, 415.

⁸² Gorriti, G. (1999). *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru*. London: The University of North Carolina Press, 105

violence and violent notions are easily noticed. In an extensive interview with *El Diario* newspaper, Guzmán made clear the role of violence in the Shining Path –

With regard to violence we start from the principle established by Chairman Mao Tsetung: violence, that is the need for revolutionary violence, is a universal law with no exception... without revolutionary violence one class cannot replace another, an old order cannot be overthrown to create a new one – today a new order led by the proletariat through Communist Parties.⁸³

Maoism had a significant influence over the development of the Shining Path and its philosophies. Maoism emphasized a shift to guerilla tactics which the Shining Path readily made use of, often hiding themselves within communities in the highlands, especially when opposition, like government forces including the military and the police, would come to find them. Another characteristic of the Shining Path is its incredible discipline and strict adherence to Maoism and “Gonzalo thought” that Guzmán developed out of Maoism and its principles of violence in particular.⁸⁴ Followers of the Shining Path were unwavering in their goals and mission, even when it meant the massacring of an entire community. This unwavering adherence and discipline is part of the reason that the conflict lasted as long as it did.

Despite this heavy emphasis on violence, at first the Shining Path worked well with the peasantry and targeted government figures or undesirables within the rural

⁸³ *El Diario*. (1991). *Interview with Chairman Gonzalo*. Berkeley: The Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, 31

⁸⁴ Starn, O. (1995). Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the refusal of history. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 27(2), 411.

community (thieves, drunks, corrupt figures, etc.).⁸⁵ In a sense, the Shining Path was filling a role in which the government had failed and was welcomed to the area; they were policing the area, doling out what seemed like justice, and developing a sense of order in an often forgotten area of Peru. This form of justice was indeed violent, and over time the Shining Path grew more and more extreme, to the point of attacking dissenters, meaning people who could have been potential recruits if they hadn't been against the Shining Path, however, in the eyes of those in power in Lima, because of the initial interaction between the indigenous and the Shining Path, these conflicts would be seen as skirmishes among the indigenous in the Andes and therefore did not require extensive government intervention. When the government did respond, usually through use of the military, it only served to alienate the peasantry even more and give them further reason to side with the Shining Path. When the military was involved they would often use indiscriminate brutality including methods such as torture, disappearances, and murders as a way of finding Shining Path members.⁸⁶

Part of the military's brutality is explained by that same racial tension that was discussed earlier as well as by the Shining Path's use of guerilla tactics. Other things to consider would be the very location of Peru's military headquarters: Lima. This means that the military is located in one of the urban areas of Peru where ideas of the inferiority of the rural peasantry and the poor in general could be passed on to the incoming members of the military. Because the military was able to view the indigenous as a lower class, it made it easier to enact violence against them regardless of whether or not they were a part of the Shining Path. This was only more complicated because, as it was a

⁸⁵ Ron, J. (2001). Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation. *Journal of Peace Research*, XXXVIII(5), 572.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 587

guerrilla group, it was extremely difficult to identify a Shining Path member from the general population. To those who were not from the area (as was the case with much of the military) it was extremely difficult to identify a Shining Path member from the general population.

Over time the number of people who were against the Shining Path, with its unyielding severity and increasing demands, grew. The Shining Path did not allow for dissenters; the “either you are with us or you are against us” mentality that was imbedded in Shining Path ideology ultimately lead to extensive violence against civilians. In 1983 committed a massacre in Lucanamarca where 69 people died, mostly from machete hacks but also from close range gunshots to the head. Among the dead there were women and children including pregnant women and a six month old child.⁸⁷ The killing was obviously indiscriminate and had the purpose of scaring those opposed into following Shining Path beliefs. It aimed to annihilate a village which did not agree to the Shining Path’s philosophies. This was by no means the only massacre that the Shining Path committed nor was it the most brutal of methods that it used.

The Shining Path’s brutality was not limited to the countryside; by 1990 the Shining Path had called for an “armed strike” in the capital, Lima.⁸⁸ They would seek out and kill community leaders like union leaders, teachers and heads of soup kitchens, this would limit the personal and collective agency of local leaders and would strengthen fear based structures in the community. There is one particularly famous incident – the murder of María Elena Moyano, a woman from a squatter settlement in Lima who was a

⁸⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n. d.). *Final Report*. Retrieved October 11, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: <http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/index.php>

⁸⁸ Becker, M. (2006). Peruvian shining path. In J. DeFronzo (Ed.), *Revolutionary Movements in World History, From 1750 to the Present* (pp. 651). Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.

member of the Women's Federation which organized soup kitchens, day care centers and health clinics. She also founded the Vaso de Leche (Glass of Milk) movement which distributed donated food supplies to children.

From the playground, an unknown woman approached, gun in hand and backed by several youths, who were also armed. Moyano's friends tried to form a protective circle around her when they saw the intruder but she said, "This is for me," and stepped out to deal with the armed woman. She was shot. Her weeping nephew tried unsuccessfully to prevent the murderer and her accomplices from igniting a stick of dynamite that had tied to Moyano's body.⁸⁹

The way in which Moyano was murdered goes to show the ruthlessness with which the Shining Path committed its murders. Here was a woman who was essentially working to improve her community because her government wouldn't do it for her, and the Shining Path made it a point to stop her and keep people in fear.

