

SENDERO LUMINOSO AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN  
CONTEMPORARY PERU: CONQUERING THE OTHER

by

Wade W. Derkson

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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## ABSTRACT

In the years following World War II, Peru experienced rapid economic and cultural changes, but within the confines of capitalism's uneven and contradictory development. Attempts to resolve these economic and ethnic discrepancies at regional and national levels - the re-opening of an important Andean university, the 1968 "Revolution" carried out by the armed forces - combined with the international political fissures produced by the Sino-Soviet split and the student movement of the late 1960s, to create a conjuncture favourable to the emergence of Sendero Luminoso in 1980.

The complex, often ambiguous, ethnic landscape of the Andes, in which Sendero operates with mixed success, although long since penetrated by the destructive forces of capitalism, has proven impervious to Western social scientists and the Peruvian intellectual elite. In response to Sendero and the violence of the war both have resurrected, implicitly or explicitly, the old debate on the "Indian problem."

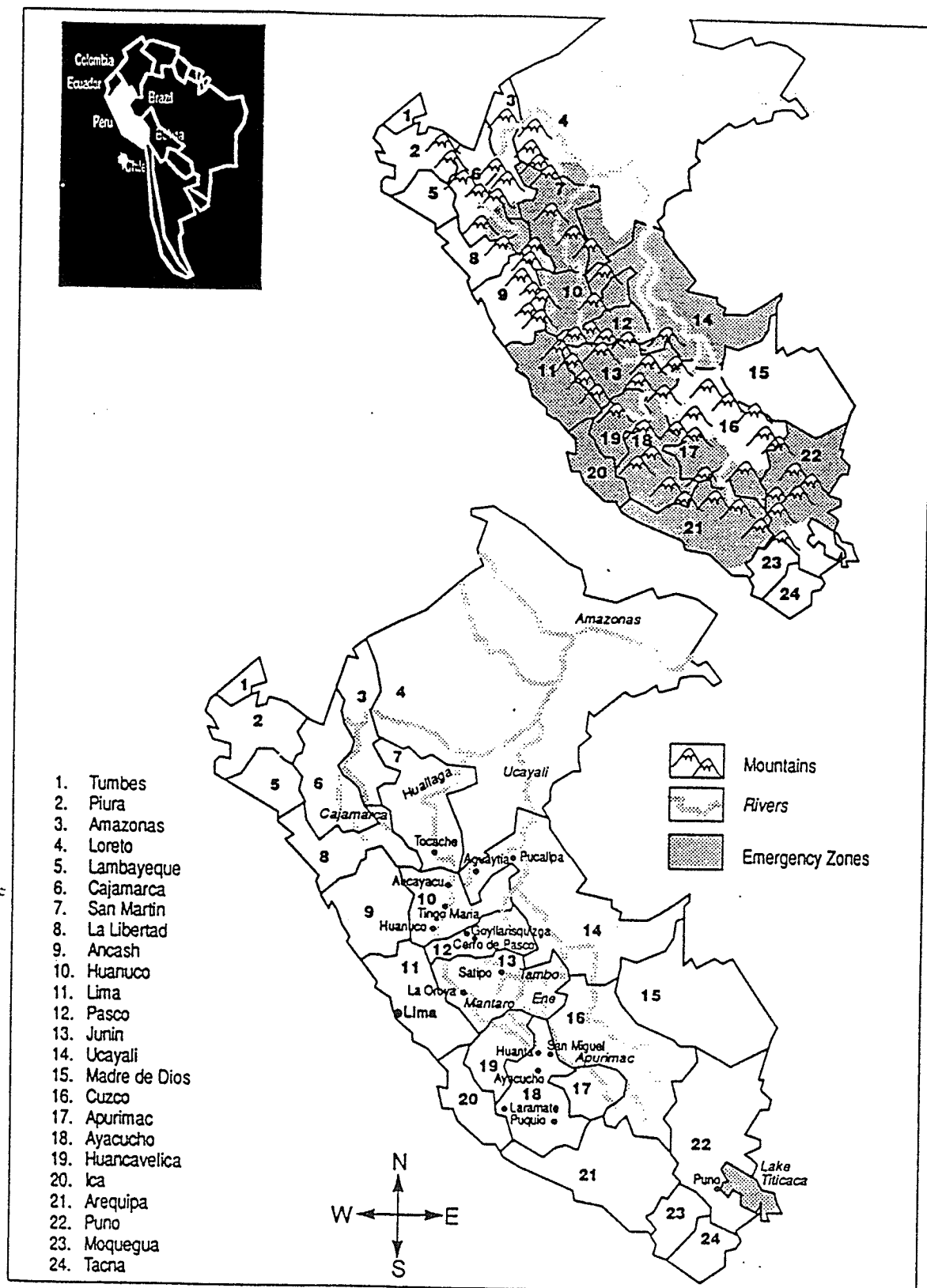
Sendero represents both a case study in the conditions that can lead to revolutionary violence, and an example of the inadequacy of conventional academic wisdom to interpret and situate that violence.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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For Emilie,

# PERU AND DEPARTMENTS



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## Preface

In the following chapters I examine two "enigmas" of Peruvian history in the context of Peru's thirteen-year long civil war. One, the so-called "Indian problem," has a rich lineage, dating back to the Conquest of Peru. The second enigma, Sendero Luminoso, is of more recent vintage, formed in the aftermath of the Sino-Soviet split. These two concerns are brought together under the subtitle, "Conquering the Other." It is meant to allude, on the one hand, to the authoritarian relationship of both Sendero and the military to the Indian/peasant "other" of the Andes; and on the other hand, to the attempt on the part of successive Peruvian politicians, intellectuals and Western social scientists to understand and define this Indian other.

Conquering, as the Spaniards found out when they first arrived in the New World, in addition to its military aspect, involves the attempt to comprehend the other, to come to terms with that which is different. The Spaniards' response, as we know, was a heady mixture of both fascination and fear. The war in Peru, because it is being waged in the "most remote" corners of the Andes, with a violence as vicious as that seen during the Conquest, has once again raised "the question of the other."<sup>1</sup> And, in many ways, the response on the part of politicians and academics has paralleled that of the

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<sup>1</sup> Tzvetan Todorov, The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other. (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).

politicians and academics has paralleled that of the Spaniards.

The problems posed for the historical study of such a recent phenomenon are obvious but not insurmountable. Although the "decapitation" of Sendero's top leadership "threatens" to make Sendero a non-subject, a mere footnote in Peruvian history, the crippling effects of the violence that has consumed Peru for the better part of a decade will certainly mark the 1980s as a watershed. It is therefore worthy of further study.

A second concern is that of sources. Scholars can no longer argue that there is a lack of evidence on the origins and trajectory of Sendero. In particular, we now have a number of good monographs on the period 1980 to the present, although press reporting on the war is still very poor. In addition, party documents are becoming increasingly more accessible in both English and Spanish, especially with Princeton University's ambitious project of microfilming the pro-Sendero newspaper El Diario and other key documents. I obtained Sendero documents either privately through correspondence with Maoist support groups in the United States, or in the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin during a research visit. Texas also provided other valuable primary and secondary works from Peru; they were important in framing the questions that the following chapters attempt to answer.

The first chapter introduces the two "enigmas" and how they have been discussed. I argue that our understanding of both Sendero and the "Indian problem" has been hampered by romanticist readings of Peru's recent past. Chapter two tackles the nagging question of capitalist development in the Andes. It does so by constructing a narrative around a critique of one of the more persuasive themes to arise in Senderology - namely, that the Andean regions constitute an "other Peru," not integrated into the capitalist system. I explore what this means to our understanding of Sendero and to theories of peasant revolution as a whole. Based on this critical narrative, chapter three analyses the articulation of economic, political/ideological and cultural forces that created Sendero, and seeks to explain both its failures and successes. Chapter four returns to the "Indian problem" as seen through the eyes of Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, the singularly most important transnational voice of the Peruvian creole elite. I argue that he has a distorted vision of the Indian other and, therefore, of Peruvian reality. Furthermore, I argue that this had predictable consequences in the waging of a "dirty war." Properly speaking, the chapter does not constitute literary criticism, although it does place Vargas Llosa's recent writings in the context of the literary "quest for identity" of the 1960s "new novel."

The chapters do not form a linear narrative. Instead, they can be seen as four "interpretive essays" on Peruvian

reality.<sup>2</sup> A running theme throughout is that Peru's Indian "other" is no longer a reality, but rather an invention.

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<sup>2</sup> I take this phrase from José Carlos Mariátegui's famous work Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973).

## Chapter I

### SENDERO AND LO ANDINO<sup>1</sup>

When the eyes of children  
fill with hate  
can my song continue to be a song  
can my tears continue to be tears?

They cut off my cow's head  
they take away my radio  
they say "Your mother's a cholo"<sup>2</sup>

and still they say "Long live the fatherland"  
and still they say "Long live the fatherland."<sup>3</sup>

The composer of this Quechuan<sup>4</sup> huayno (an Andean song that dates back to the Conquest), is Carlos Falconí, a "leading composer, poet and musician," and a member of the

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. "that which is Indian."

<sup>2</sup> Cholo indicates an "in-between" category, between mestizo and Indian, and is in most contexts a derogatory racial epithet. It is important to emphasize the fluidity of both the actual position and the term, that is its "objective" and "subjective" realities. Van den Berghe defines cholo as "neither clearly Indian nor clearly mestizo," and in class terms as, "semi-urban semi-rural, petty bourgeoisie engaged in retail trade and small scale artisan production supplemented by limited agriculture and stock raising." Pierre Van den Berghe, "The Use of Ethnic Terms," symposium of the International Journal of Comparative Sociology. 15(3-4), 1974, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Cited in William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America. (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 195-96.

<sup>4</sup> Quechua is the major Indian language in Peru. The phrases in quotations, "Your mother's a cholo," and "Long live the fatherland," were written in Spanish.

world-famous Trio Ayacucho.<sup>5</sup> According to two critics of popular culture in Latin America, Falconí's song "offers a response and diagnosis" to the "unresolved historical agenda" of the Peruvian state's relationship with the highland Indian; in other words, the "Indian problem." Further, it is claimed that Falconí "articulates the separateness of the world of the native peasantry," and that its "exposure of the language of patriotism as a farce is carried out from a more profound sense of rupture...[when] the coherence of [a] culture is ruptured." Finally, in the eyes of Rowe and Schelling, "no other response by any political group, no statement by any intellectual has come anywhere near the capacity of this and other current Andean songs to confront and understand the process of social violence in Peru."<sup>6</sup>

Falconí's song, and the interpretation of it offered by Rowe and Schelling, are a good place to begin a discussion of Sendero Luminoso and the "Indian problem." In many ways they

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<sup>5</sup> Falconí was forced to leave Ayacucho in 1990 and now lives as one of the 200,000 desplazados (people displaced by the war); he is mentioned in U.S Committee for Refugees (USCR) (Robin Kirk), The Decade of Chagwa: Peru's Internal Refugees. (Washington: USCR, 1991) p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> In order to avoid ambiguities it is worth quoting in full Rowe and Schelling's actual statement: "Let us consider the case of Peru, where the Andean population continues to maintain traditional forms of sociality which do not fit with attempts by successive ruling groups to establish a nation-state. A major problem has been the chronic racism of the state's authorities and representatives. During the past decade, in the civil war between the army and the Maoist Sendero Luminoso, the unresolved historical agenda, which goes back to the sixteenth century, has once again been exposed, above all in the shape of massive state violence against the highland population." Memory and Modernity, p. 195.

illustrate the ambiguities at work in the present civil war in which the Andean population finds itself "between two fires," Sendero's brutality and the military's.

In particular, it seems unclear who the "they" are in Falconí's song. Rowe and Schelling assume, quite reasonably, that "they" represents the Civil Guard. That may, however, be too narrow a reading of Falconí's song, and possibly a misreading. An alternative interpretation suggests that Falconí is referring to both Sendero and the military or, perhaps only to Sendero. At once this appears a strange claim, because convention on Sendero says that they are a product of precisely the "separate world of the native peasantry," and "rupture" of traditional culture about which Falconí writes. The following chapters will question that convention and show that the "they" of Falconí's song - racist, nationalist, and violent youth - fits Sendero only too well. In addition, the assumptions that led Rowe and Schelling to their particular interpretation of Falconí, assumptions of the "separateness of the world of the native peasantry," are explored in light of two contexts: the history of capitalism in the Andes, and the contemporary discourses on the "Indian problem."<sup>7</sup>

It is useful to remind ourselves that the very concept

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<sup>7</sup> The intention here is not to disparage or belittle the horrors committed by the military against the people about which Falconí speaks so eloquently. Clearly the song expresses in an unambiguous and powerful manner the despair of a survivor of a war that Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa has compared to a "Biblical catastrophe."

"Indian" is a European invention - a name that the Spaniards assigned to the indigenous populations in an effort to define something that was "other."<sup>8</sup> These Indians, who call themselves runa (man), have been "one giant problem" ever since.<sup>9</sup> The debate about their "nature" goes back to the early sixteenth century and the polemics between Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de Las Casas, the former articulating their essential non-humanness, the latter initiating the myth of the noble savage<sup>10</sup> - what are known as the Black and White legends. The Spaniards had immense difficulties in solving the "Indian problem," but these were "but a prelude to the difficulties faced by republican leaders."<sup>11</sup>

Most leaders of the independence movements "held a

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<sup>8</sup> For a recent discussion of this see Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer's "Introduction" to Urban and Sherzer (eds.), Nation States and Indians in Latin America. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991). They emphasize, however, that as a concept "Indian" is "constantly emerging and changing." p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Davies, Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974), p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> The myth of the noble savage is generally identified with Rousseau, but "there is [also] some truth [to the idea]...that Las Casas anticipated Rousseau by centuries," Lewis Hanke, The Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965), p. 126. The difference between the two is, of course, that Las Casas's arguments were based in scripture, Rousseau's in Enlightenment doctrine. Las Casas was a Dominican friar who accused his fellow Spaniards of horrible cruelty in the Americas. He initiated an unprecedented debate on the Indian in which his chief opponent was Sepúlveda; he had composed a treatise which sought to prove that the wars against the Indians were just, and ordained by both God and king.

<sup>11</sup> Davies, Indian Integration, p. 15.

simplistic view" of the Indian problem. They were more influenced by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution than the ideal of creating a "cultural nation-state" that motivated romantic European nationalists in later decades. Once independence had been achieved, however, the new rulers were faced with the daunting task of building new nations out of the fragmented remains of the Spanish empire. The complex ethnic realities bequeathed to them made this project especially difficult. It became necessary, therefore, to "invent" national traditions and construct "imagined communities."<sup>12</sup> According to Rodolfo Stavenhagen, in Latin America, as in other post-colonial societies, "the state and its intellectual and political elites created the nation; the sociological nation itself did not struggle to create its own state" as happened in Europe.<sup>13</sup>

Like other post-colonial societies' quest for nationhood, the indigenous population of the Andes has been an essential, if ambiguous, element in the construction of Peruvian national identity. As José de San Martín decreed in 1821 to mark Peru's Independence, "in the future the aborigines shall not be called Indians or natives; **they are children and citizens**

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<sup>12</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds.), The Invention of Tradition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities. (London: Verso, 1991)

<sup>13</sup> Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Challenging the Nation-State in Latin America," Journal of International Affairs. 45(2), 1992, p. 422.

of Peru and they shall be known as Peruvians."<sup>14</sup> A century and a half later, in 1968, the nationalist/reformist military regime of Juan Velasco Alvarado declared 24 June the "Day of the Indian" but, like San Martín, proclaimed that henceforward they would be called "campesinos" and citizens of Peru.

Specifically, they would be known as mestizo citizens, a new racial amalgam that the "liberator" of America, Simón Bolívar, felt was Latin America's unique place in the "human family." During the early colonial period, mestizos had often been treated as poorly as the Indians because they were seen by the creole elite, who willingly imported racial theories from Europe, as embodying the worst characteristics of both their ancestors. Marginal to both cultures and lacking a coherent identity of their own, the mestizo population began its long search for and invention of a national tradition.

Peru's defeat in the War of the Pacific (1879-83) and the economic transformations it initiated helped undermine the earlier social-Darwinist theories.<sup>15</sup> In the aftermath, the idea of the mestizo as the "cosmic race," "made of the treasury of all the previous races, the final race," was born. In country's like Mexico and Peru mestizaje (racial mixture)

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<sup>14</sup> John Lynch, The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808-1826. (New York: Norton, 1973), p. 276. Emphasis added.

<sup>15</sup> As Davies writes, it was difficult for a "defeated and prostrate people to hold the tenets of the survival of the fittest," Indian Integration, p. 36

became an ideology and symbol of national identity.<sup>16</sup> As extolled by Vasconcelos, mestizaje had a particularly utopian quality, and was conceived as a purifying fusion and refusion.

While mestizaje was and is an established fact, the destroyed world of lo andino reappears in bourgeois ideology in an idealized, distorted and inverted manner as the cement of national identity.<sup>17</sup> Indigenismo, the intellectual tradition which asserted the primacy of the Indian in the national make-up, appeared in Latin America in both an "official" form and in a populist, at times radical, form in the early twentieth century. In Peru, military defeat by Chile seemed to confirm the failure of the first half-century of Peruvian nation-building. The hallmark of this failure, according to indigenists such as Manuel González Prada, was the failure to integrate the Indian majority into the Peruvian nation. González Prada's role was not simply the raising of the Indian problem to national attention, but as Davies points out, he "instilled a new patriotism in a country badly discouraged by a disastrous war." In other words, the "Indian problem" became, as Bartra shows for Mexico, "one of the

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<sup>16</sup> The phrase comes from a book by José Vasconcelos, a Mexican philosopher, entitled La Raza Cósmica (1925). On miscegenation see Magnus Morner, Race Mixture in the History of Latin America. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967).