Dynamite and bombs seems to be a common tool that the Shining Path used. Along with directly using them to blow up its enemies, the Shining Path would also send children to their parents with packages which hid explosives within.⁹⁰ There were also multiple car bombings within Lima which would target television stations, business areas, and government buildings. It would also often use dynamite to break water and power lines, particularly those for Lima.⁹¹ The effects of such an action may seem small at first, but the power outages alone would leave people hungry due to food spoilage and

⁸⁹ Guillermoprieto, Alma. *The Heart That Bleeds: Latin American Now*. 1st. New York: Vintage Books, 1994. 277

⁹⁰ Kirk, R. (1997). *The Monke'ys Paw: New Chronicles from Peru*. (1st ed.). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press., 98.

⁹¹ Manrique, N. (1998). The war for the central sierra. In S. Stern (Ed.), *Shining and other paths: War and Society in 1980-1995* (pp. 196). Durham: Duke University Press Books.

having the water lines broken or mixed with sewage was almost unbearable for those who were affected. Ultimately the effects on morale and the economy (keeping in mind the already precarious economic position Peru was experiencing at the time with hyperinflation) would become crippling and would ultimately prompt extreme measures by the government.

By the time the Shining Path had begun its strike against Lima, it had created fear and chaos throughout the Andes. Its strike against Lima only extended that madness. The truly frightening aspect of the Shining Path was how ardently its members believed in the philosophy behind the movement, despite the personal risk or the amount of bloodshed that it caused. By having such dedicated members, however, the Shining Path had very consistent methods that would become patterns thus establishing and reinforcing structures, especially domination structures. This means that as the Shining Path continued its violent workings in the Andes, people either accepted these new structures and were bound to them thus followed the wishes of the Shining Path, or they chose to fight against these structures actively by either continuing their lives without fear of the Shining Path or would join resistances like *rondas campesinas* or community development works. Meanwhile, the government responded to the Shining Path by using violence as a way to quell its revolution. What is significant about the government, particularly once Alberto Fujimori's administration, is the way in which it used structures to either gain or maintain power as the following chapter will discuss.

Chapter 4: The Role of the Fujimori Administration

July 28, 1990 marked the beginning of Alberto Fujimori's presidency. He is often credited with defeating the Shining Path thanks to extreme crackdowns against terrorism, though those crackdowns also required the sacrifice of many rights of all citizens. Despite this he remained very popular throughout his presidency and was even elected to an unprecedented (and arguably illegal) third term. Much of his success and popularity can be attributed to two main aspects of his presidency: his balancing of the Peruvian economy (which was spiraling out of control) and his defeat of the Shining Path. However, much of his eventual downfall can be linked in some way to both of these features. A backlash began as videos surfaced revealing Fujimori's close advisor and head of the National Intelligence Service bribing senators.⁹² This, mixed with growing fatigue of Fujimori's continuing semi-dictatorial administration, would lead to him suddenly fleeing of Peru and placing himself in a self-imposed exile to Japan in 2000. When Fujimori returned to South America in 2005 with the intention of once again running for presidency in Peru, he was extradited to Peru and was put on trial for various charges including corruption, and human rights abuses.⁹³

Aside from his involvement in fighting the Shining Path and what he deemed to be terrorism as a whole, it important to look at how Fujimori managed to manipulate existing structures within Peruvian society, especially those with links to fear which had been exacerbated by the Shining Path, as a means of maintaining power. It shows how important it is to take into account existing structures. The Fujimori administration is

⁹² McMillan, J., & Zoido, P. (2004). How to Subvert Democracy: Montesinos in Peru. *Journal Of Economic Perspectives*, 18(4), 69

⁹³ Burt, J. (2009). Guilty as Charged: The Trial of Former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori for Human Rights Violations. *International Journal Of Transitional Justice*, 3(3), 395

also a good working example of Giddens's structuration because it clearly shows how its actions managed to change structures to better suit its purposes, even if the effects were temporary.

Structures played a large role in the election of Alberto Fujimori as well as in the way he ran his administration. Much of what he did in his later years as president played into structures based in fear that had been well reinforced by the Shining Path. What this chapter will discuss is the way in which structures played a role in Alberto Fujimori's election and will answer questions regarding the way in which he combated the Shining Path as well as other groups that he deemed to be terrorist organizations like the MRTA (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement). The main question for this chapter is how were structures were used by Fujimori and his administration? It is important to understand how various types of structures were used because that they influenced the actions of voters and will continue to do so.

Fujimori Election

Alberto Fujimori was born to Japanese immigrants and came from humble origin which would help Fujimori relate to the peasant voters he would focus on during his election. His greater understanding of the peasant population can also be linked to his studies in agricultural engineering which he received a bachelor's degree from the Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina, an agrarian school where he also served as a professor.⁹⁴ He understood agriculture both from his studies and from his family's own farming ventures and in that way he connected the agrarian centered Peruvian population that consisted of the Andean peasantry. These would all be traits that would help connect

⁹⁴ Conaghan, C. M. (2005). *Fujimori's Peru : deception in the public sphere / Catherine M. Conaghan*. Pittsburgh, PA : University of Pittsburgh Press, c2005, 16

Fujimori to the greater Peruvian population the majority of which were also from humble origins rather than appealing to the historically more politically powerful Limeñan population.