<sup>17</sup> Roger Bartra, "The Problem of the Native Peoples and Indigenist Ideology," in Race and Class in Post-Colonial Society. (New York: UNESCO, 1977), p. 423.

higher interests of the State."<sup>18</sup>

Official indigenism proposed an integration process in which the Indian would enrich national identity by contributing the most fertile elements of his culture to the mestizo amalgam. As Bartra comments, "the aim, inter alia, of this oversimplification of the process for creating a Mexican nationality...is to perpetuate, at the ideological level, the native image."<sup>19</sup> In Peru by the 1930s, the concept of an unbroken Andean heritage, epitomized by historian Luis Valcárcel's famous claim that the "the Indian of today [1920s] is the same Indian [as] a millennium ago," had expanded beyond the label of indigenismo to become a commonly accepted element of national culture.

Valcárcel and other figures of the 1920s such as José Carlos Mariátegui, were on the progressive edge of indigenism and they often joined their romanticism with a critique of the effects of capitalism on Indian communities. Even they, however, remained bound by the official indigenism's romantic, bourgeois horizons. Mariátegui died in 1935, so it is difficult to know if he might have transcended these bounds. Valcárcel went on to found the Institute of Ethnology of San Marcos University in 1946, and was the first to give the old indigenism an academic character. The cornerstone of his

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<sup>18</sup> Davies, Indian Integration, p. 41. Bartra, "the Problem of the Native Peoples," p. 433.

<sup>19</sup> Bartra, "The Problems of the Native Peoples," p.443.

project was, however, a romantic search for isolated vestiges of the native community, not a critique of capitalism. This concern was later taken up by anthropology in the 1950s.<sup>20</sup> As we shall see, the legacy of indigenism weighs heavily on the present.

On 17 May 1980, armed, hooded guerrillas arrived in the "sleepy town" of Chuschi, in the Department of Ayacucho, to burn the ballot boxes and announce the "initiation of the armed struggle."<sup>21</sup> For many Peruvians this obscure act was the first they had heard of the Partido Comunista del Perú - Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), bastard offspring of a fractious Peruvian Left. Its leader, Abimael Guzmán, or Chairman Gonzalo, had been a philosophy professor at the Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSH) in Ayacucho since the early 1960s. Sendero was formed after Guzmán and his followers were expelled from another Maoist faction. After coming out on the losing end of a power struggle within the university, Guzmán and a loyal core of followers left for the hills. Peru has not been the same

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<sup>20</sup> On Valcárcel and anthropology see Carlos Iván Degregori et al, Indigenismo, clases sociales, y problema Nacional. (Lima: Ediciones CELATS, 1978).

<sup>21</sup> Guerrillas reportedly announced that "a new path of arms" had come to lead Peru into the next century. Cited in Nicholas Shakespeare, "In Pursuit of Guzmán," Granta. 23 (Spring 1988), 152. One month prior to Chuschi, secretary general Abimael Guzmán had closed a near fifteen-year long preparation period by announcing, "our labour without guns has ended, the armed struggle has begun," what is known as the "Inicio de la lucha armada (ILA 80)," Roger Mercado, Los Partidos Políticos en el Perú. (Lima: Ediciones Cultura Popular, 1982), pp. 88-89.

since. Chuschi marked the beginning of a savage war between Senderista guerrillas and the Peruvian State that claimed more than 27,000 lives in the 1980s. It also marked the beginning of the study of Sendero. In a matter of years it became the "thriving enterprise" that pundits are now calling "Senderology."<sup>22</sup>

A number of factors contributed to the rapid growth of Senderology. First, Sendero's ability to survive and even expand surprised most observers, prompting more serious enquiry from an increasing number of scholars. Second, the increasing levels of violence and a general sense of despair in Peru continued to demand explanations. Third, there are elements that appear radically to distinguish Sendero from other Latin American guerrilla movements, including those in Peru during the 1960s. These include its Maoist ideology, its apparent "disregard for reality," its secretive leader, its systematic use of terror, and perhaps most importantly, its "exotic" Andean locale. Finally, Senderology was spurred on, and in fact has been shaped by, the post-Cold War concerns of US foreign policy, terrorism and drug trafficking, which make Sendero a hot item in the new burgeoning academic fields of terrorism and narcoterrorism studies.

As one reviewer asserted, early Senderology was a "patchwork" of different, often contradictory views, owing

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<sup>22</sup> Orin Starn, "Missing the Revolution: Anthropologists and the War in Peru," Cultural Anthropology. 6(1), 1991, p. 65.

partially to its cross-disciplinary nature.<sup>23</sup> Senderologists ranged from leftist Peruvian anthropologists to "experts" on terrorism funded by the State Department. As a consequence, the first efforts of Senderology produced widely diverging interpretations of the PCP-SL: narcoterrorist organization,<sup>24</sup> peasant movement,<sup>25</sup> Indian millenarian movement,<sup>26</sup> or traditional rural rebellion from the Andean periphery.<sup>27</sup> The narcoterrorist thesis never had much credibility given its political ties to the U.S. State

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<sup>23</sup> Orin Starn, "New Literature on Peru's Sendero Luminoso," Latin American Research Review. 27(2), 1992, p. 213.

<sup>24</sup> Gabriela Tarazona-Sevillano, Sendero Luminoso and the Threat of Narcoterrorism. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Washington Papers 144, (New York: Praeger, 1990); Gordon H. McCormick, The Shining Path and Peruvian Terrorism. (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1987), and The Shining Path and the Future of Peru. (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1990); see also RAND's yearly Chronology of International Terrorism which since 1983 has devoted a great deal of space to Sendero.

<sup>25</sup> Cynthia McClintock, "Why Peasants Rebel: The Case of Peru's Sendero Luminoso," World Politics. 37, 1984; and "Peru's Sendero Luminoso Rebellion: Origins and Trajectory," in Susan Eckstein (ed.) Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 61-101.

<sup>26</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo, Buscando un Inca. (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1988), "Frustración y esperanza," Cultura Popular. 10 (December, 1983); Juan Ansión, "¿Es luminoso el camino de Sendero?" El Caballo Rojo. 108, 1982, pp. 3-7; Pablo Macera, "Sendero y Mama Huaco" reprinted in Cambio. 20, 1986, as well as the interview with Macera in Quehacer. 15 (February, 1982), pp. 52-53.

<sup>27</sup> David Scott Palmer, "Rebellion in Rural Peru: The Origins and Evolution of Sendero Luminoso," Comparative Politics. January, 1986, pp. 127-46. Palmer, "Introduction" to Palmer (ed.) Shining Path of Peru. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); Ton de Wit and Vera Gianotten, "The Center's Multiple Failures," in Palmer (ed.), Shining Path, pp. 45-57.

Department, and in any case showed a poor and simplistic understanding of the complex nature of the party's relationship with the cocaine economy.<sup>28</sup> The latter three interpretations, on the other hand, have dominated the discourse on Sendero. They maintained canon status into the 1990s, in part by claiming that Sendero was an "enigma," or "mysterious revolutionary group," and that very little was known about them in Peru. A corollary was that there was insufficient primary documentation on and by the PCP-SL.<sup>29</sup> Both, however, were misleading claims which tended to blur Sendero's actual history as a vanguardist splinter group of the Communist Party. There have long been sufficient, although

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<sup>28</sup> While not directly influential, Deborah Poole and Gerardo Rénique argue that the narcoterrorist literature, with its emphasis on counterinsurgency strategies, shaped others views on the PCP-SL's strategies, "The New Chroniclers of Peru: U.S. Scholars and Their 'Shining Path' of Peasant Rebellion," Bulletin of Latin American Research. 10(2), 1991, pp. 133-91. Journalist Raúl González has done some of the best work on the multifaceted relationship between Sendero, international drug traffickers, peasant colonists and rival guerrillas in the Upper Huallaga Valley for the monthly journal Quehacer. The most important is "Coca y subversión en el Huallaga," Quehacer. 48, (September-October), 1987.

<sup>29</sup> Sendero was ascribed "enigma" status in all the early work of Cynthia McClintock and David Palmer. As late as 1986 Palmer wrote that "we do not really know a great deal about Sendero Luminoso," In, "Rebellion," p. 143. Even in the 1992 Shining Path, he calls Sendero an enigma. For Sendero as a "mysterious" group see David Werlich, "Peru: The Shadow of the Shining Path," Current History. (February, 1984), p. 78. Palmer and McClintock also led the way in emphasizing the lack of documents to work with, although they were by no means alone.

obscure, party documents in the public domain.<sup>30</sup> There was also more known about Sendero than many scholars implied. Guzmán, after all, had been arrested for his part in protests over education cuts in Ayacucho in 1969 and 1970.<sup>31</sup> And, in a speech given before he was deposed in 1975, President Velasco complained publicly about Maoists in the powerful teachers union SUTEP (Union of Peruvian Education Workers), branches of which Sendero controlled.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to their mystifying claims, many of these early canons shared assumptions similar to those seen in Rowe and Schelling, principally that the world of the native peasantry is separate or foreign and therefore unknowable to outsiders. In fact, the Chuschi incident provides an excellent example of how Senderologists began looking for the origins of Sendero in all the wrong places from the very start. While the newly elected civilian government of Fernando Belaúnde Terry

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<sup>30</sup> This point is made by Peter T. Johnson, "The Consistency of a Revolutionary Movement: Peru's Sendero Luminoso and Its Texts," In, Michael T. Martin and Terry R. Kandal (eds.). Studies of Development and Change in the Modern World. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 268. Johnson, who is not a Senderologist but a bibliographer at Princeton, should know - he has been involved in microfilming Sendero documents including El Diario.

<sup>31</sup> Journalist Gustavo Gorriti documents these incidents in Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú. Vol. 1, (Lima: Apoyo, 1990), pp. 19-25.

<sup>32</sup> Velasco called SUTEP "extremists of the worst kind," and was sufficiently threatened by their numbers (20,000 nationally) to exclaim "the choice is clear, either the revolution or SUTEP." Cited in, Alan Angell, "Classroom Maoists: The Politics of the Peruvian Schoolteachers under Military Government," Bulletin of Latin American Research. 1(2) (May, 1982), p. 2.

greeted rumours of Maoist guerrillas in the Andean highlands with ridicule, calling them "common delinquents," or "fanatical bandits," Senderologists keenly picked up on what seemed to be a unique characteristic of the Chuschi ballot burning - the date.

It happened that 17 May 1980 was the 199th anniversary of the execution of José Gabriel Condorcanqui, a "moderately wealthy" Andean lord who led the Túpac Amaru Revolt of 1780, the last great revolt of what Steve Stern calls Peru's Age of Andean Insurrection.<sup>33</sup> Claiming he was a direct Inca descendant, Condorcanqui led a mostly Indian following under the name of Túpac Amaru II. His execution is an important element of the Inkarrí myth that novelist/anthropologist José María Arguedas "discovered" in the 1950s. Briefly stated, Inkarrí was an ancient Creator who would return on the Judgement Day to create order out of chaos, restore justice and harmony, and deliver the Indian population from the bondage of mestizo domination.<sup>34</sup> It is generally agreed that the myth originated with the death and dismemberment of the last Inca, Túpac Amaru I, in 1572. According to oral tradition

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<sup>33</sup> Steve J. Stern "The Age of Andean Insurrection, 1742-1782," In, Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 34-92.

<sup>34</sup> There are numerous definitions of Inkarrí. The one offered here is a mixture of that provided by Leon Campbell, "Ideology and Factionalism during the Great Rebellion, 1780-1782," In, Stern (ed.), Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness, p. 113, and Rosalind Gow, "Inkarrí and Revolutionary Leadership in the Southern Andes," Journal of Latin American Lore. 8(2), 1982, p. 197.

his dismembered body - torn apart limb-by-limb by the Spaniards' powerful horses - is reconstituting itself underground. Once whole, Inkarrí will rise up to liberate the Indians.<sup>35</sup>

It was said that Senderista guerrillas were "playing on the Inkarrí myth of Andean resurrection," and had chosen this anniversary day to begin their insurrection.<sup>36</sup> From there it was a relatively short and easy step to "Sendero Luminoso: Modern Manifestation of an Ancient Phenomenon," a characteristic title of one of many enthusiastic M.A. theses to interpret Sendero as an Indian millenarian movement.<sup>37</sup> In actual fact, the following day was election day in Peru - the return to civilian rule after twelve years of military government - and Sendero had chosen that moment to "initiate the armed struggle" in order to illustrate its distaste for "the phoney democratic image" elections were sure to give the

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<sup>35</sup> There are numerous variations of the myth owing to the fact that "in Peru there exist various historical memories." Flores Galindo counted close to a dozen, with eight in the Ayacucho region. See his Europa y el país de los Incas: La utopia Andina. (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1986), pp. 20-23.

<sup>36</sup> Orin Starn, "Missing the Revolution," p. 63. The same is suggested by Nicholas Shakespeare's sensationalist account, "In Pursuit of Guzmán," p. 152.

<sup>37</sup> Sophie Barbieri-Sofaly, (M.A. Thesis, San Diego State University, 1990). Others attuned to the exotic include: Lisa Moses, "The Applicability of Maoism to Latin America: The Case of Sendero Luminoso," (M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1989); Stephen Brennan, "Ethnicity as a Motivating Factor of the Sendero Luminoso Movement in Peru," (M.A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1989). Brennan goes to particularly extreme lengths, arguing that Sendero most resembles Taqui Onkoy, a millenarianist who wanted to return to a time prior to the Incas.

Peruvian State.<sup>38</sup> Guzmán explains the party's strategic rationale as follows:

We began the armed struggle on May 17, the day before the elections...to make our move before the new government took office. The military could not easily take up the struggle against us right away because they were worn down and discredited. It was obvious that [newly elected President] Belaúnde would fear a coup d'etat and therefore restrain the armed forces. Was that difficult to foresee?<sup>39</sup>

This is astute political observation for a movement that is still considered by many a "drug-crazed sect," neo-Inca romantics, or Maoist fanatics. Yet few observers would disagree with Guzmán's appraisal of the "objective conditions," including, most notably, the military itself. As one official in the Ministry of War stated in 1983, "nobody wants to run Peru today, least of all us."<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the first two years of the war went almost exactly according to Guzmán's plan. Belaúnde did restrain the army, choosing to

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<sup>38</sup> Partido Comunista del Perú (PCdelp), Develop the People's War to Serve the World Revolution. (trans) (Berkeley: Committee to Support the People's War in Peru, 1986), p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> PCdelp. Interview with Chairman Gonzalo. (translated and published in Berkeley: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, 1991), p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> Cited in Philip Bennett, "Peru: Corner of the Dead," Atlantic, May, 1984, p. 29.

dispatch only small numbers of sinchis<sup>41</sup> to Ayacucho to deal with the first stirrings of Sendero. The sinchi patrols, while being "heavily armed," were also "frequently drunk," and therefore very ineffective.<sup>42</sup> The date 17 May, then, was chosen by Sendero on account of politico-military considerations and was not at all rooted in Andean lore. Put another way, the Peru that Sendero does want to "run" is a modern, urban, semi-industrialized Peru; their goal is not a rebirth of the Inca State.

Other incidents of 1980, however, continued to capture the attention of anthropologists and journalists fascinated with the thought of a reborn Inca rebellion. A classic case was Sendero's practice of hanging dead dogs from Lima lampposts to show their disgust with Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, whom they call a "revisionist," and "fascist dog." Philip Bennett, for example, despite implicitly recognizing some of the points made above, interpreted the dogs as Sendero's rather arcane effort at communicating with the Indian masses. Playing the anthropologist, Bennett deconstructed the meaning of Sendero's practice in the following manner:

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<sup>41</sup> Sinchi is a Quechua word, which as a noun means "valiant one" and as an adjective means "excess." It is the highly apt name the Peruvian military gave to the special anti-terrorist unit of the Civil Guard, formed after the guerrilla warfare of the 1960s with the help of U.S. Green Berets. In the 1980s they have tended to be more excessive than valiant.

<sup>42</sup> Bennett, "Corner of the Dead," p. 29.

According to popular legend dating back to the Incas which Indians in the region who have never heard of Mao can easily recite, the dog is a companion who follows, or leads, his master to the grave. And so the peasants figured - as it turned out, correctly - that wherever a hanging dog appeared, someone was going to die.

Bennett's article goes on to establish a symbolic symmetry between Sendero and the "illiterate peasants of Ayacucho," by claiming that although they did "not recognize Spanish," and "argued about what language the signs were written in," they, "in contrast to most people in Lima [who of course are literate], could [still] guess what the animals signified."<sup>43</sup>

Bennett is no anthropologist. His view of a universally illiterate Indian "other" who, five hundred years after the Conquest, do not recognize Spanish is so obviously lacking in understanding of Peru and the Andes that it cannot be taken too seriously. That is to say, it is on the unsophisticated edge of Senderology. Nevertheless, the image of Sendero communicating with the Indian other via dead animals in an "exotic" Andean locale was an alluring one for many onlookers, including those who had spent their entire academic lives studying Peru.

It took the work of a number of highly respected Peruvian historians and anthropologists to provide a measure of

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<sup>43</sup> Bennet, "Corner of the Dead," p. 28.

sophistication and credibility to the Indian millenarianist thesis. Anthropologist Juan Ansi6n was probably the first to argue it in an article from 1982, but he rejected it after witnessing the increasing carnage of 1983.<sup>44</sup> Pablo Macera and the late Alberto Flores Galindo, both well-known historians of Indian millenarianist movements, have been its leading exponents. Macera, in an interview in Quehacer, argued that "the people of Sendero Luminoso, knowing it or not, are connected with a messianic, millenarian Andean movement that has been repeating and reiterating itself, and failing, from the sixteenth century onward."<sup>45</sup> Another anthropologist, post-Marxist Juan Ossio, echoed Macera when he claimed that Sendero's rigid Maoist ideology, "even if it does not express itself in a truly Andean idiom, adjusts itself to deep-rooted [Andean] tendencies."<sup>46</sup>

Flores Galindo, however, was the most ambitious exponent of Sendero as an Indian millenarianist movement. In his classic Buscando un inca he explained Sendero as a desire for "the inversion of the world" that "fits with an Andean structure of thought."<sup>47</sup> Flores Galindo was highly

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<sup>44</sup> Ansi6n, "¿Es luminoso el camino de Sendero?" pp. 3-7. For his later views see "Sendero Luminoso: La pol3tica como religi3n," Cristianismo y Sociedad, 106, 1990, pp. 115-124.

<sup>45</sup> Macera, "Interview," Quehacer 15, p. 53.

<sup>46</sup> Juan Ossio, Violencia estructural en el Per3. (Lima: APEP, 1990).

<sup>47</sup> Flores Galindo Buscando, p. 380.

ambivalent, however, and elsewhere called Sendero a "disconcerting combination of Andean millenarianism and the most elemental, dogmatic Marxism" - a formulation that resembles Isaac Deutscher's famous characterization of Stalinism as the "mongrel offspring of Marxism and primitive magic."<sup>48</sup> However, unlike Deutscher, who never expressed great fondness for Russia's "rudimentary society," Flores Galindo, Macera and others were animated by a romantic neo-indigenist vision which continues to represent the Andes as a world of pure and timeless Indian traditions.

Flores Galindo, Ansión, Ossio and Macera spearheaded a "re-discovery" of the Indian past in Peruvian social sciences in the late 1960s. The title Buscando un Inca (In Search of an Inca) captures the spirit of their enterprise, one which was obviously predisposed to find in Sendero an Inca even in the face of evidence to the contrary. In fact, Flores Galindo also claimed that peasants in La Convención in the early 1960s identified Trotskyist Hugo Blanco as an Inca.<sup>49</sup> It should be noted that other findings of theirs - on eighteenth and nineteenth century rebellions - form an essential part of our current understanding of the history of Andean resistance,

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<sup>48</sup> Flores Galindo, "Frustracion y esperanza." Deutscher's classic line can be found in "Marxism and Primitive Magic," In, Tariq Ali (ed.), The Stalinist Legacy. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 116.

<sup>49</sup> Buscando, p. 304.

rebellion, and consciousness.<sup>50</sup> But, having said that, such work, in particular their views on Sendero, need to be located within the larger and longer tradition of indigenismo.

Paradoxically, Flores Galindo provides us with an important critique of the Indian millenarian thesis. Buscando un Inca and other works depict an Andean utopian/messianic tradition that is both radically different from and highly resistant to the type of futuristic Maoist vision expressed by Sendero documents.<sup>51</sup> "Far from any projection into the future," these earlier rebellions "wanted to restore an earlier order: they were monarchists and they sought an Inca as their king."<sup>52</sup> Sendero ideology is not, however, of the "backward looking" or "return to the past" sort usually associated with the many Andean rebellions prior to Independence, and with millenarian movements in general. Indeed, what is most striking about Sendero and its central committee documents is the singular absence of reference to Andean messianic traditions or to ethnicity in general. Instead, as we have already glimpsed, and as we shall see in

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<sup>50</sup> For example Juan Ossio (ed.), Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino. (Lima: Colección Biblioteca de Antropología, 1973); Pablo Macera's four volume Trabajos de historia. (Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1977). A good sampling of Flores Galindo's work, published posthumously, is Tiempo de Plagas. (Lima: El Caballo Rojo, 1988)

<sup>51</sup> See his "In Search of an Inca," In, Stern (ed.) Resistance, pp. 193-210. Although he tries to argue, with little success, that Sendero's ideology is not just futuristic, but looks to the past as well, in "Frustracion y esperanza."

<sup>52</sup> "In Search of an Inca," p. 193.

Chapter 3, political and military considerations are the central preoccupation of party documents. They stand in sharp contrast to Andean millenarian traditions. Writing on two protagonists in a revolt of 1805, Flores Galindo remarked that "notions such as the correlation of forces, enemies, allies: these all had little importance [to them]...they did not reason politically."<sup>53</sup>

While most party documents simply ignore the Andean cultural traditions, or insist, as did El Diario editor Luis Arce Borja, that it "has absolutely nothing to do with the war and the revolutionary struggle," the party has also rejected it out of hand. They have referred to Andean millenarianist traditions as "magical-whining nationalism," and have during the course of the war coercively discouraged ferias (fairs) and other traditions.<sup>54</sup> Most significantly, Guzmán accuses other parties on the left of adhering to "the outmoded ideology of the Incas."<sup>55</sup>

While the "strong grip" of indigenism provided the grist for some anthropologists to portray Sendero as a messianic movement, it had strangely opposite effects on others. According to Orin Starn, many anthropologists working in the

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<sup>53</sup> "In Search of an Inca," p. 200.

<sup>54</sup> Borja Arce was interviewed in NACLA: Report on the Americas, (December-January, 1990-91), p. 12. There have been numerous reports of Sendero's puritanical and authoritarian stance on Andean traditions.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 78.

field during the 1960s, 1970s, and even into the 1980s, "missed" the coming of Sendero because they were caught up in their own world of "symbolic analysis" of Andean cosmology and "thick description" of "pure" Indian culture. In short, they were in another (or an "other") world - the "separate world of the native peasantry." Meanwhile, millions upon millions of "native peasants" were stepping out of, or had already stepped out of, their hermetically sealed "world," to become rural and urban proletarians, urban slum dwellers, petty artisans, students and other non-others. Some of these people became Senderistas. The failure on the part of anthropologists to record these developments indicates, Starn says, a problem with the discipline as a whole. He argues that "ethnographic visions of the perennial 'otherness' of lo andino had a self-fulfilling logic." In their desire to study "indigenous" Andean culture, anthropologists like Harold Skar went "where traditional Quechua culture seemed to be most intact."<sup>56</sup> The quest was similar to Flores Galindo's, but the effect was opposite - they missed altogether "the gathering storm of the Shining Path."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Starn, "Missing," pp. 64-69. Starn's trenchant essay is, paradoxically, a most striking example of how truly strong the grip of Andeanism is. He, after all is the one who claimed Sendero was "playing on the Inkarrí myth." He has since recanted his "bit of Andeanism," in his "New Literature," p. 216. Harold Skar, The Warm Valley People. (Oslo: University of Oslo Press, 1982), p. 82. Skar does, however, address Sendero in the preface to the second edition of Warm Valley (Goteberg: Goteborg Museum, 1988).

<sup>57</sup> Starn, "Missing," p. 63.

What happens, however, when the anthropologist searches in vain for this intact world? Among other things it represents a fundamental crisis for the anthropologist and his/her discipline. Trouillot prefers to call this crisis a "postmodern quandary," although it would seem fundamentally modern in nature. In any case, he has stated well the dilemma of the anthropologist who is "working in the present": "camera and notebooks in hand, he is looking for the savage, but the savage has vanished."<sup>58</sup> At this point, it would seem, the anthropologist is faced with two options. He can pack his notebooks and cameras and travel to the farthest corners of the world in search of lost tribes; or he can make do with what he has and constantly re-invent the "other qua other." Often anthropologists have done both. Colin Turnbull made a career out of it. As a third option, Trouillot offers what he sees as the only truly just, although sad, response: "the baffled anthropologist burns his notes to create a moment of light, moves his face against the flame, closes his eyes, and, hands grasping the camera, takes a picture of himself."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Michel-Rolph Trouillot, "Anthropology and the Savage: Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness," In, Richard G. Fox (ed.), Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991), p. 35.

<sup>59</sup> Trouillot, "Anthropology," p. 36. Billie Jean Isbell (see below) has recently opted for a fourth option. According to Flores Galindo ("Generación del 68: Ilusión y realidad," Margenes. 1, 1987, p. 118), she is writing a novel based on her experiences in Chushci, a response, no doubt to the dialogue she had with herself in which she said: "we [anthropologists] are at the moment in our

Short of generating an archive of blurry photos of frustrated anthropologists, Trouillot's solution is of little help. In Peru in the 1960s and 1970s anthropologists, as Starn has indicated, tended to greet the massive changes taking place in the Andes with what he calls "Andeanism." Taking his cue from Edward Said's Orientalism, Starn defines Andeanism as a totalizing discourse that "dichotomizes between the Occidental, coastal, urban, mestizo and the non-Western, highland, rural, and indigenous, [and] essentializes the highland side of the equation" as a timeless "other."<sup>60</sup> Among those Starn accuses of practicing Andeanism are Billie Jean Isbell, Luis Millones, Nathan Wachtel, Tristan Platt and Michael Taussig - all highly respected anthropologists. Starn, to be sure, uses a broad brush, but his polemic seems an essential one. In Isbell's To Defend Ourselves (1977) for example, one searches in vain for signs of the coming carnage, despite the fact that it is an ethnography of Chuschi. Defend minimizes change, and emphasizes instead "tradition" and parochialness.<sup>61</sup>

Fittingly, after all that has been said of anthropology, two anthropologists can be credited with doing the most

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history when we have to decide how to represent" the "anthropological other." "An Anthropological Dialogue with Violence," COSP Newsletter. 5(4), 1987, p. 11.

<sup>60</sup> Starn, "Missing," p. 66.

<sup>61</sup> Billie Jean Isbell, To Defend Ourselves: Ecology and Ritual in an Andean Village. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977).

sophisticated work on Sendero - Carlos Iván Degregori and Henri Favre. Degregori, a colleague of Guzmán's at UNSCH, situated Sendero in the radical student politics of UNSCH and in what he called the "encounter" between a mestizo intellectual elite and provincial students. Sendero he said was best located in the space "between capital and the provinces, between the city and countryside, between Andeans and creoles."<sup>62</sup> Elsewhere he has called this space a "no-man's land."<sup>63</sup> French anthropologist Henri Favre offered a similar diagnosis, emphasizing the pool of "de-peasantized," "de-Indianized," overeducated youth in and around Ayacucho. In Favre's view, the average Senderista militant is cholo and constitutes a lumpen intelligentsia.<sup>64</sup> According to both Degregori and Favre, the PCP-SL's extremist ideology is highly attractive to this "in-between" strata who are in search of identity and "coherence." They are, in Degregori's classic phrase, "children of the betrayed."<sup>65</sup>

In grasping the "local perspective," the complex class and ethnic realities of Ayacucho, Favre and Degregori have undermined many of the conventions of Andeanism. They have

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<sup>62</sup> Carlos Iván Degregori, Sendero Luminoso: Los hondos y mortales desencuentros. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1985), p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> Que difícil es ser Díos. (Lima: El Zorro de Abajo, 1989), p. 17.

<sup>64</sup> Henri Favre, "Sendero Luminoso y horizontes ocultos," Cuadernos Americanos. 4, 1987, pp. 28-31.

<sup>65</sup> Degregori, Que difícil, pp. 14-15.

also dealt a strong blow to two other canons of Senderology - Cynthia McClintock's "peasant movement," and David Palmer's "peripheral rebellion." In McClintock's case, it no longer seems possible to portray Sendero as a "radical peasant movement" rooted in an "objective threat to subsistence." Despite this, her view is still very popular, particularly among English language readers. The same can be said for Palmer, whose notion of Sendero as a traditional rebellion from the periphery against the coast has, like Sendero itself, shown remarkable staying power.<sup>66</sup>

On the whole, the local perspective offered by Degregori and Favre is extremely helpful in understanding the complexities of Peruvian reality. However, it needs to be historicized and placed in the larger context; in particular, in the context of the uneven development of capitalism. This, however, has proven difficult. McClintock's and Palmer's works, which connect on a number of levels, continue to pose difficulties as a paradigm that has substantially challenged our understanding of the development of capitalism in Peru. This has important implications not just for how we interpret Sendero and Peruvian reality, but for viewing developments in the Third World as a whole. For this reason, and because their work is still the most accessible for English readers, it requires more substantial critique on both an empirical and

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<sup>66</sup> The best indication of this is his editorship of the latest work of Senderology, Shining Path, a kind of "best and worst of" Senderology from the 1980s.

theoretical level. To this end, Chapter Two delves further into the field of Senderology as practiced by its two most important North American interpreters.

Two important related questions need to be considered. The first is the exact nature of the PCP-SL's relationship with the people it says it leads. The second is the ideology that "guides the act." In the early works of Senderology, the party's extreme vanguardist nature was often mystified by the common practice of defining the party in opposition to both the 1960s guerrillas and the contemporary MRTA (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement).<sup>67</sup> The latter was said to be urban, middle class, and mestizo, and therefore foreign to the Indian peasantry; while Sendero, it was implied, had a more "organic" relationship to the peasantry.<sup>68</sup> This, however, is too narrow an understanding of the PCP-SL's complex relationship with the 1960s guerrillas and with the MRTA. Their differences are far less categorical, although they do depart in significant ways.

A related concern is the PCP-SL's ideology. Despite the voluminous literature on Sendero, the ideological nature of

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<sup>67</sup> MRTA was formed in 1984 as an armed organization that would combine armed action with political work in unions and other popular organizations, many of which its leaders had prior experience in.

<sup>68</sup> Obviously McClintock's peasant thesis carried this assumption of the PCP-SL's organic relationship to the peasantry. Others who implied this include William A. Hazleton and Sandra Woy-Hazleton, "Sendero Luminoso and the Future of Peruvian Democracy," Third World Quarterly. 12(2) (Spring, 1990), pp. 21-35.

the PCP-SL has for the most part escaped the critical attention necessary to arrive at a better overall understanding of the party and the movement. As we have seen, some attempted to find in Sendero an Indian messianic world view. An extreme case of this view dismissed the party's Maoism as a "guise."<sup>69</sup> More reasoned, but often contradictory and vague interpretations include: "classically Maoist,"<sup>70</sup> and a synthesis of Maoism and the ideas of Peruvian Socialist Party (PSP) co-founder José Carlos Mariátegui.<sup>71</sup> In addition, Sendero receives comparisons to such diverse organizations as Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, and the early APRA (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance) party in Peru.<sup>72</sup> As a result, Sendero's ideology appears, on the

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<sup>69</sup> Brennan, "Ethnicity as a Motivating Factor."

<sup>70</sup> There are numerous views of Sendero as "classically Maoist," a phrase that has been used rather loosely by Cynthia McClintock in "Why Peasants Rebel," p. 51. See also her "Sendero Luminoso: Peru's Maoist Guerrillas," Problems of Communism. 32(5), (Sept/Oct), 1983; Andrew Wheat writes that "Sendero rarely deviates from the Maoist line," In, "Shining Path's Fourth Sword Ideology," Journal of Political and Military Sociology. 18, 1990, p. 42.

<sup>71</sup> Again, many have mentioned this synthesis of Mao's and Mariátegui's ideas. The most explicit is Andrew Wheat, p. 47. The appellation Sendero Luminoso derives from the full name of the party: The Communist Party of Peru - of the Shining Path of José Carlos Mariátegui. The phrase was originally part of the masthead of a student publication of the Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario (FER), a national student federation that was particularly strong at UNSCH in Ayacucho.

<sup>72</sup> Those who have compared Sendero to Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge are too numerous to list. Comparisons of Sendero and the APRA, which today appear far-fetched given APRA's firm position on the center-right of the spectrum and given the fact that they are one of Sendero's principal targets, have been made by Susan Bourque

surface, an eclectic, "almost incomprehensible", mixture of elements.<sup>73</sup> Henry Dietz expresses this sentiment, perhaps unwittingly, when he writes that Sendero's ideology is "generally described as a mix of Gang of Four/Cultural Revolution Maoism, Cambodia's Pol Pot, some ideas freely adopted from José Carlos Mariátegui, and Incan mysticism and nationalism."<sup>74</sup> We can safely say that our understanding of Senderista ideology is confused and contradictory.

The publication and wide distribution of the 1988 "Entrevista del Siglo" (Interview of the Century) with Guzmán solves many of these problems. It is a lengthy and candid discussion by the PCP-SL leader on issues ranging from international politics to his personal life. It is, therefore, the most valuable document to date on Sendero.<sup>75</sup> The

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and Kay B. Warren, "Democracy Without Peace: The Cultural Politics of Terror in Peru," Latin American Research Review. 24(1), 1989, p. 12; and is implied in Georges Bruss Huamán's satirical vision of Peru in the year 2037, Un futuro irreverente, excerpted in Quehacer. 45, 1987.

<sup>73</sup> We refer here to Thomas Davies Jr.'s well-known characterization of APRA's ideology as "an almost incomprehensible ideology" composed of "millenarian" and "spiritualist" traits. "Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre and the APRA: The Politics of Ideology," Pacific Coast Council of Latin American Studies (PCCLAS). 3(1), 1990, p. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Henry Dietz, "Peru's Sendero Luminoso as a Revolutionary Movement," Journal of Political and Military Sociology. 18, 1990, p. 130.

<sup>75</sup> "Entrevista del Siglo" was first published in July 1988 by El Diario. It has since been translated and distributed in North America and Europe by the Berkeley-based Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru as Interview with Chairman Gonzalo. (Berkeley: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, 1991); and by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), a kind of Maoist

importance of the interview must be emphasized for another reason. It was intended, in the words of A World to Win editors, "as a succinct and irrefutable answer to the many slanders that have been hurled against Chairman Gonzalo, PCP, and the Maoists in general." Indeed, the interview, it appears, was directed explicitly at academic Senderologists, whom El Diario called "vulgar charlatans" for their lack of respect for the party's Communist character.<sup>76</sup>

A necessary first step in analyzing the ideology of the PCP-SL is to take its claim to represent a new, higher stage of Marxism (the "fourth sword"), so-called Gonzalism or Gonzalo-Thought, seriously. It is obvious, of course, that Gonzalo-Thought is but a caricature of Marxism, many times removed from anything and everything Marx and Engels wrote.<sup>77</sup>

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International of parties from fifteen countries, in its publication A World to Win. 18, 1992. There was initially some scepticism as to the document's authenticity, mostly because of the rumours of Guzmán's death. With his capture in September 1992 these fears have been allayed.