The success of Alberto Fujimori's initial campaign was helped by a few characteristics that set him apart from his competition. Overall, he was a markedly different candidate compared to the rest, especially when compared to his main competitor, the writer-journalist-politician Mario Vargas Llosa. Where Vargas Llosa by this point was a well-known writer, Fujimori was an agrarian engineer. Where Vargas Llosa had ties to the upper classes, Fujimori dedicated his campaigns around the middle and lower classes and made great efforts, even in his presidency to reach even the most isolated of villages in Peru, he was notably the first Peruvian President to do so.⁹⁵ Race would also play a factor here, where Vargas Llosa is a white criollo, Fujimori was of Japanese descent.⁹⁶

Fujimori in general seemed more like the indigenous peasantry. Fujimori spoke with an accent which was somewhat similar to the Quechua accent when speaking in Spanish, developed through a childhood growing up in a Japanese-speaking household.⁹⁷ During Fujimori's travels to rural areas, he would be seen wearing semi-traditional clothing like the ubiquitous chullo, (a knit hat commonly worn in the Andes usually made of either alpaca or llama wool) and another Andean staple, the poncho which he would sometimes wear while campaigning.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Kampwirth, K. (2010). *Gender and populism in Latin America: Passionate politics*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press., 142.

⁹⁶ Someone of Spanish ancestry

⁹⁷ Kampwirth, K. (2010). *Gender and populism in Latin America: Passionate politics*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press., 142..

⁹⁸ Political Conditions. (2011). *Peru Country Review*, 10

As a man of Japanese descent and slightly darker skin, he was physically more like peasantry in the Andes than most people of white European descent who would often occupy the political arena in Peru. He used his race as a part of his campaign by adopting the nickname “el chino” – “the Chinaman” – which his supporters affectionately dubbed him and would continue to refer to himself using this term of endearment throughout his presidency. His race would also influence his campaign through his use of slogans like, “Un presidente como tu” – “A president like you.”⁹⁹ Throughout his campaign and presidency, he made sure to reach out to the peasantry and gain their support as could be seen to his dedication to travelling to even remote areas and interact with the people there. It finally seemed like there was someone there to speak out and defend them; someone who would actually be dedicated to their interests.

Ultimately Alberto Fujimori had closer roots to Peru’s lower classes during a time where the lower classes had little credible representation and were eager to play a greater part in the political reality of Peru. The poor majority of voters found it hard to believe that Vargas Llosa had their interests in mind rather than those of the industrialists and bankers with whom he surrounded himself.¹⁰⁰ After years of military dictatorships and the serious mismanagement and corruption previous president, Alan Garcia, which all lead to the extreme inflation of over 7000% the Peruvian public were weary of traditional politicians.¹⁰¹ They were ready for the outsider that Fujimori represented. All of this

⁹⁹ Marlay, Ross. “Fujimori, Alberto.” Encyclopedia of the developing world. New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. 685

¹⁰⁰ Starn, O., Degregori, C. I., & Kirk, R. (1995). *The peru reader : History, culture, politics* Durham : Duke University Press, 1995, 442

¹⁰¹ Rochabrun, Guillermo. 1996. "Deciphering the enigmas of Alberto Fujimori. (Cover story)." *NACLA Report On The Americas* 30, no. 1: 16. *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 18, 2011).

would come to his advantage and Fujimori would rely on these traits to gain votes, especially among the peasantry that would be crucial to his election.

What this all links back to are many of the colonial structures, particularly those concerning race and class, which had continued to be reinforced over the years and the growing willingness of the indigenous population throughout Peru to break these structures. As discussed earlier, semi-segregational practices that had taken place in Peru (particularly in Lima) led to a concentration of Andean populations in rural areas, however once the Shining Path began violent campaigns in those areas, there began an indigenous migration towards the periphery of Lima.¹⁰² Having this consolidation also concentrates the problems, be they economic, race-based or discrimination, that this population faces which in turn makes it easier for these groups to unite under a common figure. In Peru during the 1980's and 1990's, there were two main figures that actively showed an interest in indigenous problems and had potential for creating the changes necessary to ameliorate those problems. These two figures were the Shining Path and Alberto Fujimori. When it came for the peasants throughout Peru to democratically elect their next leader, the majority voted for Fujimori, despite his fairly unknown status in the political realm.

The Start of a Dictator

The realities that Fujimori faced upon his election have been touched upon already. The Shining Path had been steadily gaining power for the past 10 years and was becoming increasingly violent attacking Lima's infrastructure like water and power lines

¹⁰² Burt, J. M. (1998). Shining Path and the "decisive battle" in Lima's *Barriadas*: The case of Villa El Salvador. In *Shining and other paths: War and Society in 1980-1995* (pp. 282). Durham: Duke University Press Books.

and was also resorting to car bombing financial centers.¹⁰³ The deadliest attack on these financial centers happened in the Tarata district of Lima in 1992 which left 25 people dead and 155 people hurt, and damaged 183 homes as well as 400 businesses.¹⁰⁴ The difficulties that Peruvians as a whole faced as a result of the Shining Path were only exacerbated by the mismanagement of the Alan Garcia administration and the hyperinflation along with the IMF declaring that Peru was ineligible for international loans after Garcia failed to repay outstanding debt.¹⁰⁵ Despite the seemingly insurmountable obstacles that Fujimori faced, most of the terrorism that Peru faced during this period was quelled and the economy was restored, bringing down the inflation rate significantly.¹⁰⁶ However, this was all done at the cost of much of the democratic systems in Peru as well as human rights.

On April 5, 1992, Fujimori essentially became a dictator. He dissolved congress, stripped the judiciary, and suspended the constitution. His word became law. Because Fujimori changed the legal structures around him, he was able provide large authoritative allowances to the various forces within the military including the National Intelligence Service (SIN), the police, and the army, the last of which created the Grupo Colina death squad whose purpose was to seek and kill subversives.¹⁰⁷ This is when the police and military were pushed into increased action and assassinations increased drastically.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Sullivan, A. (2010). The Judgment against Fujimori for Human Rights Violations. *American University International Law Review*, 25(4), 660

¹⁰⁴ El, C. (2010, July 17). Tarata recordó sus heridas. *El Comercio (Lima, Peru)*.

¹⁰⁵ Rochabrun, Guillermo. 1996. "Deciphering the enigmas of Alberto Fujimori. (Cover story)." *NACLA Report On The Americas* 30, no. 1: 16. *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 18, 2011). El, C. (2010, July 17). Tarata recordó sus heridas. *El Comercio (Lima, Peru)*.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Burt, J., & Youngers, C. A. (2010). Peruvian Precedent: The Fujimori Conviction and the Ongoing Struggle for Justice. *NACLA Report On The Americas*, 43(2), 7

¹⁰⁸ Lucero, W. *The rise and fall of shining path*. Retrieved October 10, 2011, from <http://www.coha.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-shining-path/>

Had the Shining Path been an organization that was clearly set apart from the rest of society, meaning that members were clearly distinguished from the general population for example by the use of uniforms, the increase in action would not have had as negative of an impact on Peruvian society as it had. Unfortunately the police and military did not have such an easy time separating members from non-members given the guerilla nature of the group. This meant that the increase in violent force against the Shining Path also resulted in the deaths, disappearances, and wrongful imprisonment of innocent people along with valid members often based on suspicion rather than proof. Fujimori, under council of Vladimiro Montesinos (head of the National Intelligence Service), created death squads such as Grupo Colina who according to the TRC's final report committed, "assassinations, forced disappearances and massacres."¹⁰⁹ It was also during this time that the government went after students in universities.¹¹⁰ The reasoning behind this can be linked to how the philosophy of the Shining Path movement started in the University of Ayacucho where Abimael Guzmán had been teaching and Communist and Maoists beliefs were being spread among students through universities.¹¹¹

While Fujimori has been severely criticized for his involvement in multiple controversies which ultimately led to his trial and arrest, much of these controversies could also be linked to Fujimori's main aid whom he trusted: Vladimiro Montesinos who had his own history of corrupt dealings prior to becoming Fujimori's aide. The reason this relationship is significant with regards to Fujimori's actions is both because of

¹⁰⁹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n.d.). Final Report. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php

¹¹⁰ Burt, J. (2009). Guilty as charged: The trial of former peruvian president alberto fujimori for Human rights violations. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 3(3), 387

¹¹¹ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n.d.). Final Report. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php

Montesinos' morally suspect past, and also because as an authoritarian leader with no prior experience in politics there is little doubt that Fujimori would have needed guidance from somewhere. There was little doubt that Montesinos was Fujimori's confidante who, "... ran a shadowy government within a government as chief of the Military Intelligence Service."¹¹² He has often been seen at with Fujimori within the Presidential Palace and in personal home videos which have been featured in films like "The Fall of Fujimori."¹¹³ It was also through these films that Montesinos was caught bribing opposing congressmen to support Fujimori.¹¹⁴ President Fujimori is often typecast as a devious leader with no regret for what happened during his presidency, and while was by no means completely innocent of his crimes, I feel that it is important to make clear that he was not alone in these actions and that he was seriously influenced by Montesinos.

Despite the problems that the self-coup created, polls showed that the vast majority (between 70% and 90%) of the population supported Fujimori in this decision.¹¹⁵ A history of instability, as earlier discussed in the chapter concerning history, combined with the disorienting actions of the Shining Path resulted in a population that was ready for a stable government, even if it meant having an extremely authoritarian leader that was willing to use the military to execute his bidding. What was important at this point was to stop and curtail terrorism and to fix the economy so that citizens may be

¹¹² Starn, O., Degregori, C., & Kirk, R. (1995). "The Struggle for Survival" *The Peru Reader : history, culture, politics / edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk*. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995, 442

¹¹³ "The Fall of Fujimori" is a particularly relevant documentary because it is primarily based on interviews with Alberto Fujimori after his self-exile from Peru and it also incorporates many recordings varying from Fujimori's home videos, to news footage. Perry, E. (Director) (2006). *The Fall of Fujimori* [DVD].

¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁴ Starn, O., Degregori, C., & Kirk, R. (1995). "The Struggle for Survival" *The Peru Reader : history, culture, politics / edited by Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk*. Durham : Duke University Press, 1995, 442. And Perry, E. (Director) (2006). *The Fall of Fujimori* [DVD].

¹¹⁵ Ron, J. (2001). Ideology in Context: Explaining Sendero Luminoso's Tactical Escalation. *Journal Of Peace Research*, 38(5), 588

able to live ordinary lives. There was a growing consensus that people were tired of the madness that was consuming Peru at the time and that authoritarianism was an acceptable solution to the chaos.¹¹⁶

On September 12, 1992 just months after the self-coup, Abimael Guzmán was captured. By the time Abimael Guzmán was captured the people of Peru were sick of terrorism and wanted to eradicate it all. Fujimori (and his authoritarian policies) was the means of doing so, for this reason when he ran for his third term in 2000 he was able to win with a considerable margin. The fact is that Fujimori was a very charismatic president and improved the nation tenfold. He was of course credited with the defeat of the Shining Path, and he managed to turn around Peru's inflation rate and grow the Peruvian economy, but most importantly it really seemed like he cared about the nation and his people, particularly when he first began to run for president.¹¹⁷ Despite this, in 2001 Fujimori resigned and exiled himself to Japan until 2009 because of a corruption scandal involving Montesinos bribing congressmen which caused a total uproar where much of the public completely change their opinion of Fujimori. It betrayed the trust that those who voted for Fujimori had; they believed that they finally had a proper president that did not cheat his people, but instead they saw another despot in the history of a long line of corrupt leaders. When he returned in 2009 he was put on trial because of this scandal and the human rights abuses found under the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's findings.