<sup>76</sup> In the August 8, 1989 issue of El Diario the editors commented on the great success of the interview in responding to Senderologists. In particular, they complain of Senderologists' use of terms "messianic" to describe the party and of their insufficient knowledge of Maoism. In response to all of this, Stephen Brennan cautioned that we should "not take at face value" the interview or any other PCP-SL document, and instead should concentrate on the movement's "ethnic [Indian] elements." This writer disagrees. We should read PCP-SL documents with a critical eye, looking even perhaps for "hidden" elements, drawing them out perhaps, but not dismissing them.

<sup>77</sup> A humorous example of the distance travelled from Marxism to Gonzalism occurred at the press conference that presented the captured Guzmán. When the police began singing the national anthem Guzmán countered, fist in the air, with the *Internationale* but, alas, forgot the words! See the comments by Ama Guillermoprieto,

Nevertheless, it deserves our attention just as other bastardizations of Marxism do.<sup>78</sup> Gonzalism, therefore, cannot be dismissed as a "guise," or a front concealing its true "Indian" ideology. To do so is to dismiss the PCP-SL's nearly two decade long battle within the Communist Party and within the Maoist movement itself as meaningless clowning about. Sendero's leadership takes its Maoism seriously and should be taken seriously by scholars who want to define it.

Party documents and in particular the interview with Guzmán offer useful clues that help explain the fundamental paradox of Peru's thirteen year civil war. How has a party that uses terror systematically against the people it says it leads managed to survive and expand? As Guzmán asks of Senderologists in his interview, "how can they explain the existence of a movement that has developed a people's war for eight years without international aid if it doesn't have the support of the masses?"<sup>79</sup> This question has yet to be answered satisfactorily.

These successes cannot be attributed solely to the brutal response of the armed forces which created the hostility and resentment that Sendero exploits, although this is certainly a factor. Neither are Sendero's successes due exclusively to its obviously superb military tactics. Senderology has been

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"Down the Shining Path," New Yorker. Feb. 8, 1993.

<sup>78</sup> By which we mean Stalinism principally.

<sup>79</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 50.

highly contradictory in its attempt to deal with Sendero on this point. Those who have emphasized the failures of Sendero to win over a larger following single out the essential foreignness of Sendero's Maoist ideology and cultural worldview to the Quechua speaking peasantry.<sup>80</sup> This foreignness is identified as Sendero's great weakness and the reason for loss of or lack of popular support amongst the Andean peasantry. The chief element of this foreignness usually identified by Senderologists is the party's anachronistic application of Maoism and/or Mariáteguism to a "memory of Peru."<sup>81</sup> On the other hand, Sendero has popular support, although some of it must be classified as passive support from peasants who have attempted to play the military and Sendero off against each other. Is Sendero to be viewed as a terrorist organization with substantial popular support? If it is so innately foreign, how has it managed to survive and expand?

In large part the successes and the failures of Sendero can be attributed to the same two factors: the janus-faced nature of the party elite's place within the economic and cultural realities of Ayacucho, and a Stalinist ideology that is both pragmatic and dogmatic. The real answer, therefore,

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<sup>80</sup> Billie Jean Isbell, "The Emerging Patterns of Peasants' Responses to Sendero Luminoso," Paper presented at the NYU/Columbia University Latin American Studies Consortium, New York, December, 9, 1988.

<sup>81</sup> Wheat, "Shining Path's Fourth Sword Ideology," p. 48.

lies in a combination of the party's ethnic and class position, its pedagogical roots, and a pragmatic side to its ideology that belies its obvious dogmatism. These factors are the essential defining elements of the PCP-SL's relationship to the masses. They go a long way toward explaining Sendero's successes, and its failures. They, in particular its ideology, remain poorly understood, however. After describing the uneven development of capitalism in Chapter Two, therefore, Chapter Three goes on to explain the origins and outlook of "Gonzalo Thought."

The fourth chapter returns to a discussion of the "Indian problem" in its contemporary manifestations through an examination of the writings of Peru's best known interpreter, novelist Mario Vargas Llosa. As the ideological antithesis of Sendero, Vargas Llosa is a key figure in Peru's present crisis and has played an important role in articulating the racist fears of Peru's criollo elite. If what we have been calling Andeanism represents Las Casas's legacy, Vargas Llosa is the Sepúlveda of the 1980s. His vision of the Indian, of Peruvian reality, is placed in the context of the "dirty war" and its consequences are assessed. Finally, the epilogue suggests alternative ways of seeing Peruvian history and realities.

## Chapter 2

### PEASANTS ON THE PERIPHERY: BETWEEN MORAL ECONOMY AND MODERNIZATION

One of the more ubiquitous themes in Senderology for the entire decade has been the assumption of the innate separateness of the Andes from "official" Peru. The "other Peru," as the Andean regions have always been called, lies in a state of perennial backwardness despite the best efforts of five hundred years to break through. The southern highlands, where Ayacucho is located, are identified as especially parochial. The static, ahistorical character of much Senderology comes, paradoxically, at a time when Peruvian historiography is moving in precisely the opposite direction.<sup>1</sup> The work of two early interpreters of Sendero, Cynthia McClintock and David Palmer, has for all intents and purposes rewritten the history of capitalism in the Andes, and represents a substantial step back from earlier trends. In the following critique, the assumptions of modernization and moral economy theories are explored in light of the historical record of capitalist development in the Andes and Peru.

Cynthia McClintock has suggested that understanding the

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<sup>1</sup> A good review of recent trends can be found in Rory Miller "Introduction," to Miller (ed.), Region and Class in Modern Peruvian History. (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, 1987). The work of Florencia Mallon, Bryan Roberts and Norman Long on capitalist development in the Mantaro Valley is of special note.

rise of Sendero and its ability to grow in strength throughout the 1980s can shed new light on "the prevailing theories of revolution."<sup>2</sup> In 1984, that judgement may have been premature; almost a decade later, with Sendero still active throughout Peru, it appears that that is no longer the case. McClintock's work on Sendero is the most serious attempt to date at entering Sendero into the debates on peasant revolutions.<sup>3</sup> An exploration of her work offers an excellent opportunity, therefore, to assess the current state of theories of revolution and social change.

McClintock looks to answer two important questions by studying Sendero. The first is the significance of a "crisis of subsistence" in the outbreak of peasant revolts; the second (which in fact should come first) concerns the type of agrarian structure "most conducive to revolutionary activity." Both questions have a long history of controversy, the most heated of which are the debates between Samuel Popkin and

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<sup>2</sup> McClintock, "Why Peasants Rebel," p. 48. Accordingly she cites James Scott, Eric Wolf, Theda Skocpol, Jeffrey Paige, and Samuel Popkin, as some of the participants in this debate. Strangely, she lists Mexico as "the only Latin American case" that enters the debate. McClintock is professor of political science at George Washington University.

<sup>3</sup> Others who have aspired to this include Timothy Wickham-Crowley, "Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, 1956-70," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 32, 1990, pp. 201-237; and Kurt Conklin, "Sendero Luminoso as Peasant Revolution and Political Party," M.A. Thesis, Temple University, 1991.

moral economists on Vietnam.<sup>4</sup> McClintock's conclusions are, first, that a subsistence crisis was "outstandingly important" in the emergence of Sendero: "the *sine-qua non* element has been the subsistence crisis in the country's southern highlands during the early 1980s." She believes, therefore, that the rise of Sendero "provides new evidence for the arguments of James Scott" as outlined in The Moral Economy of the Peasant.<sup>5</sup> In addition to her use of Scott, McClintock finds support from Eric Wolf,<sup>6</sup> and uses some of the discourse of the "new social movements" theorists.<sup>7</sup> This has prompted one reviewer to suggest that all three approaches - Scott's, Wolf's, and the "new social movements" theorists - share the same epistemological components which can be traced directly

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<sup>4</sup> See Samuel Popkin, The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Rural Vietnam. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. Popkin's principal targets are James Scott and Eric Wolf.

<sup>5</sup> "Why Peasants Rebel," p.48; p. 82. Scott, The Moral Economy of the Peasant. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976). According to Scott peasants have a "subsistence ethic" by which they evaluate the destructive effects of capitalist expansion. Protests arise, more or less spontaneously ("organically" in McClintock's words), which aim to regain lost structures, lost rights and lost cultural elements that served to protect peasants from the vagaries of capitalism. Other scholars associated with the moral economy model include E.P. Thompson and Joel Migdal.

<sup>6</sup> Eric Wolf, Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century. (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), contains his controversial thesis that middle peasants are more revolutionary than poorer ones.

<sup>7</sup> David Slater (ed.) New Social Movements and the State in Latin America. (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1985). NSM theorists and "subaltern studies" analysts are post-Marxists influenced by Gramsci, Foucault, and others.

to Russian populist theorist A.V. Chayanov.<sup>8</sup> This may or may not be the case. But what is clear from McClintock's work is that her conceptual framework makes it difficult for her to distinguish between poor, middle, and rich peasants and even those that would properly be called something else. Her second conclusion - on the question of agrarian structures - is that the department of Ayacucho (the "home" of Sendero) is "relatively unintegrated into the capitalist market economy." She concludes: "rural smallholders who are not particularly active in the market economy or nonagricultural networks have been Sendero's primary peasant base." For this conclusion, however, she looks not to Scott, who studied South East Asia not Latin America, nor to Peruvian historians and anthropologists, but to fellow political scientist and Senderologist, David Scott Palmer.<sup>9</sup>

David Palmer is also one of the leading voices in Senderology at the moment. Having spent time at UNSCH in Ayacucho as a member of the Peace Corps in the early 1960s, at which time he met Guzmán, Palmer's work has an authoritative voice that has proven highly influential in the birth of

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<sup>8</sup> Tom Brass, "Moral Economists, Subalterns, New Social Movements, and the (Re-) Emergence of a (Post-) Modernised (Middle) Peasant," Journal of Peasant Studies. 18(2) (January), 1991, p. 174. Brass has a full plate here. A representative sample of his work is his argument that the subaltern studies/new social movements framework "breathes new life into the Rousseauesque myth of the noble savage whose contemporary variant is the middle peasant." Scott's and Wolf's theories are not identical, but often coincide.

<sup>9</sup> McClintock, "Why Peasants Rebel," p. 49, p. 82.

Senderology. Indeed, his influence goes well beyond academic circles, as his recent participation in U.S. Senate hearings on the issue of U.S. funding for the "drug war" in Peru's Upper Huallaga Valley testifies.<sup>10</sup> On Sendero, Palmer's main hypothesis, as we have already seen, is that it is "the latest manifestation of a rich tradition of local rebellion at the periphery against the center."<sup>11</sup> In his introduction to Shining Path of Peru, Palmer writes that Sendero has "taken up the banner of the periphery" against the coast.<sup>12</sup> The concept of the periphery, which Palmer tells us should be "understood in cultural, economic, and geographic terms," however, turns out to be a metaphysical abstraction that has no correspondence to the actual relationship between center and periphery. His use of these terms bears little resemblance to that found in dependency theory which, for all its faults, was always conscious of the interconnectedness of the center and periphery. Few dependentistas raised "the periphery" to

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<sup>10</sup> David Scott Palmer, "Peru, The Drug Business And Shining Path: Between Scylla And Charybdis?" Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs. 34(3), (Fall) 1992, pp. 74-75. Other Senderologists present at the hearings included Gabriela Tarazona-Sevillano, and Gordon McCormack of the RAND Corporation both of whom have studied Sendero and the drug war under the politically charged, but not very exact, heading "narcoterrorism." According to Palmer, he and Tarazona-Sevillano "presented the case for full, if conditioned, support" for U.S. funding of the "drug war" in Peru, while McCormack "felt that any aid would be wasted on a lost cause."

<sup>11</sup> "Rebellion in Rural Peru," p. 141.

<sup>12</sup> Palmer, "Introduction" in Palmer (ed.), Shining Path of Peru, p. xi.

the abstract geographic thing it is in Palmer's work.<sup>13</sup> In Palmer's use of the term, the periphery's ties to the center - in this case the coast and via the coast to the international market - are severed at the Andes, leaving it "isolated," "marginal," and "backward." Palmer's view of Peru's periphery draws heavily on the modernization breakdown models of James Davies and Samuel P. Huntington; his work on Sendero represents, therefore, one of the best examples of Huntington's enduring impact on the social sciences in the United States.<sup>14</sup>

McClintock and Palmer are just two of many scholars of the twelve year "Peruvian Experiment" of the Government of the Revolutionary Armed Forces (GRFA) (1968-80), who have turned their attention to Sendero<sup>15</sup> The study of Sendero,

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<sup>13</sup> The best recent appraisal of the debates surrounding dependency theory, world systems theory, and the like is Cristobal Kay, Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment. (London: Routledge, 1989).

<sup>14</sup> James Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," American Sociological Review. 27, 1962, pp. 5-19. Davies is known for his "J-curve" which emphasizes "loss of legitimacy for the established government" as a key factor in the rise of insurgencies. Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

<sup>15</sup> Others include David Werlich, and Henry Dietz. McClintock's Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983) is based on her doctoral dissertation and emphasizes the agency of Peruvian peasants within the context of the military's top-down agrarian reform policies. See also Abraham F. Lowenthal and Cynthia McClintock (eds.), The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983). Palmer's pre-Sendero work on Peru includes Peru - the Authoritarian Tradition. (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), and "Revolution From Above" : Military Government and Popular Participation in Peru, 1968-72. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell

therefore, represents a logical continuation of their earlier interests and many of their conclusions are based on research and personal experiences of the 1960s and 1970s. Because of the respect accorded their earlier work, and the weight their respective personal experiences (they both spent time in Ayacucho) carry, the influence Palmer and McClintock have had on would-be Senderologists in the United States has been pervasive and profound.<sup>16</sup> In particular, their vision of the Andes as an isolated backwater, unintegrated into the capitalist economy and national political life, has been faithfully reproduced by many Senderologists.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the canonization of McClintock's and Palmer's work has been so extensive that their bleak image of the Andes has been called

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University, 1973).

<sup>16</sup> A host of recent M.A Theses on Sendero reflect to varying degrees the influence of Palmer and McClintock. Brennan, "Ethnicity as a Motivating Factor;" Barbriere-Sofaly, "Sendero Luminoso;" Lisa Moses, "The Applicability of Maoism to Latin America," (M.A. Thesis, University of Virginia, 1989); Janet Swartzfager, "Land Reform and the Rise of Peru's Sendero Luminoso," (M.A. Thesis, Mississippi State University, 1988); Gerald Vevon, "Sendero Luminoso: Rural Revolution and its Impact on Peru," (M.A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, 1986).

<sup>17</sup> See for example, Hazleton and Woy-Hazleton, "Sendero Luminoso and the Future of Peruvian Democracy," pp. 21-35; Henry Dietz, "Peru's Sendero Luminoso as a Revolutionary Movement," Journal of Political and Military Sociology. 18 (Summer, 1990), pp. 123-50; James Petras and Morris Morley, an unlikely source, write that Sendero is "the most recent expression of rural Peru's historic resentment of socioeconomic discrimination by central governments in Lima," U.S. Hegemony Under Siege. (London: Verso, 1990), p. 13.

a "new chronicle" of Peru.<sup>18</sup>

We find that any disagreements between McClintock and Palmer are of less importance than their shared understanding of the fundamentals of (non)capitalist development in Peru.<sup>19</sup> This consensus necessarily raises larger questions of methodology. Specifically, we might "question the distance from modernization theory travelled by these [moral economy] theorists."<sup>20</sup> In his recent work Anthropologies and Histories, William Roseberry makes the persuasive case that moral economy and modernization paradigms often "have remarkably similar starting points for their historical trajectories - a relatively homogenous, undifferentiated traditional order" - a charge Roseberry even imputes to E.P. Thompson.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the transition from this "ordered

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<sup>18</sup> Poole and Rénique, "The New Chroniclers of Peru," Described by one reviewer as a "nasty diatribe," this article emphasizes the political implications of McClintock and Palmer, arguing that their theories on Sendero are rooted in U.S. counterinsurgency doctrine. Although they overstate the case, they provide excellent evidence of Palmer's and McClintock's methodological problems.

<sup>19</sup> Indeed, the only example of dissent between the two is found in a footnote by Palmer in which he writes that "center-periphery relationships were more important than a subsistence crisis," "Rebellion in Rural Peru," p. 142n1. At one time such apparently opposed conclusions merited much fuller discussion.

<sup>20</sup> William Roseberry, Anthropologies and Histories: Essays in Culture, History and Political Economy. (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1991), p. 56. It may be objected that it is unfair to speak of their respective work as representing one view. It is nevertheless the case that far too often Palmer and McClintock have cited only each other to support their arguments.

<sup>21</sup> Roseberry, Anthropologies, pp. 56-58. On Thompson, see p. 200.

past" - in which peasants are situated prior to capitalism - is viewed as a relatively unambiguous one. It tends, at times, to be a teleology emptied of history. As Raymond Williams once noted, the idyllic rural past "always seems to have recently disappeared or to be in the process of disappearing."<sup>22</sup> Although Roseberry is highly critical of moral economists, he also accounts for the important political message that people like Thompson brought to their work - a stinging critique of capitalism. However, such a critique is not inherent in a moral economy approach, and in different contexts, the paradigm can prevent us from understanding the particular, even peculiar, developments that give rise to groups like Sendero. As a theory with its roots in late nineteenth-century ideas of natural economy (and its opposite, the money or market economy), the moral economy model is often ill-equipped to deal with the historical particularities, such as those of the Third World where the development of capitalism has been uneven and contradictory.<sup>23</sup>

With these criticisms in mind, how should one analyze McClintock's attempt at interpreting Sendero through a moral economy paradigm? Unfortunately, her work on Sendero provides convincing support for Roseberry's judgment on moral economy's connections to modernization theory. As we have seen,

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<sup>22</sup> Williams is cited in Roseberry, Anthropologies, p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> Roseberry, Anthropologies, p. 215.