¹¹⁶ Burt, J. (2006). "QUIEN HABLA ES TERRORISTA": The Political Use of Fear in Fujimori's Peru. *Latin American Research Review*, 41(3), 42

¹¹⁷ Taylor, L. (2005). From Fujimori to Toledo: The 2001 elections and the vicissitudes of democratic government in Peru. *Government and Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*, 40(4), 568.

Fujimori saw Guzmán's capture as a sign that his policies were a success and his extreme measures were justified. However despite the capture of Guzmán and other key terrorist members, these same policies continued and even escalated during the last conflicts involving the second main terrorist group MRTA (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement), especially in 1996 when it took over the Japanese embassy and took hostage diplomats that were found there for nearly four months.^{118,119} In all reality, however, the capture and imprisonment of Abimael Guzmán was almost completely debilitating to the Shining Path.¹²⁰ If anything the capture of Guzmán should have meant a reversal in policies and a return to true democracy.

This was not the case, however. Instead Fujimori made examples of smaller terrorist groups, particularly the MRTA, and used them as an excuse to maintain his dictatorial policies; in this way he maintained and manipulated the structures of fear that had helped elect him to begin with.¹²¹ These same structures would continue to help in his following two elections despite any wavering supporters. Fujimori used his success against the Shining Path as well as the continuing acts of terrorism (though they had been significantly reduced soon after Guzmán's arrest) particularly from MRTA, and the improvements in the Peruvian economy to create the sense that he and his iron fisted policies were needed and would continue to be needed.¹²² Fujimori knew that he needed the public to fear a return of the terror that had plagued the country since the 80s, and it

¹¹⁸ Theidon, K. (2006). The mask and the mirror: Facing up to the past in postwar Peru. *Anthropologica*, 48(1), 98.

¹¹⁹ There is footage of Fujimori walking through the ambassadorial residence filled with the bodies of MRTA members, all of which were killed during the raid, which can also be seen in Perry's "The Fall of Fujimori" Perry, E. (Director) (2006). *The Fall of Fujimori* [DVD].

¹²⁰ Lucero, W. *The rise and fall of shining path*. Retrieved October 10, 2011, from <http://www.coha.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-shining-path/>

¹²¹ Burt, J. (2008). Fujimori on Trial. *NACLA Report On The Americas*, 41(3), 12

¹²² Burt, J. (2006). "QUIEN HABLA ES TERRORISTA": The Political Use of Fear in Fujimori's Peru. *Latin American Research Review*, 41(3), 46

was using these structures of fear that he could justify the creation of groups like Grupo Colina.

Tools Against Terrorism

It wasn't until two years after the first incidents of violence that the government declared an "emergency zone" in the three Andean regions with the most Shining Path activity in 1982.¹²³ The declaration of emergency zones, however, had some serious consequences with regards to the use of violence as it gave the military and police forces a significant amount of liberty in its actions which would ultimately be abused by many. With the suspended protections against human rights violations as a result of a state of emergency, the military and police were able to arbitrarily arrest any suspicious person and torture suspects for information regarding other Shining Path members and Abimael Guzmán. While the government had started using force prior to the Fujimori administration, the results of Fujimori's coup would facilitate the use of even more force.

Both the Shining Path and government forces were known for using a large amount of violence as a means of invalidating their opponents and as a means of sending a message to whomever they deemed formed a resistance to their goals.¹²⁴ These types of incidents would only occur more frequently after Fujimori's self-coup as anti-terrorist measures were facilitated by the dissolution of congress and the changes to the judiciary like masked judges. The incorporation of masked judges did two things. First it protected judges from being directly targeted by the Shining Path and any retribution that might have resulted from a negative ruling for a Shining Path member. Secondly, it gave

¹²³ Palmer, D. (1986). *Rebellion in Rural Peru: The Origins and Evolution of Sendero Luminoso. Comparative Politics*, 18(2), 139

¹²⁴ Burt, J. (2006). "QUIEN HABLA ES TERRORISTA": The Political Use of Fear in Fujimori's Peru. *Latin American Research Review*, 41(3), 40

judges impunity from their decisions and actions in the courtroom thus giving them potentially harmful unchecked freedoms.

There were even instances where if a Shining Path member was captured and gave the information that was asked for, he or she would still be killed.¹²⁵ In the documentary *State of Fear*, one ex-military officer admits to this happening. He described how he and his group had captured suspected Shining Path members. They strapped them to the bottom of a helicopter in flight and demanded information, when they refused the military officers cut the ropes one at a time until there was only one Shining Path member left. He gave the information that the military officers were looking for, but they cut his rope as well.¹²⁶ At times it would seem like the government forces would kill as indiscriminately as the Shining Path.