McClintock finds support for some of her views from Palmer. There is an additional epistemological link, however, in the form of Samuel Huntington who McClintock also cites at times. Indeed, in some ways both McClintock's and Palmer's analyses turn on the axis originally provided by Huntington, however different their conclusions may appear. It is important, therefore, to understand Huntington's position in the U.S. social sciences.

Huntington is best known for his involvement in the debates on Vietnam in which he came down firmly on the side of the U.S. government.<sup>24</sup> His political involvement was an intrinsic part of his attempt at revitalizing 1950s modernization theory to accommodate the new concern for order. The political realities of Cuba and Vietnam, and the advent of dependency theories - some of them Marxist - had undermined the teleological and pluralist assumptions of modernization theory. The task Huntington set out for himself in Political Order was to salvage this original theoretical apparatus, "while at the same time co-opting the more persuasive themes

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<sup>24</sup> See Colin Leys, "Samuel Huntington and the End of Classical Modernization Theory," In, Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin (eds.) Introduction to the Sociology of "Developing Societies." (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), p. 342-44. Huntington was, from 1966-69, chairman of the Council on Vietnamese Studies of the U.S. Agency for International Development's South East Asia Advisory Group, and visited Saigon on behalf of the State Department to "investigate ways in which political power could be developed." Cited in Leys, p. 343. The parallels between Huntington and Palmer in terms of their political commitment to U.S. foreign policy are unmistakable.

of dependency theory."<sup>25</sup> This he did by transforming dichotomies such as center - periphery, traditional - modern, into "pair[s] of very arbitrary abstractions," with the attendant results: the positing of a once universal original state for the periphery; and a universal end state for the center, with the "modernization process" serving as a "surrogate for the historical processes that have actually taken place or are taking place at both the periphery and the center."<sup>26</sup> Huntington also ventured to discuss class, something the pluralist models of the 1950s attempted to erase as an historical reality. Again, however, the principal effect was to freeze class categories as perpetual givens, not as changing and conflicting entities. He could thus speak authoritatively of "peasantries" and even "lumpenproletariats," while never anchoring them historically.

Huntington's influence has been great. The main reason for this is that he took the discredited assumptions of modernization theory and gave them a pseudo-scientific veneer. Political Order, for example, is noted for its attempt at

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<sup>25</sup> Leys, "Samuel Huntington," p.333. In his use of concepts found in dependency theory, Huntington confirms in the extreme the concerns of Fernando Henrique Cardoso that the "consumption" of dependency theory in U.S. academic circles meant the loss of its critical edge. Cardoso, "The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the United States," Latin American Research Review. 12(3), 1977, p. 7-24.

<sup>26</sup> Leys, "Samuel Huntington," pp. 333-334.

"quantifying" political change in 26 countries.<sup>27</sup> The conservative ideology of original modernization theory was never abandoned, however; on the contrary, it was bolstered, now with "science" on its side, by the sheer mass of evidence marshalled by Huntington. The chickens came home to roost only in 1987 when the American Academy of Sciences finally caught up with Huntington. They refused him entry into their ranks "on grounds of specious claims to scientific objectivity."<sup>28</sup>

On Senderology, Huntington's most profound effect has been precisely what he accomplished with the center-periphery dichotomy. Palmer's near-obsession with "the periphery" and other such dichotomies - traditional-modern, rural-urban, Indian-mestizo - certainly receive their metaphysical force from Huntington. Even his personal experience in Ayacucho is filtered through it. After being expelled from the UNSCH in 1963 (as a Peace Corps member), Palmer did re-forestation work in the department of Ayacucho. It left, in Palmer's words, an "indelible mark on [his] own world view, one that looks toward the center from the periphery and evaluates Peruvian reality with that perspective." According to Palmer the expulsion from the University "exposed him to a very different Ayacucho reality, that of the remote and isolated Indian communities."

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<sup>27</sup> Huntington, Political Order.

<sup>28</sup> Alexander Cockburn, "'Mad Dog' Barks," in the Village Voice, reprinted in Corruptions of Empire. (London: Verso, 1987), pp. 288-89.

So isolated was Ayacucho that, according to Palmer, the name became "practically synonymous with backwardness."<sup>29</sup>

Senderologists in general have gone to great lengths to show that Sendero is "a product of isolation."<sup>30</sup> The elements of this isolation are all encompassing - geographic, cultural, political, and economic. Geographically, Ayacucho and the southern highlands in general, are depicted as walled-off from the coast by the impenetrable Andes. McClintock, for example, writes that "peasants rarely travel out of the region, [and] people from the coast rarely reach Ayacucho."<sup>31</sup> And, in her influential article, "Why Peasants Rebel," she actually claims (incorrectly) that Ayacucho "is inaccessible, without a main road from the coast."<sup>32</sup> Culturally, the southern highlands occupy the largest portion of what is still disparagingly called the mancha india ("Indian stain") - the "most Indian" area of Peru. In Senderology's terms, therefore, Ayacucho is home to the "primitive" Quechua speaking

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<sup>29</sup> Palmer, Shining Path, p. xi. Palmer, "Expulsion from a Peruvian University," In, Robert B. Textor (ed.), Cultural Frontiers of the Peace Corps. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1966), p. 244.

<sup>30</sup> Hazleton, and Woy-Hazleton, "Sendero Luminoso and the Future," p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> McClintock, "Peru's Sendero," p. 71

<sup>32</sup> "Why Peasants Rebel," p. 76. While not all roads go to Ayacucho, at least six do, one of which goes to the coast. The maps McClintock looked at [South America: Map of a Continent (Kummerly Frey)] obviously differ substantially from those found in Carlos Iván Degregori's Ayacucho: Raíces de una crisis. (Ayacucho: Instituto de Estudios Regionales, José María Arguedas, 1986), pp. 26-27.

"descendants of the Incas." Meanwhile, economically Ayacucho is "the poorest most forgotten region of Peru." For McClintock, as we have seen, this translates into Ayacucho's non-integration into the capitalist economy. Ayacucho and the southern highlands, therefore, appear to epitomize what traditionally has been called the "other Peru." Although some attempts (such as McClintock's comment on roads) to paint Ayacucho as an isolated geographic outpost are patently false, there are nevertheless a few grains of truth to this "isolation." It is therefore understandable, to some extent, that many observers see in Sendero a "reflection of the failure to integrate vast areas of the Andean highlands" into national life. In fact, political turmoil in these parts of the Andes has always been perceived in this light. The classic case is the War of the Pacific (1879-82), in which Peru suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Chile. In the aftermath, it was argued by many that the defeat reflected Peru's failure to bring the "other Peru" into the nation. Successive government policies after the War show a consistent effort to integrate economically and politically the Andean regions.<sup>33</sup>

Geographically, of course, the Andes will always divide the "two Perus," even with technological advances in communication. But this fact stopped neither Spanish conquistadors from reaching the Andes' most remote corners,

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<sup>33</sup> See Florencia Mallon, In Defense of Community, Chapter 3.

nor Catholic (and now Protestant) missionaries from carrying out their own form of conquest. Nor did the Andes prevent the republican armies from reaching Ayacucho where they defeated the Spaniards in the "Battle of Ayacucho." And, most importantly, the geographical divide of the Andes has not prevented capitalism's penetration into the "other Peru," although it has shaped the form of its development. In order to understand the history of capitalism in the Andes, it is important first to briefly sketch the nature of Peru's insertion into the global capitalist economy, for the Andes were connected to the international economy early on. A brief history of these developments will allow us better to assess McClintock's claim that "the effect of world capitalist forces upon the Andean peasantry [has] been an indirect one."<sup>34</sup>

Peru's integration into the global capitalist system was, of course, originally centered around the fabulous silver exports of Potosí and other mining centers. The silver made its way to Spain and through Spain to western Europe where it "acted as the cutting edge of west European capitalism."<sup>35</sup> The foremost effect of the introduction of mining was the destruction of pre-conquest agrarian structures. On their ruins Spaniards re-created the status symbol of southern Spain, the hacienda, a large livestock or agricultural estate

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<sup>34</sup> McClintock, "Why Peasants Rebel," p. 76.

<sup>35</sup> Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, The Colonial Heritage of Latin America. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 32.

that combined production for the market with subsistence production. The hacienda was a paternalist social nexus that used a system of debt peonage to retain a labour force and is one of the chief "colonial heritages" of Latin America. The hacienda has inhibited both the development of capitalism and our understanding of this development; it has been at the forefront of the debates on whether or not Latin America was feudal or capitalist.<sup>36</sup>

The effect of the plunder of silver on local capitalist development was partial and uneven, however, as historians working within the dependency framework have shown.<sup>37</sup> Independence brought little improvement to the basics of Peru's colonial economic relationship. Peru's post-colonial economic history can, therefore, be seen as a series of major export cycles, each based on the export of primary products. Following Independence, it was guano - the mountains of accumulated excrement from the pelicans, cormorants, and seagulls off Peru's coast - that fattened Lima's oligarchy -

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<sup>36</sup> There has been much blood spilt on this. For an excellent recent appraisal of the feudalism-capitalism-world system conundrum initiated by Frank, Laclau, and Wallerstein, by a Latin American historian, see Steve Stern, "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean," American Historical Review, 93(4) (October, 1988), pp. 829-872; and the responses by Wallerstein, and Stern, that follow.

<sup>37</sup> Stein and Stein, Colonial Heritage. Although new revisionist work, in particular that of Peter Bakewell, is questioning the traditional view of plunder which allows for little autonomous capitalist development. See Stern "Feudalism, Capitalism, and the World System," for a good summary of the findings of Bakewell and others.

"more vulgar means to the same elegant ends," as Galeano put it.<sup>38</sup> The guano boom stimulated a more rapid conversion to domestic manufacturing in Peru, but it remained confined largely to the coast and closely tied to foreign capital. Expansion of internal demand served mainly the external sector by stimulating the growth of imports, not production for the domestic market.<sup>39</sup> And, like the silver, the massive guano deposits were squandered within a few years - by the time the War of the Pacific began (1879) the best guano deposits had already been depleted. The war, moreover, wiped out the meagre economic gains of the "Guano Age." In sum, from the arrival of the Spaniards to the end of the War of the Pacific, Peru had what Thorp and Bertram have called an "open economy", one intrinsically linked to the financial markets of Genoa, London, and New York, and the *sine qua non* of her dependence.<sup>40</sup>

Bird-droppings, it turns out, are the appropriate symbol of Peru's dependent capitalist development: a weak and prostituted national bourgeoisie content to share in the

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<sup>38</sup> Eduardo Galeano, Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1973).

<sup>39</sup> The classic work on guano is Heraclio Bonilla, Guano y burguesía en el Perú. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1974.)

<sup>40</sup> Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, Peru, 1890-1977: Growth and Policy in an Open Economy. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

spoils and hand-me-downs of an aging oligarchy.<sup>41</sup> Actually, however, the roots of the Peruvian national bourgeoisie's weak position lie in the failures of the post-guano era (1890-1930), the period ushered in by Peru's disastrous defeat by Chile in the War of the Pacific. The war marks a watershed in the development of capitalism in the Andes.<sup>42</sup> It was in the aftermath of the war that Peru experienced its first real autonomous capitalist development only to slide towards the dependence on foreign capital that still largely defines Peru's relationship to the global capitalist economy. While it is difficult to deny the inevitability of this subsequent slide, it is important to note the effects of Peru's brief period of relatively autonomous capitalist development: partial, uneven capitalist development on the periphery. The effect was not, as some would still have it, absolute underdevelopment.

Peru's integration into the capitalist system had effects well beyond the coast. If it was ever possible to speak of the Andean economy as a separate entity from the "national" economy, it becomes increasingly impossible to do so after the War of the Pacific. In intensifying the expansion of capitalism into the highlands, the war initiated a long

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<sup>41</sup> On the weakness of bourgeoisie see Thorpe and Bertram Peru. Because of their weak state, the bourgeoisie was content with sharing in the oligarchy's splendour as minor economic partners or, more often, through political means - petty office holding and the like - as economic opportunities were blocked.

<sup>42</sup> Mallon, In Defense of Community, p. 93.

period of class struggle in which the capitalist mode of production emerged the dominant one in the Andes. As Florencia Mallon describes it, when the battlefield of the war shifted from the coast to the highlands in 1881, the "strains of the Chilean occupation exacerbated class tensions generated by earlier commercialization."<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, defeat in the war meant the first real incursion of the state into the highlands and therefore new relationships between the landed oligarchy, the state and peasant communities. Although many landowners had rejected state intervention in the years before the War of the Pacific, by 1895 many were forced to admit that "they needed some kind of relationship with the state structure."<sup>44</sup> The entrance of the state exacerbated the developing confrontations between a new regional elite of rich peasants and merchants, subsistence farmers, and a semi-proletarianized rural population. The period 1890-1930 is therefore a crucial period in the development of a unique agrarian structure, one that people still misleadingly characterize as semi-feudal.

The present Andean agrarian structure is distinguished, therefore, by a number of historical peculiarities which have troubled the smooth development of capitalism for centuries. Some are topographical in nature - the steep slopes and foothills of the Andes do not mix readily with technologies

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<sup>43</sup> Mallon, In Defense of Community, p. 79.

<sup>44</sup> Florencia Mallon, "Nationalist and Antistate Coalitions in the War of the Pacific," In, Stern (ed.), Rebellion, Resistance, and Consciousness, p. 264.

developed for low altitudes and broad flatlands. The Andes are geared, in other words, for smallholding agriculture.<sup>45</sup> It is wrong, however, to see these geographic constraints as "backwardness," especially given the ingenious use of multiple altitude zones for growing crops and livestock raising;<sup>46</sup> and it certainly does not indicate the absence of capitalism that many take it to be. Rather, it illustrates that the process of capitalist expansion into the Andes was uneven and contradictory in accordance with Peru's overall dependent development.

If we look at the "balance sheet" of a century of capitalist development in the Andean countryside, we find that the results have been irregular and inconsistent. Montoya has described the general pattern as one in which a nascent agrarian bourgeoisie had, by 1900, managed to convert many of the "semi-feudal" gamonales<sup>47</sup> of the highlands into a commercial bourgeoisie that nevertheless remained lords over their "serfs."<sup>48</sup> Soon, however, they encountered the limits to productive capitalist development - both ecological ones, as well as human ones (peasant resistance) - and realized that

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<sup>45</sup> Rodrigo Montoya, "Class Relations in the Andean Countryside," Latin American Perspectives. Issue 34, 9(3), (Summer), 1982: 62-78

<sup>46</sup> David Lehmann (ed.) Ecology and Exchange in the Andes. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

<sup>47</sup> Local strongmen or petty tyrants, usually local landowners.

<sup>48</sup> They were only semi-proletarianized.

the best they could hope for was commercial profits. This partial development of productive capitalism and the growing development of commercial capitalism meant growing differentiation among the peasantry, but not full-fledged proletarianization. This general scenario, of course, varied across time and region. In some areas - the central highlands for instance - the process of proletarianization seems to have been more widespread by the 1920s.<sup>49</sup> In the southern highlands - departments such as Ayacucho, Apurímac, Huancavelica, Cuzco, Puno - the process appears to approximate that described here by Montoya - differentiation of the peasantry but only partial proletarianization. It is problematic, therefore, to speak unequivocally of the classic struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat in some areas of the Andes. More to the point, however, is that it is misleading to speak simply of "peasants" in this same context.

Herein lies the problem with McClintock's vision of the agrarian structures in the southern highlands. While she readily admits, in a revealing review article from 1987, that peasant differentiation occurred on a grand scale in the central highlands by the 1930s, creating a new rich class of peasants, she does not allow for any such differentiation in the southern highlands even into the present.<sup>50</sup> Her

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<sup>49</sup> Mallon, In Defense of Community, p. 254.

<sup>50</sup> McClintock, "Capitalist Expansion and the Andean Peasantry," Latin American Research Review. 22(2), 1987, p. 237. Books reviewed include Mallon's In Defense of Community, Norman Long and Bryan

appreciation of the effects of capitalism in the central highlands - agreeing with Florencia Mallon that "capitalist expansion challenged village self-sufficiency in the central highlands as early as the 1930s and meant increasing socioeconomic differentiation directly within the peasant community" - is absent from her work on Sendero, where it is claimed that capitalism has had only an "indirect" effect even in these areas. Because of the convincing nature of the works under review, McClintock is forced to admit things which directly contradict her work on Sendero. Her only real criticisms of the eight books on the central highlands is that the authors "neglected the more remote and impoverished parts of the Peruvian highlands...where the Sendero Luminoso guerrillas have been active since the 1960s."<sup>51</sup> The implication, of course, is that capitalism made its way to the central highlands but not to Ayacucho. Aside from the fact that Sendero guerrillas have not been active since the 1960s, McClintock's criticism is misleading, since one of the books under review - Lehmann's Ecology and Exchange - contains two essential essays that substantially question many of her assumptions about southern highland agrarian structures.

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Roberts, Miners, Peasants, Entrepreneurs. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), and Lehmann (ed.) Ecology and Exchange in the Andes, all of which present a dynamic and thoroughly capitalist experience in the central highlands that "belies its apparently peripheral position with respect to the coastal region." (Long and Roberts, p. 23)

<sup>51</sup> McClintock, "Capitalist Expansion," p. 243.