Another reaction to the Shining Path that occurred later in the conflict was the establishment of paramilitary groups whose sole purpose was to look for Shining Path members and officials, Guzmán in particular. President Fujimori, under council of Vladimiro Montesinos (head of the National Intelligence Service, SIN), created paramilitary groups turn death squads such as Grupo Colina who according to the TRC's final report committed, "assassinations, forced disappearances and massacres."¹²⁷ While these groups were intended for the search and capture of Shining Path members, these incidences were not always enacted against actual members, but rather innocent civilians

¹²⁵ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n.d.). *Final Report*. Retrieved May 6, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php

¹²⁶ Onís, P., Kinoy, P., Yates, P., & Duffy, K. (2005). *State of fear [videorecording (DVD)] / a film by Paco de Onís, Peter Kinoy, Pamela Yates ; produced by Paco de Onís ; directed by Pamela Yates*. New York : Skylight Pictures : New Day Films, 2005.

¹²⁷ Truth and Reconciliation Commission. (n.d.). *Final Report*. Retrieved May 6, 2011, from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación: www.cverdad.org.pe/ingles/ifinal/conclusiones.php

at times. As mentioned earlier, much of this can be attributed to the guerilla nature of the Shining Path and the difficulty in differentiating lying members from average citizens.

In June 1992, a cell within DINCOTE (the counter-terrorism intelligence agency, Dirección Nacional Contra el Terrorismo) created GEIN (Grupo Especial de Inteligencia) arrested and interrogated the logistics and financial chief of the Shining Path. Through this interrogation, DINCOTE was able gather information regarding safe houses in Lima that Guzmán could have been using. What came next is a process of classic detective work whereby surveillance was kept over these houses and eventually items known to be favorites as well as necessities for Guzmán (his psoriasis medicine, empty cartons and bottles of his favorite brands of cigarettes and vodka) were found in the trash of one of the safe houses.¹²⁸ For a leader who had previously been so careful and systematic with his operation, what lead to his arrest seems to be a result of sloppiness that comes with long periods of hiding and increased risk.

Guzmán was comfortable as the leader of the most violent and significant revolutionary group that Peru had ever faced and yet had remained untouched for the previous 12 years up until the time of his capture. By moving to Lima, the heart of the Peruvian government, military, and police force all of which were searching for him is evidence of his presumed feelings of being untouchable. Combining the simple change in residence with relatively reckless actions like throwing and filming parties, and not guarding his personal effects (like the videos of said parties which were found before his arrest and proved that he was still alive, and the trash that gave him away) all of which

¹²⁸ Lane, C. (2000, December 7). 'Superman' Meets Shining Path: Story of a CIA Success; With Agency Aid, Peru Captured Chief Rebel. *The Washington Post*, A01

are precautions that should be used by people in hiding.¹²⁹ Given the fact that by this point he had been in hiding for the better part of 12 years since the beginning of the conflict, his slip-ups are somewhat understandable.

While DINCOTE was known for questionable and brutal practices, it was ultimately what was responsible for bringing down the Shining Path.¹³⁰ A main factor of this success was the fact that they kept Guzmán alive during his arrest. This meant that he did not turn into a martyr as would have happened given his extremely loyal following. It is difficult to say that a completely nonviolent movement would have been as effective. The reason being is that in this situation a nonviolent movement would require changing the mind of a large group of people that were completely in-line with Shining Path principles and had absolute faith in the revolution as one with merit and that is necessary. It would have also required that Guzmán have a total ideological shift as he was ideological center of the Shining Path. Given the amount of success Guzmán and the Shining Path was having, it is unlikely that this would have happened without the use of some sort of violence to spur this change.

¹²⁹ Lane, C. (2000, December 7). 'Superman' Meets Shining Path: Story of a CIA Success; With Agency Aid, Peru Captured Chief Rebel. *The Washington Post*, A01.

¹³⁰ Caro Coria, D. C. (2010). Prosecuting international crimes in Peru. *International Criminal Law Review*, 10(4), 589

Chapter 5: Rondas Campesinas and Lima's Upper Class

So far we have discussed the two main parties that are thought of when speaking of this conflict: the Shining Path and the government via President Alberto Fujimori. This, however, leaves one large party unaccounted for. It is important to keep in mind the role of the general population in Peru, meaning those not tied to either the government or the Shining Path, during the 80s and 90s. While the actions of the general population alone may not have directly brought down the Shining Path, the indigenous population remains one of the most affected groups during this conflict due to the position it was in while the upper class population for the largely kept a hands off approach to the conflict. Because of this the indigenous population was caught in the middle of the crossfire of this conflict, becoming victims of both the Shining Path as well as the government.¹³¹

During this chapter a few questions will be answered. First, what role did the upper class urban population and the indigenous population play? How did structures negatively impact the indigenous population? What influenced the indigenous to actively use agency more than the urban upper class? To answer these questions, it is necessary to take into account all that has previously been discussed, from theories about structures, agency, and structurality, to Peruvian history, to the rise of the Shining Path, and to the way in which the government responded to the Shining Path. We will see that ultimately the indigenous population of Peru were left with few resources and yet were still able to utilize their agency to protect themselves because they had the more to lose than those who did not act.