The first, by Adolfo Figueroa, is a study of eight peasant families in some of the "poorest" regions of the southern highlands.<sup>52</sup> Applying concepts typically applied to the relationship between national economies and the global economy - such as "open economy" - to the Andean peasant economy, Figueroa finds that even these very poor communities show a "high degree" of integration with the national capitalist economy. While a national economy is considered "open" if exports consist of 20-25 percent of GNP, Figueroa's case studies show village exports of almost half of their net product.<sup>53</sup> Figueroa limits his efforts, however, to showing empirically the degree and mechanisms of market integration of these communities. He therefore offers only partial evidence of the development of wage labour and peasant differentiation. He concludes only that "the peasant family is partially a proletarian family."<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, as an empirical study of market integration, Figueroa's essay is a cogent response to the premise of Andean isolation present in McClintock's argument.

Perhaps even more persuasive is Rodrigo Sánchez's

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<sup>52</sup> Adolfo Figueroa, "Production and Market Exchange in Peasant Economies: The Case of the Southern Highlands of Peru," In, Lehmann (ed.), Ecology and Exchange, pp. 123-56. His eight case studies took him to Cuzco, Puno, Apurimac, and Huancavelica.

<sup>53</sup> Figueroa, "Production and Market Exchange," pp. 149-50. Interestingly, according to Figueroa, the development of highways is considered the most important element in making the peasant economy open to the national economy.

<sup>54</sup> Figueroa, "Production and Market Exchange," p. 156.

analysis of the district of Andarapa in the province of Andahuaylas.<sup>55</sup> Sánchez goes beyond Figueroa in showing not only a community fully integrated into the capitalist system, but also substantial penetration of the capitalist mode of production as a whole. The irony of Sánchez's findings, however, is that this has occurred without full-scale introduction of wage labour. Of the thirty-two peasant producers studied, twelve of whom he classifies as rich or middle peasants, only four employ wage labour for more than 50 percent of their requirements. In addition, the percentage of producers using any wage labour is relatively low at 65.6 percent.<sup>56</sup> The crux of Sánchez's argument lies in showing that apparently non-wage labour, principally the practices of reciprocity that Andean culture is noted for, serve to disguise relationships that in real terms are no different from wage labour. In this, the language of reciprocity both legitimates and helps perpetuate peasant differentiation into rich, middle and poor peasant producers.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Rodrigo Sánchez, "The Andean Economic System and Capitalism," In Lehmann (ed.), Ecology and Exchange, pp. 157-90.

<sup>56</sup> Sánchez, "The Andean Economic System," Table 6.6, p. 171.

<sup>57</sup> In Sánchez's study, the richest household was thirteen and a half times more wealthy than the poorest. See Table 6.4, p. 166. His views on reciprocity are similar to those espoused by Tom Brass on the fiesta system in La Convención in the department of Cajamarca, in, "Cargos and Conflict: The Fiesta System and Capitalist Development in Eastern Peru," Journal of Peasant Studies. 13(3), 1986. Others who emphasize that "the process of peasant differentiation in the Peruvian Andes has its origins in the diverse modes of manipulation of reciprocity relations by well-off peasant sectors," include César Fonseca Martel, "Peasant

If we place McClintock's claim that "peasant agriculture remains predominately at a traditional subsistence level" in the context provided by Figueroa and Sánchez, it is apparent that she is mystifying what is a much more complex reality.<sup>58</sup> The problem is essentially an interpretive one. Unlike Figueroa and Sánchez who insist that "the peasant community is not only an aggregate of families but a social context [with] certain economic relationships," McClintock's concept of the community resembles the "mythic village" that Samuel Popkin polemicized against in The Rational Peasant.<sup>59</sup> In "Why Peasants Rebel," for example, she writes that peasant communities are "traditional highland villages, often extant since the era of the Incas" - an anachronism that she seems to derive from Eric Wolf's celebrated thesis of the "closed corporate community," minus the respect shown by Wolf in his later writings for those elements outlined above.<sup>60</sup> In

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Differentiation in the Peruvian Andes," In, William Stein (ed.), Peruvian Contexts of Change. (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1985), p. 125.

<sup>58</sup> McClintock, "Why Peasants Rebel," p. 75.

<sup>59</sup> Popkin, The Rational Peasant, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> McClintock, "Why," p. 66. Wolf's classic formulation is his "Closed Corporate Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology. 13(1), 1957, pp. 1-18. His Europe and the People Without History. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), emphasizes, a la Wallerstein, the connections between apparently traditional societies and the global economy virtually since 1492. It should also be noted that Wolf identified both "closed" communities and "open" ones, and furthermore saw them as "types" on a continuum that were subject to historical change, not as models to be applied rigidly.

McClintock, "community" is the reified, static, pre-capitalist, and pre-Columbian holdover that Richard Adams argued against as early as 1959.<sup>61</sup> Such a position inevitably leads McClintock to conflate an internally differentiated peasantry into a generic "peasantry."

In terms of empirical evidence for market integration and peasant differentiation in the southern highlands, the work of Figueroa and Sánchez also stands in sharp contrast to the paltry evidence provided by McClintock. Unlike Figueroa and Sánchez, who examine the social relations of peasant production, exchange networks (both monetary and non-monetary), and income distribution, McClintock's evidence for an unintegrated agrarian structure is limited to aggregate data on regional inequalities between the central and southern highlands.<sup>62</sup>

Interestingly, however, the only department of the southern highlands that neither Figueroa nor Sánchez touch on is Ayacucho. While Figueroa's comment that this is "not of importance since differences between [southern highland] departments are minor," is more or less accurate, it still allows room for McClintock to single out Ayacucho as a pre-capitalist backwater. This she can do with relative impunity

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<sup>61</sup> Richard N. Adams, "Freedom and Reform in Rural Latin America," In, Frederick B. Pike, ed. Freedom and Reform in Latin America. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), pp. 203-230; and Change in the Andes. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959)

<sup>62</sup> See her Tables in "Why Peasants Rebel," pp. 60-61.

given that our understanding of changes taking place in the agrarian structures of Ayacucho are seriously hampered by insufficient academic study. As Carlos Degregori points out, studies of Ayacucho in the post-1945 period are "practically non-existent." Census data for Ayacucho, moreover, are notoriously unreliable.<sup>63</sup> As a result, it is difficult to come to as clear an understanding of the degree of peasant differentiation and proletarianization for Ayacucho as it is for those departments studied by Figueroa and Sánchez. Even so, from a strictly theoretical position, does it make sense to speak of agrarian structures in Ayacucho as if they are untouched by capitalism? It would not appear so. On what basis, then, does McClintock see Ayacucho as so dreadfully "backward?" It is difficult to say, although a strong indication comes from her odd assertion that David Palmer's political history of the first four years of the military docenio - Revolution From Above - is "the only widely respected study of agrarian structure in Ayacucho in recent decades."<sup>64</sup> In fact, Palmer's only lasting claims on such matters are that Ayacucho is an example of the dangers of "failed modernization," a view that helps us very little in understanding the complicated history of capitalism in Ayacucho. The only other evidence of Ayacucho's non-capitalist character offered by McClintock is that it is poor, very poor.

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<sup>63</sup> Carlos Degregori, Ayacucho: raices de una crisis, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> "Why Peasants Rebel," p. 54.

As she writes, "the *sine qua non* is poverty." <sup>65</sup>

Clearly it would be difficult to disagree with McClintock on Ayacucho's poverty. Ayacucho is desperately poor and has gotten poorer since the 1960s. It is also one of the three poorest of Peru's departments. But as anthropologists Carlos Degregori and William Mitchell illustrate in recent works, poverty does not mean absence of change, nor absence of internal peasant differentiation, nor absence of de-peasantization. Degregori has produced the most systematic study to date on Ayacucho's development since the 1960s.<sup>66</sup> Comparing census data from 1961, 1972 and 1981, and utilizing local sources, Degregori first provides convincing documentation of the demise of the "semi-feudal" hacienda system over a twenty year period (1961-81), and then proceeds to explain the peculiar process of urbanization that occurred in Ayacucho. Mitchell meanwhile documents the "transformation of peasant society" in Quinua, a town 34 kilometers northeast of Ayacucho (city). Contrary to the impression McClintock leaves, Degregori's study of economically versus non-economically active populations "indicates a massive entrance of the population into the labour market" in the department between 1961-81.<sup>67</sup> Such numbers reflect, of course, the

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<sup>65</sup> McClintock, "Peru's Sendero," In, Eckstein (ed.), Power and Popular Protest, p. 95.

<sup>66</sup> Degregori, Ayacucho: raices de una crisis, pp. 9-13.

<sup>67</sup> Degregori, Ayacucho, pp. 63-64.

attempt to supplement farm production with wage labour and petty commerce. Mitchell found similar occurrences in Quinua between 1966 when it was still a "sleepy backwater" and 1987 when he returned to the community. The story is again one of massive participation in the market economy: only 12 percent of the community reported no nonagricultural work.<sup>68</sup> Together Degregori and Mitchell provide convincing portrayals of the massive changes that occurred in Ayacucho within, however, a context of increasing poverty.

One of Degregori's main concerns is the agrarian structure of Ayacucho. His findings directly affect how we view the agrarian reform program carried out by the military government between 1968 and 1975. There is widespread agreement by scholars (including Cynthia McClintock) that the Peruvian agrarian reform - by most criteria the second most significant in Latin America after Cuba - succeeded in sweeping the latifundia from the countryside.<sup>69</sup> The large landholdings were transferred to the peasants and workers in the form of individual holdings or, more often, state-sponsored cooperatives. The implementation and effect of the agrarian reform, however, mirrored the historic pattern of capitalist development in its contradictory and uneven nature. On the one hand, the effect on the capital intensive coastal

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<sup>68</sup> William Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, pp. 102-109.

<sup>69</sup> Cristobal Kay, "Achievements and Contradictions of the Peruvian Agrarian Reform," Journal of Development Studies. 18(2) (January, 1982), pp. 141-170.

plantations was decisive, creating the highly productive export agriculture that the military counted on to buttress its reformist agenda.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, in regions such as the central and southern highlands where, as McClintock correctly points out, there were "few prosperous [large] estates," the agrarian reform arrived late, in some cases as late as 1976.<sup>71</sup> Given the military's state capitalist character, not surprisingly the more prosperous coastal estates took priority. For most observers this is interpreted as the basic "neglect" of the highlands during the Velasco reforms. And, in fact, McClintock's claim that the reform "did little for Peru's poor highland peasantry," is supported by a wide assortment of scholars. Long and Roberts, for example, write that the central highlands "received little direct benefit" from the agrarian reform.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, the reform had the paradoxical effect of actually inhibiting the entrepreneurial efforts of this new rich peasant stratum. Long and Roberts indicate that in the central highlands, policies such as pricing controls on internally produced crops,

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<sup>70</sup> Indeed, so much so that some argue that the military counted **too much** on monoprodukt export earnings. When they failed to materialize trouble began. John Sheahan, "The Economics of the Peruvian Experiment in Comparative Perspective," In, Lowenthal and McClintock (eds.), The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered, pp. 387-414.

<sup>71</sup> McClintock, "Peru's Sendero," In Eckstein, (ed.), p. 73. Kay, "Achievements," p. 158. Ayacucho is one example of its late arrival - Degregori, Ayacucho, p. 81.

<sup>72</sup> Norman Long and Bryan Roberts, Miners, Peasants, and Entrepreneurs. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) p.16.

combined with subsidies for imports of basic foodstuffs, meant unfavourable terms of trade for these highland peasant entrepreneurs. As Kay reports, it appears that peasant - military conflicts during the agrarian reform were with the collectivist form itself.<sup>73</sup>

What many, including McClintock, fail to realize, however, is precisely what Long and Roberts found in the central highlands: change came prior to and during the Velasco period from within the periphery. In other words, it came from local second and even third generation rich peasants, some of whom even became capitalist farmers.<sup>74</sup> Some of this rich stratum were of more recent vintage - the fortunate beneficiaries of Belaúnde's otherwise ineffective 1964 agrarian reforms.<sup>75</sup> This is, of course, highly paradoxical, since the 1968 reforms were intended to fulfil the broken promises of Belaúnde's meagre 1964 reforms. The importance of the first reforms lay in the fact that they distributed land to individuals, while the reforms of 1968 were fundamentally cooperativist in nature.<sup>76</sup> Degregori and French

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<sup>73</sup> Long and Roberts, Miners, Peasants, and Entrepreneurs, pp. 15-16.

<sup>74</sup> Long and Roberts, Miners, Peasants, and Entrepreneurs, pp. 248-253. For an understanding of this process in the 1930s, see Chapter 9 ("Peasants Become Farmers") of Mallon's In Defense of Community.

<sup>75</sup> Harold Skar, The Warm Valley People, p.50.

<sup>76</sup> Something shown, in fact, by McClintock's Peasant cooperatives and Political Change in Peru. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1971)

anthropologist Henri Favre have shown that the latifundists in Ayacucho also began to fragment and disappear "well before" the agrarian reform arrived. As in the central highlands, inertia, inefficiency, as well as conflict with rich peasants, contributed to the breakdown of the hacienda system in Ayacucho, although it has not been as easy to document as in the more prosperous central highlands. Nevertheless, Degregori can conclude that the hacendados are a "class in extinction," in Ayacucho, and have been for some time.<sup>77</sup> We need, therefore, to pay attention, as we have, to the pre-1968 developments. Without this context, "neglect" of the highlands under Velasco translates into continued isolation in the scenario offered by Palmer and McClintock.

Since 1968 Ayacucho continued to experience "profound changes" even while it "lagged behind" other departments in most economic/social indicators.<sup>78</sup> Two elements of this paradox are the effect of the cocaine boom of the 1970s on Ayacucho, and large scale migration from the countryside to the city of Ayacucho, a process witnessed throughout the country, but with particular acuteness in Ayacucho.

The cocaine economy, centered in the Upper Huallaga Valley on the eastern side of the Andes, is a multifaceted and complex new reality in Peru. Other than its illegality,

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<sup>77</sup> Henri Favre, "Peru - Sendero Luminoso y horizontes ocultos," Caudernos Americanos. 4 (July-August, 1987), p. 29. Degregori, p. 81.

<sup>78</sup> Degregori, Ayacucho, p. 12.

however, the dynamics of the "white gold rush" do not depart radically from "normal" export crop booms such as coffee in the 1960s, nor really from any of Peru's major "boom" periods. It is both a commodity and a multinational industry. As with past commodity booms, "coca has reoriented the societies of producer nations to such a degree that survival would be difficult without it."<sup>79</sup> As Morales reports, coca dollars "are helping the ruling middle classes to survive in their political role at local and national levels."<sup>80</sup> As the only dynamic part of an economy that has virtually collapsed, the illegal cocaine economy highlights with alarming clarity the contradictions of Peru's economy. The Peruvian government finds itself in an interesting, not to say, difficult position. For it is certain that monies accrued in the illegal cocaine economy find their way, once "cleaned," into the "legal" economy where they are used to fund the drug war. Needless to say, the "war on drugs" being waged in the jungles to the east of the Andes has not fared well. As Morales writes, "because of the need for coca dollars, the Peruvian government's action against the cocaine economy is largely limited to newspaper headlines."<sup>81</sup>

Coca capitalism has brought drastic changes to the

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<sup>79</sup> "Coca: The Real Green Revolution," in, NACLA: Report on the Americas. 22(6) (March, 1989), p. 12.

<sup>80</sup> Edmundo Morales, Cocaine: White Gold Rush in Peru. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), p. 138.

<sup>81</sup> Morales, Cocaine, p. 165.

"frontier" lands in the Ceja de Selva (eyebrow of the jungle). The process of transforming coca leaves into coca paste, the first step in the long process of turning "green gold" into "white gold," involves materials such as sulphuric acid, kerosene, sodium carbonate and lime. Because Lima is the major supplier of most of these materials, the frontier lands occupy a key geographic and economic position in the linkages between the national economy and the underground cocaine economy in the Upper Huallaga. This has seriously affected the "world of the native peasantry." For one, people in these areas, including Ayacucho, have been drawn to the lucrative opportunities of the cocaine economy. Many have migrated to the jungles to become relatively rich peasant colonists. Morales, for example, calculates that during the mid-1980s these peasant producers could gross \$12,600 (US) per hectare of coca cultivated.<sup>82</sup> This new strata of rich peasants stands in sharp contrast to McClintock's vision of uniformly impoverished middle peasants struggling to maintain a threatened subsistence. The coca economy, however, effects those beyond the actual growers, in the production of paste, and in marketing the product. For Ayacucho, as one study reported, the cocaine economy became a "dynamic element of the regional economy," one that "no Ayacuchano escapes." The study also reports, however, that while capital accumulation was "evident," Ayacucho remained in a severe economic crisis

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<sup>82</sup> Morales, Cocaine, p. 56.

that could not absorb the massive amounts of unemployed youth in the city.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, Morales argues that the cocaine boom has produced only "cosmetic development," that hides nasty economic and social cleavages. It also produces a new form of coca-dollar dependency for many working along the coca chain, one ultimately controlled by international traffickers. In addition, what Mitchell calls the "frontier lawlessness" of places in the Ceja de Selva, has exacerbated social tensions.<sup>84</sup>

The other major change taking place since 1968 in Ayacucho and documented by Degregori was massive migration from the countryside to the city of Ayacucho. The population of the city of Ayacucho jumped from around 20,000 in 1959 to its present 100,000 inhabitants.<sup>85</sup> In the late 1980s this increase is extraordinary given the high rates of out-migration and mortality due to the war. William Mitchell's case study of Quinua, provides similar documentation of "exponential" migration and its effects. As Mitchell explains, such high levels of migration are the "clearest evidence of connections between the local community, the national economy

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<sup>83</sup> Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSCH), Los niños de la guerra, papers presented at the seminar on "Violencia, familia y niño," held in Ayacucho, November, 1986, p. 22.

<sup>84</sup> Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, p. 24.

<sup>85</sup> The usual figure given is 80,000. However, in Los niños de la guerra, it is given as 100,000, with the difference virtually all due to migration, p. 17.

and the world economy."<sup>86</sup> In Quinua, temporary and/or seasonal migration became an essential element of peasant response to an increasingly squeezed agricultural sector in the first half of the twentieth-century. For Quinenos this meant disruption of the "traditional" economy and culture in terms of semi-proletarianization and increasing Hispanicization of Indian culture. However, because temporary migrants maintain ties to their communities they are difficult to deal with conceptually, as the title of Shanin's classic article from 1978 indicates.<sup>87</sup> Richard Adams, in fact, had stated the problem in 1959: "It is today impossible to say whether the man who dwells in a small Indian community by night, and works as a city labourer by day is more 'rural' or 'urban'."<sup>88</sup>

In the thirty years since Adams identified the problem in Peru, much has happened that allows us to answer his quandary. Of particular importance is that over time many temporary migrants become permanent ones. They become, as the paradoxical saying goes, "peasants in cities."<sup>89</sup> In Quinua,

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<sup>86</sup> William P. Mitchell, "The Myth of the Isolated Native Community: A Case Study From Peru," In, Judith Himes (ed.) Global Interdependence and New Jersey Education. (Princeton: Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 1984), p. 41.

<sup>87</sup> Teodor Shanin, "The Peasants are Coming: Migrants who Labour, Peasants who Travel and Marxists who Write," Race and Class. 19(3), 1978.

<sup>88</sup> Adams, "Freedom and Reform," p. 229.

<sup>89</sup> William Mangin (ed.), Peasants in Cities. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1970).

and indeed throughout the Department of Ayacucho, migration to the city after 1940 and especially after 1966 becomes increasingly permanent. Moreover, few cities in the Third World, even in Latin America, have experienced the degree of urban migration that Lima has in the last thirty years. With over 5 million people and comprising 25 percent of the country's population, Lima epitomizes the process of the rapid disintegration of peasant society per se. Few Peruvian families, even those of "isolated" Ayacucho, escape these disintegrative effects. How are we to interpret the effects of this?

Many anthropologists, such as those who talk of "peasants in cities," emphasize that migrants maintain ties to their home communities and, in doing so, retain their "identity," and "peasant consciousness."<sup>90</sup> Two things can be said here. First, we should not assume that when poor villagers migrate to the city and then return to their home community their previous class position and status are not altered. Changes in attitude most certainly accompany these. Indeed, their position is often forever changed. And often they return as dominant landlords and merchants, as Mitchell shows for

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<sup>90</sup> A popular view that is also at times infused with romantic yearnings on the part of the scholar. One of the better examples of this view is Paul Doughty, "Behind the Back of the City: 'Provincial' Life in Lima, Peru," In, Mangin (ed.) Peasants in Cities, pp. 30-46. Better still is Gavin Smith's Livelihood and Resistance. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), a work that deals specifically with migrants' ties to home communities in the Mantaro Valley, but sees them as important agents of change.

Quinoa.<sup>91</sup> Secondly, the idea of "peasants in cities" seriously underestimates what Montoya calls the "trauma of the city." Montoya rejects the popular image of migrants happily reproducing Andean culture in Lima, and argues that this culture is lost on a magnitude that he compares to castration.<sup>92</sup> While this sounds pessimistic, Montoya's point is that, although migrants make an initial attempt to maintain traditions, the forces of city are too overwhelming. In the process of resistance and adaptation, traditions are lost. How then does one account for the obvious presence of Andean traditions in cities like Lima?

For Montoya, the survival of Andean traditions in the city needs to be placed in the context of indigenismo. Often it is intellectuals and artists who most passionately carry the "banner of the periphery." This, as we have seen, constitutes cultural appropriation and it has, more often than not, served political purposes not at all friendly to highland Indians. It is, in short, largely an invention. As Montoya writes, at this point "the Quechua world is a Quechua world for us, not for them."<sup>93</sup> Similarly, Roseberry contends such practices are a product of the "disordered city," and can be found throughout Latin America. In a perceptive essay on

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<sup>91</sup> "The Myth of the Isolated Native Community," p. 41.

<sup>92</sup> Rodrigo Montoya (interview), La Cultura Quechua Hoy. (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1987), pp. 17-19.

<sup>93</sup> Montoya, La Cultura Quechua Hoy, p. 19.

Venezuela, Roseberry argues that the city (Caracas), in presenting itself as a symbol of modern Venezuela, "also creates its opposite: the pastoral countryside," in which coffee (coca?), the peasant, and the Indian, are symbols of a "half-remembered" agricultural past which stands, "purged of its history," as a countersymbol to the present and "comes to represent the true Venezuela."<sup>94</sup> In many ways, Lima epitomizes this exercise more than any other city in Latin America.

Roseberry's concepts of the "disordered city," and "disordered urban growth," provide us with a useful point of departure to summarize the above concerns. Like Venezuela's "petro-led" development, Peru's guano-led, and now coca-led development has produced "an urban, essentially nonindustrial country," which has as one of its primary characteristics exponential migration to the cities. It represents an urbanization process qualitatively distinct from the experience of Europe in its transition to capitalism. There is neither sufficient primitive accumulation in the countryside, nor sufficient industrial absorption of the massive migratory population in the cities. In this context - what we have been calling the uneven and contradictory development of capitalism - the move to the city is not "a move from peasant to proletarian but from peasant to 'other' "<sup>95</sup> The "other"

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<sup>94</sup> Roseberry, Anthropologies and Histories, p. 70.

<sup>95</sup> Roseberry, Anthropologies, pp. 66-69.

Roseberry is speaking of is not a peasant, yet not a proletarian, or at least not a full one. Naturally, Lima as a primate city does not conform strictly to his pattern; it is semi-industrialized. But for Andean cities such as Ayacucho, which historically has always been an important regional center, the process is akin to that described by Roseberry.

The peculiarities of this form of development, witnessed in an extreme form in Peru in the last half of this century, are poorly understood in large part because they constitute a "reality without a theory."<sup>96</sup> Theories of moral economy and modernization do not fare well when faced with such developments. Marxists often fare only marginally better. As an example, in his otherwise insightful polemic against moral economists, Eric Wolf and A.V. Chayanov, Tom Brass nevertheless continues to see depeasantization as unproblematic. He defends Lenin's position by claiming that "while a few middle peasants join the rich peasant stratum and become agrarian capitalists, the majority join the poor peasantry and become defacto agricultural workers. The middle peasants that remain must 'be neutralized' in the course of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie."<sup>97</sup> Elsewhere Brass has stated it this way:

A successful (or otherwise) transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist agriculture [is] a process

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<sup>96</sup> Figueroa, "Production and Market Exchange," p. 123.

<sup>97</sup> Brass, "Moral Economists," p. 195n1.

which depends historically on the emergence of generalized commodity production and exchange following the differentiation of the peasantry into large-scale commercial farmers owning means of production and non-owning 'depeasantized' proletarians. It is the existence of both the latter that permits...primitive accumulation in the rural sector.<sup>98</sup>

Brass's position is not substantiated in the actual process of Andean history, although it may conform to the coffee rich areas of La Convención that he has studied. But, what Brass misses is the unevenness of it all. In the Andean context this classic process differs substantially. Brass's argument is not, for instance, what Sánchez has argued, although it is close. In the end, we are left with the unfortunate academic cliché that there are "in-between" areas not easily reducible to theoretical models which were developed in different contexts, in different historical realities.

The preceding discussion suggests that we also need to rethink both how we think about peasantries and, importantly, how we think about non-peasantries. Some suggest we should scrap altogether the concept "peasant," because it "has no

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<sup>98</sup> Tom Brass, "Permanent Transition or Permanent Revolution: Peasants, Proletarians, and Politics," Journal of Peasant Studies. 11(3), 1984, p. 108.

precision whatsoever."<sup>99</sup> This, however, would be difficult. As the word "peasant" in the title of the book indicates, it is a concept that would not go away easily. Perhaps what we really need to do is to "view a movement from a disordered past to a disordered present," in which "peasants [and non-peasants] are the products of the past and the present - the products perhaps not of 'capitalism' but of the same historical movement that created a capitalist mode of production...in all its unevenly developed complexity"<sup>100</sup> It is in this historical context that we should situate Sendero; its roots lie between moral economy and modernization.

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<sup>99</sup> Anthony Leeds, "Mythos and Pathos: Some Unpleasantries on Peasantries," In, Rhoda Halperin and James Dow (eds.), Peasant Livelihood: Studies in Economic Anthropology and Cultural Ecology. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), pp. 227-56.

<sup>100</sup> Roseberry, Anthropologies, p. 58, p. 222.

### Chapter 3

#### GONZALO-THOUGHT: ITS ORIGINS AND OUTLOOK

Marxism is not a body of rigid predictions. Marx took his method from the very entrails of history.

-José Carlos Mariátegui<sup>1</sup>

Marx's law will assert itself.

- Abimael Guzmán<sup>2</sup>

In one of the better articles on Maoism to appear in the 1980s, Roland Lew wrote that "Maoism developed somewhere outside Stalinism and Leninism in a space of its own which gave it a specific character as a 'concrete totality' which integrated the constraints, old and new, of Chinese society and the lessons drawn from China's two abortive revolutions...[I]n short, a bastard solution."<sup>3</sup> Lew's concept of a unique historical, cultural, and ideological "space" is a useful model for analyzing the origins and trajectory of the Communist Party of Peru-Sendero Luminoso, an equally bastard

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<sup>1</sup> Cited in Sheldon B. Liss, Marxist Thought in Latin America. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Roland Lew, "Maoism, Stalinism and the Chinese Revolution," In, Tariq Ali (ed.), The Stalinist Legacy. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 280.

solution to the problems of Peru. As in China, the PCP-SL learned important lessons from the failure of the 1960s guerrillas. The Peruvian "space" differs profoundly, however, from that of China. As we have seen, it was a provincial, although by no means isolated, space in the context of Peru's uneven development of capitalism. This fact accounts for the two most important differences between Mao's China and the Peru that spawned and defines Sendero. The first is a relatively more complex, heterogenous, ethnic and class structure; the second is the longer history of organized resistance to capitalism in the Peruvian countryside, meaning, in essence, the existence of numerous rival popular organizations. Although China had its own specific, determining complexities, Mao's China lacked both of these characteristics. It is wrong, therefore, to see the Peruvian highlands in the 1960s and 1970s as the equivalent of China's "vast underdeveloped terrain" in the 1930s.<sup>4</sup>

Culturally, the PCP-SL elite do not so much integrate the "old" and "new" constraints of Peruvian society, as they mediate them in favour of the latter, the new, the mestizo. In Michael Smith's words the party is a product of the "interface

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<sup>4</sup> An example of this view is Lisa Moses, "The Applicability of Maoism to Latin America: The Case of the Sendero Luminoso" (pp. 22-32). Moses also claims that "the poor Indian peasants [of Peru] are in many ways the equivalent of Mao's peasants" (p. 59), failing to recognize the atypical history of agrarian transformation in Peru and Latin America as a whole, that we touched upon in Chapter 2.

between urban and rural worlds."<sup>5</sup> Unlike Mao, whose "twenty-two years from the Autumn Harvest uprising [1927] to the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic were spent almost wholly in a rural environment, and witnessed the emergence and triumph of a strategy of 'surrounding the cities from the countryside,'"<sup>6</sup> the PCP-SL's ten years from party formation to "initiation of the armed struggle" were spent almost wholly in the urban environment of the city of Ayacucho, teaching philosophy, anthropology, and higher dialectics to recently arrived, upwardly mobile, rural students. The essentials of this experience, while not the antithesis of Mao's, are quite different. Moreover, since 1980, PCP-SL leader Guzmán has resided, it is believed, in various middle class suburbs of Lima where he was eventually captured in September 1992. This owes partially to a rare blood disease that afflicted Guzmán, preventing him from spending long periods of time at higher altitudes.<sup>7</sup> But it also reflects, symbolically at least, the party's non-organic relationship with the peasants surrounding Ayacucho and other cities.

The ideology that emerged from this space is a complex

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<sup>5</sup> Michael Smith, "Taking the High Ground: Shining Path and the Andes," In, Palmer (ed.), Shining Path, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Stuart Schram, The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 43

<sup>7</sup> Journalist Gustavo Gorriti discusses in minute detail the disease that has beset Guzmán since 1972 in, Sendero: Historia de la guerra milenaria. (Lima: Apoyo, 1990), pp. 289-97.

melange of elements reflecting Guzmán's diverse interests, from Mao, Mariátegui and Kant to Shakespeare and Washington Irving. For a time it was called "The Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo," and since 1988 has been called "Gonzalo Thought," Gonzalo being Guzmán's *nom de guerre*. It is defined by Guzmán as "none other than the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete reality." However, according to Guzmán, "it is Maoism that is principal."<sup>8</sup> It is clear that Maoism offers Sendero and its followers what Leninism originally offered the Chinese Communists: "a few great and simple truths."<sup>9</sup> In China, as Deutscher and Lew explain, the CPC "took on the protective colour of Stalinist orthodoxy" as a matter of political survival after defeat in the cities, but in doing so transformed the "germ" of Leninism into a caricature of Stalin's own previous transformations. As Lew writes, "Stalinism became the Leninism of the CPC and this 'telescoping' was to prevent the Chinese communist leaders from appreciating the specific nature of Stalinism in the Russian and international settings, and the character and scope of its break with Leninism."<sup>10</sup> Scholars of Maoism, therefore, emphasize Maoism's ambiguous relationship with Stalinism; it developed somewhat outside of it, but was

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<sup>8</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Isaac Deutscher, "Maoism - Its Origins and Outlook," In, Marxism, Wars, and Revolution. (London: Verso, 1984), p. 183.

<sup>10</sup> Lew, "Maoism, Stalinism and the Chinese Revolution," p. 274.

ultimately bound by its horizons.

The ideological development of Sendero in Peru differs in fundamental ways, however, and is less ambiguous towards Stalinism. Most importantly, unlike in China where there had been no real Marxist tradition, meaning that Marxism arrived there already in its Leninist form, Peru had a strong Marxist tradition in the form of José Carlos Mariátegui.<sup>11</sup> The story of Sendero's relationship with Mariátegui, whose ideas it apparently follows, is complex, and somewhat akin to Stalin's relationship with Lenin. Senderologists, however, in assuming an unproblematic relationship between Sendero and Mariátegui, fail to understand Mariátegui's complicated legacy.<sup>12</sup>

The history of Mariátegui and the left in Peru is exceedingly complex, owing in part to his premature death in 1930 at the age of 35. In addition, Mariátegui, like Marx and Lenin, was ambiguous and contradictory on a number of points. Together, these two factors have allowed for wide ranging

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<sup>11</sup> Indeed, he has been described by Poppino as "the only important Marxist theoretician to arise in Latin America." Not a true statement but it indicates Mariátegui's importance and influence. Rollie E. Poppino, International Communism in Latin America. (London: The Free Press, 1964), p. 83.

<sup>12</sup> Literature by and on Mariátegui, in both English and Spanish, is vast. His classic is Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Realities. Others include, Ideología y política. (Lima: Biblioteca Amauta, 1973). John Baines, Revolution in Peru: Mariátegui and the Myth. (University of Alabama Press, 1972); Jesús Chavarría, José Carlos Mariátegui and the Rise of Modern Peru. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979). In Spanish see Diego Meseguer Illan, José Carlos Mariátegui y su pensamiento revolucionario. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1974); Anibal Quijano, Introducción a Mariátegui. (Mexico, D.F: Ediciones Era, 1981).

interpretations of his legacy. The magnitude of the problem can be seen by noting Mariátegui's standing as the patron saint of virtually all parties and guerrilla fronts on the left since 1945.<sup>13</sup> Sendero's claim as sole legitimate heir to Mariátegui, therefore, is far from uncontested. Indeed, one of the great debates in the 1980s in Peru, largely absent from most writings on Sendero, was carried out between Sendero, through its mouthpiece El Diario, and the journal Amauta of the Partido Unificado Mariáteguista (PUM) on the correct interpretation of Mariátegui.<sup>14</sup> The issue of Mariátegui's status on the left becomes even more complex with the emergence of Sendero and the "people's war," because of the other notable legacy of Mariátegui - indigenismo. Mariátegui's passionate discussions of the "Indian problem," in which he wrote romantically of the Incas' "harmonious communistic system," and of the "consanguinity of the Indian movement with world revolutionary currents," are well known in Peru. The image of Sendero as an Indian movement seems to have been based in part on this knowledge.<sup>15</sup> However, as we have seen,

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<sup>13</sup> On recent developments on the left and Mariátegui's place, see Guillermo Rochabrún Silva, "Crisis, Democracy and the Left in Peru," Latin American Perspectives. Issue 58, 15(3), 1988.

<sup>14</sup> Both sides of the polemic can be found in Raúl A. Weiner (ed.), Guerra e ideología: Debate entre el PUM y Sendero. (Lima: Amauta, 1990). Amauta is the name of the journal that Mariátegui founded.

<sup>15</sup> See the chapter on the "Indian problem" by Mariátegui in, Seven Essays, pp. 22-30, and p. 35, pp. 74-75 for discussions of Inca communism. It is perhaps of some significance that his longest discussions of the relationship between Indian forms of

Sendero employs none of Mariátegui's romantic indigenist language; indeed, it rejects it as "magical-whining nationalism."