¹³¹ Lucero, W. *The rise and fall of shining path*. Retrieved October 10, 2011, from <http://www.coha.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-shining-path/>

The Crossfire

The brutality that the general population experienced has been shown in the previous chapters. From the public executions done by the Shining Path, to the massacres done by government forces, the 1980s and 1990s easily became the bloodiest two decades in Peruvian history with a total death toll reaching about 70,000 with the responsibility split almost evenly between the Shining Path and government forces. The Shining Path was known for its strict adherence to its principles and a complete unwillingness to waver in its ideals, which as mentioned earlier, combined with its already violent philosophy, would lead to an almost black and white world view where those who opposed the group or were even suspected of sympathizing with the government would be targeted and killed.¹³² This is one of the main reasons the Shining Path's death count was so high. The government had other reasons, however. Aside from its unwillingness to employ non-violent tactics towards the extremely violent Shining Path, the government's tactics were equally as deadly as those of the Shining Path as seen previously with the existence of death squads and the use of massacres. This, combined with its difficulty in distinguishing the guerilla members from an ordinary Andean citizen, partially stemming from similar the attire worn by both, led to a large casualty rate for the government as well.¹³³

Within the general population, it was the Andean peasantry that was targeted the most from both groups. Part of the reason is because the Shining Path initially grew its participation base in this region. In order to maintain a strong philosophical base, however, the joining peasants would have to change their ways of life in order to align

¹³² Lucero, W. *The rise and fall of shining path*. Retrieved October 10, 2011, from <http://www.coha.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-shining-path/>

¹³³ Ibid.

themselves with the ideals of Maoism as well as the Shining Path. This meant a forced transition into subsistence farming rather than production for profit as well as a rejection of what the Shining Path considered to be “modern” instead preferring the traditional, including the use of traditional farming techniques.^{134,135} Any refusal to follow these changes would lead to extreme consequences, including a notoriously brutal death (as was the case with María Elena Moyano).¹³⁶ This in turn would lead to government forces, who often could not distinguish an innocent citizen from a Shining Path member, to come in and attempt to quell the violence initiated by the Shining Path.

The second reason as to why the Andean region experienced a disproportionate amount of hardship during this time can also be attributed to the differences in the two main subdivisions of the general population, which is characterized mainly between the Andean lower class and the Limeñan upper class. The Shining Path’s recruitment started in the Andes and initially worked diligently to control that portion of the population. Eventually, however, the Shining Path set its eyes on to the main city of Lima which required different tactics from those used in the Andes. This is because the population in Lima was, and remains to this day, much different as Limeños have a distinct cultural background with greater ties to the history of colonialism and a greater proportion of mestizo and European descendants. This distinction between these two populations is important because it meant that different tactics would have to be used. This difference

¹³⁴ Lucero, W. *The rise and fall of shining path*. Retrieved October 10, 2011, from <http://www.coha.org/the-rise-and-fall-of-shining-path/>.

¹³⁵ This emphasis on a rejection of modernism can be linked back to Maoism and China’s Cultural Revolution which established that revolution would come from the peasantry.

¹³⁶ Guillermprieto, Alma. *The Heart That Bleeds: Latin American Now*. 1st. New York: Vintage Books, 1994. 277

in populations could also account for a difference in the response by the two sub-groups within the general population.

The Formation of Rondas Campesinas

The establishment of the rondas campesinas is a key example in counter-Shining Path agency within the Andes. Given the marginal status that the indigenous population of Peru tends to receive, as discussed earlier, the rondas give a prime example of a counter to the idea that these individuals were so bound by structures imbedded in Peruvian society that they could do nothing. On the local level, as the Shining Path violence began in the Andes, peasant communities formed militia groups called “rondas campesinas,” which were essentially an independent peasant police dedicated to the protection of their village through the use of patrols. These patrols did not gain government support until 1986 under the Alan Garcia administration when they received legal rights and 1992 under Alberto Fujimori that they were legally allowed to use weapons in areas under an “emergency statement” which by that time was true throughout the majority of the Peruvian Andes.¹³⁷ They were an indication of how unprotected the indigenous peasantry was.

Overall the Peruvian government did not initially support the areas that the Shining Path attacked, and when the military or police forces were sent in, they were inadequate protection from the Shining Path. While the peasant rondas were poorly equipped at first for the task of fighting the Shining Path (they mostly had access to rudimentary weapons like lances, knives, slings, and homemade firearms)¹³⁸ they also

¹³⁷Palomino, G. N. (1996). The rise of the rondas campesinas. *Journal of Legal Pluralism*, (36), 117-8.

¹³⁸Fumerton, M. (2001). Rondas Campesinas in the Peruvian Civil War: Peasant Self-defence Organisations in Ayacucho. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, XX(4), 470-497, 488

had more at stake than members of the military. Unlike the military who were brought in from outside of the area, *ronderos* were defending something that was distinctly theirs; it was their homes, their families, their lives that they were defending. This alone made the peasantry, the very same group that the Shining Path initiated its fight for, an effective tool against the spread of terrorism at least in the countryside. This task became all the easier in 1991 when President Alberto Fujimori began expanding President Alan García's previous distribution of arms to the *rondas* and established them as *Comités de Autodefensa* (CAD) Self-defense Committees with legal standing.¹³⁹

While the *rondas* were established organically, without any government assistance, they would have had a near impossible time fighting the Shining Path were it not for the backing of the Peruvian government. With the emergence of *rondas*, the Shining Path became exceedingly more violent. As a result of the formation of these *rondas*, the Shining Path murdered 80 peasants in Lucanamarca in 1983, which Abimael Guzmán justified as an action of against imperial domination.¹⁴⁰ Such massacres against a poorly armed defense force like the *rondas* showed how one sided these confrontations could be. However, with government support, *rondas* were armed with better quality arms and had a better chance at defending their homes.

Despite its growing links to and support from the government, the *rondas* were not primarily a political movement, and for the most part were very much separate from the government's military forces. The *rondas* did not consider themselves a movement organized for the purpose of making a drastic change within the reality of Peru. In one

¹³⁹ Fumerton, M. (2001). *Rondas Campesinas in the Peruvian Civil War: Peasant Self-defence Organisations in Ayacucho*. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, XX(4), 470-497, 488

¹⁴⁰ Starn, O. (1996). *Senderos Inesperados: Las rondas campesinas de la sierra sur-central*. In Degregori, C. I., J. Coronel, P. del Pino and O. Starn (Eds.), 245

way, the rondas were in a way a manifestation of the way the peasantry felt about the government. The formation of proved the ineptitude of the government at the time and reinforced that same feeling among the campesinos.¹⁴¹ Despite this, the goal of the rondas was very simple; they were formed as a form of self-defense against the Shining Path and were a way to protect their communities.

Lima's Blindfold

It is interesting to juxtapose agency seen in the indigenous peasantry with the seemingly uninterested upper class of Lima, where there was no clear concentrated movement like the rondas, despite the elevated status of this population. In comparison with the peasants who usually hold little power and yet managed to establish a credible and moderately successful anti-Shining Path community militia, the socially and politically more powerful upper class in Lima did very little to stop the Shining Path. While part of this no doubt has to do with the delayed experience to which that the upper class was exposed, another factor that has previously discussed involves the idea among those in Lima that what happens in the Andes is completely separate and isolated from the lives in Lima.

This can come back down to structures. Over the course of Peruvian history there has been a pattern in the way that the upper classes interacted with the lower classes, especially those who came from indigenous roots. As mentioned earlier, the indigenous population in Peru has historically been on the lowest rungs of the social ladder.¹⁴² By reinforcing this notion, over time it becomes a structure where it becomes extremely

¹⁴¹ Starn, O. (1996). Senderos Inesperados: Las rondas campesinas de la sierra sur-central. In Degregori, C. I., J. Coronel, P. del Pino and O. Starn (Eds.), 249

¹⁴² Galt, W. R. (1950). Life in colonial Lima. *Hispania*, 33(3), 248.

difficult for someone of indigenous descent to be seen in a good light, especially by the upper class. This apathy towards the indigenous population combined with the often repeated notion that violence in the Andes was due to the intrinsically violent nature of the indigenous population found there only gave the upper classes of Lima more reason to ignore the violence that was occurring.¹⁴³ Another instance of the obvious marginalization of the indigenous can even be seen in the form of government support to cities in the Andean region like Ayacucho which was often neglected by the Peruvian government and was often a low priority for resources.¹⁴⁴ In this way the lack of interest and therefore lack of action towards protecting the Andean region would become a reinforced structure and a common practice.

This is all true for the time during which the Shining Path was focused in the Andean region, but even when the conflict came to Lima there was a distinct lack of action on behalf of the upper class. The Shining Path came into Lima a full 10 years after the start of its armed conflict, during which time little attention was paid to the rural inhabitants by the Limeñan upper class. It was the first time the upper class would experience a conflict like this one. It could be argued that those who made up the upper class simply did not know how to react to such violence, other than to depend on the government that had previously protected them so well. This willingness to depend on the government would help justify and build support for President Alberto Fujimori's extreme measures to eradicate so-called terrorism, even if it meant the installation of Fujimori as a dictator.

¹⁴³ Theidon, K. (2006). The mask and the mirror: Facing up to the past in postwar Peru. *Anthropologica*, 48(1), 89.

¹⁴⁴ Palmer, D. (1986). Rebellion in Rural Peru: The Origins and Evolution of Sendero Luminoso. *Comparative Politics*, 18(2), 139.

Conclusion

This era needs to be studied and understood. It is not enough to know the facts and figures of the number of deaths and the state of the economy at the time or even the amount of corruption that had taken place in the previous years. It is necessary to apply all of these facts to theories that can be applied to more than just one conflict. Agency and structuralism can be applied to a variety of different events, and while they are broad topics, they are useful for pointing out connections that otherwise wouldn't necessarily be made. By applying structuralism, we can see how much of history affected the events leading up to the beginning of the Shining Path. The Shining Path did not just appear because of the spread of communism that was occurring during the time. It can be traced back to the legacies of a multitude of leaders each of whom have shaped the Peruvian perception of what it is to be Peruvian and what a Peruvian government looks like. It can be traced back to centuries of the marginalization of the indigenous lower classes. At some point the frustrations experienced by people through these structures will lead to a breaking point and spur agency.

Knowing all of this, it is important to constantly evaluate society and determine when changes need to be made. What the conflict in Peru shows is that patterns in history develop into structures, and when patterns in governance and policing are violent the resulting structures will be violent as well. It becomes a situation that can seemingly only be dealt with using force, and extreme amounts of it in the case of the Shining Path. This research also shows how quickly new structures can be formed, like those based in fear from President Fujimori's presidency after he threw a self-coup. He continued to rule based on the fear of future attacks. However, if we are able to make adequate

changes before the breaking point, it can be possible to avoid violent outbreaks like what happened for two decades in Peru.

And if we are unable to do so, then agency still plays a role in how actions are taken. Structures do not completely stop agency, for this reason action is always possible and should violence begin to take place it is important to act to resolve the situation quickly rather than ignore it. If a problem like the initial act of violence from the Shining Path, the ballot box burning, is taken care of by society as a whole early then it doesn't escalate into such a conflict that leads to the amount of death and destruction that took place in the 20 years of fighting in Peru.

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