In fact, references of any sort to Mariátegui in PCP-SL documents are relatively few. In his interview, Guzmán is asked at three separate points to define Sendero's relationship with Mariátegui. At each point Guzmán's reply is the same, stressing three basic themes: that Mariátegui founded the PCP, was "anti-revisionist" from the start, and if he were alive today he "would be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist."<sup>16</sup>

Actually, Mariátegui is known in Latin America for his revisionism, meaning here his resistance to Stalinism. This legacy, kept alive by small leftist parties and intellectuals over the years, created problems for the pro-Soviet Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) in the 1960s. As Poppino commented in 1964, "it would be embarrassing to the present party leadership for the Peruvian Communists to reveal that José Carlos Mariátegui, whom they revere as the 'Father of Communism in Peru,' was denounced as a Trotskyist only a few months before his death." As Poppino writes, somewhat understatedly, Mariátegui "differed with the Comintern on

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organization and modern socialism occur outside the actual text, in two lengthy endnotes, one on p. 29, the other on pp. 74-75. Indeed, Mariátegui felt that this consanguinity was "too evident to need documentation," p. 29n1.

<sup>16</sup> See Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pp. 14-15, p. 5.

certain points of ideology and strategy."<sup>17</sup>

Mariátegui was the principal figure in the "secret cell of seven" which founded the Socialist Party in September 1928. The choice of "Socialist" was not merely cosmetic; Mariátegui insisted on it in opposition to the Comintern's attempt to dictate the creation of a monolithic Communist Party in Peru. His efforts were chastised and "rebuffed," however, by Comintern representatives at the Congress of Latin American Communist Parties held in Buenos Aires in May 1929.<sup>18</sup>

The events at the Buenos Aires meeting, together with personal frictions within the party, led to the resignation of some leaders in March 1930. Mariátegui died the following month. Only days after Mariátegui's death, the party received a letter from the Comintern instructing it to change the name of the party to "Communist." Although only one member on the PSP's Executive Committee, Ricardo Martínez de la Torre (considered the seventh founding member) voted against the name change, Luciano Castillo, after first voting for the change, later changed his mind and went on to found a new Socialist Party.<sup>19</sup> Although some see Mariátegui's resistance to the Comintern as a mere "tactical, immediate, and incidental" matter, it seems clear that he had grave

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<sup>17</sup> Poppino, International Communism, p.56.

<sup>18</sup> Robert J. Alexander, Communism in Latin America. (New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1957), p. 20.

<sup>19</sup> Alexander, Communism, pp.22-224.

reservations over the name change and with Stalinism in general.<sup>20</sup> He was not only accused of being a Trotskyist, but knew the writings of Trotsky and Luxembourg "first hand," and was influenced most by contemporaries such as Antonio Gramsci whom he studied intently in Italy in the 1920s.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, in his Defensa del marxismo, written in 1928, Mariátegui defended Marx's historical materialism against "all spiritualizations" of it.<sup>22</sup> Among scholars of Mariátegui he is seen as Latin America's most influential exponent of "flexible, non-deterministic, and dynamic Marxism"<sup>23</sup>

In short, he articulated a sophisticated Marxism that respected Latin American realities, while also remaining loyal to Marx's internationalist message. His project was cut short by his death and in many ways remains unfulfilled today. Mariátegui would be rediscovered years later as a Maoist.

Mariátegui's death, therefore, marks the Stalinization of the PCP. It remained so well after both Stalin's death and Khrushchev's speech of 1956. According to Alexander, "changes

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<sup>20</sup> Jorge Basadre, "Introduction," to Seven Essays, p. xxvii.

<sup>21</sup> Quijano, Introducción a Mariátegui, p. 74. Argentine historian Ronaldo Munck writes that Mariátegui's Seven Essays "matches" Gramsci's in its originality and sophistication, The Difficult Dialogue: Marxism and Nationalism. (London: Pluto Press, 1986), p. 96.

<sup>22</sup> Quijano, Introducción, pp. 62-63.

<sup>23</sup> Bliss, Marxist Thought in Latin America, p.132; Chavarría, José Carlos Mariátegui, pp. 131-46; Baines, Revolution in Peru, 114-115; Mesequer, Mariátegui y su pensamiento revolucionario, pp. 225-37; Quijano, Introducción, pp. 70-78.

in the international 'line' were applied somewhat late" in Latin America. And, Khrushchev's speech, which Alexander appropriately calls Stalin's "second death," "had relatively few repercussions among the Latin American 'comrades.'" <sup>24</sup> This then was the situation when Guzmán joined the PCP in late 1959 or 1960 as a graduate student in Arequipa.

Guzmán grew up in the southern city of Arequipa where he attended a Catholic high school. He entered Arequipa's San Agustín University in 1953. There he studied Immanuel Kant under philosophy professor Miguel Angel Rodríguez Rivas, said to be a task master who emphasized "rigorous methodology." Guzmán, it is said, was the star pupil out of the "fiercely loyal group of [Rodríguez's] followers." The other key influence on Guzmán was a social-realist painter and "undiluted Stalinist," Carlos de la Riva.<sup>25</sup> From his experiences in Arequipa Guzmán married the orthodox Stalinism of Riva to the philosophical pursuit of truth, and arrived at the metaphysical scientific Marxism that is characteristic of Stalinist thought systems<sup>26</sup> and that jumps from the pages of

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<sup>24</sup> Alexander, Communism in Latin America, p. 224.

<sup>25</sup> Biography taken from Gustavo Gorriti, "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky," In, Palmer (ed.), Shining Path, p. 152.

<sup>26</sup> E.P. Thompson's polemic against French Marxist Louis Althusser is relevant here. Thompson's description of Althusser's Stalinism under the rigorous eyes of Spinoza and Cartesian logic is analogous to Guzmán's Stalinism through Kantian eyes. Both are "cooks of the Absolute." On Stalinism's lingering power Thompson writes: "its forms and modes 'weigh like an alp' on the brains of the living," The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays. (New York: Monthly Review, 1978), pp. 136-39.

Sendero documents. Looking back on his experiences in Arequipa, Guzmán stresses above all the influence of Stalin:

Then [1950s] the figure of Comrade Stalin made a big impression on me. At that time people who were drawn to communism and those who became party members were trained using [Stalin's] Problems of Leninism. It was our mainstay and I studied it as it deserved to be studied, seriously, given its importance. Stalin's life interested me. He was, for us, an example of revolution. I participated in the defense of Stalin. At that time, taking him away from us would have been like taking away our soul. In those days the works of Stalin were more widely propagated than those of Lenin.<sup>27</sup>

In 1962, law degree in hand, Guzmán was recruited to the Faculty of Education of UNSCH in Ayacucho by university president Efraín Morote Best. Far from entering a time warp that many have painted Ayacucho as being, Guzmán arrived in Ayacucho at a time when it was experiencing drastic economic, social, and cultural changes. As we have seen, one of the most significant forces of change was massive migration from the countryside. However, the other principal agent of change was the university itself which was re-opened in 1959. The university brought a number of important changes to Ayacucho. For one, the city grew dramatically after the re-opening,

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Guzmán, p. 100.

attracting capital, government agencies, and tourists. Tourism, in fact, was identified as an integral part of the overall plan to transform Ayacucho into a university "industry town." Its first rector exclaimed that "everyone in Peru wants to come see the famous processions of Holy Week in Ayacucho," tourist hotels were built with government monies and the university actively promoted the training of the mass-production of "folk-art items" - ceramics and the retablos for which Ayacucho is famous.<sup>28</sup>

The re-opening of the university created two conditions essential to the creation of Sendero. The university offered the party leadership the proper conditions to establish an "intimate relationship" with the particularities and peculiarities of Ayacucho. On the one hand, it had an "importance without precedent" in the region as a mechanism of social mobility, moral authority and employment. With large amounts of government funding, it attracted professors and administrators from throughout Peru. According to Stein and Monge this meant the "concrete incarnation of a new type of

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<sup>28</sup> The Renaissance of an Andean University: Problems and Possibilities of Higher Education. (Ayacucho: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1959). It is unpaginated. Handicraft production of this sort should not be slighted as unimportant. Indeed, as Mitchell shows for Quinoa, "it would be difficult to overestimate the effect of the ceramic industry on the local economy...earnings of ceramicists have been stupendous." Mitchell, Peasants on the Edge, p. 115.

regional leadership," a new mestizo intellectual elite.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, and more importantly, the university also attracted large numbers of enthusiastic students, mostly from rural areas around Ayacucho, although some came from as far away as Lima. The setting then was one Degregori has called an "encounter" between a new provincial elite and recently arrived rural youth eager for knowledge.<sup>30</sup>

An interesting and overlooked source that documents these developments is The Renaissance of an Andean University, written by its first president, Fernando Romero. The re-opening of UNSCH, described by Romero as a "happy regional event," gave rise to an "entirely new and audacious education project for Peru."<sup>31</sup> The audacity of the project lay in its defined role as an "engine of progress" not just for the city of Ayacucho, but for the entire region. It was also bold in its liberal educational policies. Ironically, UNSCH was perhaps the first Peruvian university to follow through on educational reforms advocated in the 1920s and 1930s by people like Mariátegui.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Steve Stein and Carlos Monge, La crisis del Estado patrimonial en el Perú. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1987), p. 187.

<sup>30</sup> Carlos Degregori, Que difícil es ser Díos, p.7.

<sup>31</sup> Gustavo Gorriti, "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky," In, Palmer (ed.), Shining Path, p. 154. The following narrative is based on Renaissance. Unless otherwise noted all quotations are from it.

<sup>32</sup> See Seven Essays, Chapter, 4.

Originally established in 1677, the UNSCH "hummed through" more than two centuries of colonial rule before succumbing to the financial pressures caused by Peru's devastating loss in the War of the Pacific. Seventy years later it was re-opened, in a quite different context, as an instrument of economic revitalization with large amounts of government funding. Romero envisioned Ayacucho becoming an education industry town. "Here we are attempting to mould a center of higher education consonant with economic and social needs...This school will be the first in Peru specializing in the preparation of professionals regionally for solutions of a profound regional problem [backwardness]." Its sphere of influence, according to Romero, was to "penetrate many Departments."

Renascence is revealing for its description of the class and ethnic background of students. Those classified as mestizo made up 98 percent of the first students. They came predominantly "from the naturally-poor upland Departments of Apurímac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Huánuco, Junín, Pasco." The last three, it should be noted, constitute the major part of the central highlands, proof of the university's influence outside of "parochial" Ayacucho and, therefore, evidence of the linkages between Peru's highland regions that McClintock and others have done so much to gloss over.

In class terms, the students were classified as one tenth poor ("indigent"), one tenth "rich," with "most" being "sons

of small farmers or merchants." In other words, they were de-peasantized sons and daughters of a middle peasantry or a small petty bourgeoisie.

Romero's description of the goals and programs of the university is equally fascinating for what it tells us about Sendero. He tells us, for instance, that "effort has been made to impress upon the students the need for them to make their respective careers in their home-region. They will be, as they are frequently reminded, the leaders of their community." To facilitate this, "the university insists that every graduate be conversant with Quechua." Romero had lofty, if naive, goals. "Rather than an élite corps [of academics], the university," he proclaimed "will turn out, year by year, members of a practical army of technicians" to deliver Ayacuchanos from their economic misery. Romero's noble vision did not materialize, however. Indeed, things went astray from the program's inception. Romero lists the choice of major fields as follows: Education (where Guzmán was): 108/224; agricultural engineering (his technicians): 44/224; anthropology: 21/224. The distribution is revealing for the large number of non-technical/vocational oriented choices among the students. Indeed, Romero expressed concern over this, saying "we hope that, by the end of this year, the students' own choice will show different emphasis." The problems experienced at UNSCH are not all that unique; in fact, they seem to be a symptom of education programs in the

Third World as a whole. As Roger Dale explains,

There is, for instance, typically a huge overproduction of graduates from every level [who] are likely to be as qualified in the humanities or social sciences as they are in technology or physical science.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of Ayacucho, a place where rural and urban, "Indian" and mestizo, mingled, the development of a mass of highly educated, upwardly mobile, cholo youth (cholo ascendiente) who have the social ambitions of their Maoist schoolteachers, and were told they would be the next regional elite, but who experience barriers because of worsening economic conditions and because of their ascribed "Indian" status, provided the conditions for a violent social explosion.<sup>34</sup> Favre goes so far as to call these cholos a

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<sup>33</sup> Roger Dale, "Learning to Be...What? Shaping Education in 'Developing Societies,'" In, Alavi and Shanin (ed.), Sociology of Developing Societies, p. 409.

<sup>34</sup> Angell, "Classroom Maoists," p. 4. Nicolás Lynch documents the rise of Maoist groups comprised of a cholo ascendiente at Lima's San Marcos University, Los jóvenes rojos de San Marcos: El radicalismo universitario de los años setenta. (Lima: El Zorro de Abajo, 1990). Some captured Senderistas have been as young as eight years old, prompting many scholars to compare Sendero to Pol Pot. On youth see Dennis Chávez de Paz, Juventud y terrorismo: Características sociales de los condenados por terrorismo y otros delitos. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1989). Chavez de Paz also documents that captured women Senderistas generally had high levels of education. In this sense Sendero also represents the grievances of upwardly mobile women and not, as one might assume, the poorest and most oppressed sectors of Peruvian society. Donald Barnhart documents the creation of a growing mass of "overeducated unemployed" population in Arequipa in the late 1960s, "The Growing Crisis of Labour-Surplus Societies: A Case Study of Arequipa,

"violent social type."<sup>35</sup> Degregori echoes these sentiments referring to their "schizophrenic identity."<sup>36</sup> While Favre and Degregori both seem to exaggerate what Degregori elsewhere has called the "bellicose potential" of this group,<sup>37</sup> Romero's closing sentiments are nevertheless of substantial interest. Despite rigorous psychological tests prior to admittance, Romero expresses concern over the students mental state ("psychological reactions of the most-negative sort") and suggests that they are not mature enough intellectually or emotionally for university education. In order to understand how Sendero capitalized on these volatile conditions, we need to appreciate the historical ambiguities of education policy and practice.

The struggle for education rights by and for the Indian majority is a heritage of two contradictory impulses - the education reform movement led by indigenists such as Mariátegui, who championed their right to education;<sup>38</sup> and that of the Peruvian State which, since Independence, has been interested in carrying the Spanish language, and the message

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Peru," PCCLAS. 9, 1982, pp. 35-51.

<sup>35</sup> Favre, "Sendero Luminoso y horizontes ocultos," p. 31.

<sup>36</sup> Degregori, Que difícil, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> Carlos Degregori, "Sociedad rural y violencia política," Debate Agrario. 13 (January-May 1992), p. 167.

<sup>38</sup> Mariátegui writes of the 1920 reform movement as one "closely connected with the postwar wave of messianic hopes, revolutionary sentiments, and mystic fervour," In, Seven Essays, p. 91.

of progress to the "remote" Andes. Education was a central element of attempts at "solving" the Indian problem. Presidents Ramon Castilla (1845-51, 1855-64) and Manuel Pardo (1872-76), for instance, both sought to use education as a vehicle of Indian integration. Indeed, Pardo is credited with establishing one of the first trade schools in the country, in Ayacucho in 1872.<sup>39</sup> This dual legacy, although of contradictory intentions, explains why "the peasantry has carried the banner of the school" as its "dream and hope," what is known as the "myth of the school."<sup>40</sup>

Historically, the principal vehicle for carrying this myth to the provinces has been the provincial mestizo (misti) teacher. The position of the misti is ambiguous, though clearly authoritarian. Primov underscores that they should be seen as integral parts of the Indian community, not simply external exploiters. As Primov writes, "mestizo power and influence have never stopped at the gates of the Indian community."<sup>41</sup> As integral figures of the community, the

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<sup>39</sup> Davies, Indian Integration, pp. 31-32.

<sup>40</sup> Rodrigo Montoya, Juan Ansi3n, et al, forum on "La escuela rural: mito, realidad y perspectivas," Debate Agrario. 1 (October-december, 1987).

<sup>41</sup> George Primov, "The Political Role of Mestizo Schoolteachers in Indian Communities," In, Benjamin Orlove and Glynn Custred (eds.), Land and Power in Latin America. (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980), p. 154. The classic work on relations between Peru's "three races" is Fernando Fuenzalida Vollmar, and Enrique Mayer, El Per3 de las tres razas. (New York: UNITAR, 1974). Like Primov, Fuenzalida and Mayer emphasize that the source of the mestizo's power is his "nuanced interdependence," p. 79.

mestizo educator operates as intermediary between local and national structures, both in his/her actual teaching role, and also in a variety of non-educational roles. In general, we can say that the mestizo educator's world view expresses a profound fear of "the Indian," and they see their work as a civilizing mission. But, Primov explains, with "the proper charade of deference toward the Indian" they can incorporate themselves into positions of power. In return, they are viewed by Indians with a mixture of awe, hostility and utilitarianism. Their presence presents a double-edged sword. On the one hand, their role as educators, as carriers of "Spanish" culture, puts them clearly in a hegemonic position, their control over language and knowledge is their main source of power. On the other hand, they are potential allies who offer opportunities (principally the teaching of Spanish) for the Indian to attack their very subordinate position.<sup>42</sup>

The myth, or dream of the school is therefore a complicated one in the highland communities. In a situation like the city of Ayacucho, the university presents itself not just as an opportunity for resistance to mestizo domination, but for real social mobility. Indeed, schooling is the principal path provincial youth see for social mobility. As Alan Angell wrote in 1982, before Sendero became a household name in Peru, schooling was "the classic form of social ascent to the middle class from the upper ranks of the working class,

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<sup>42</sup> Primov, "Mestizo Schoolteachers," pp. 154-57.

or the better off peasantry, and from the small towns to provincial capitals." In Peru, this class has expanded rapidly since the 1960s, the beneficiaries of generous government subsidies. During the first Belaúnde government (1965-68) education spending was "the single most important influence on the rapid rise of government expenditure."<sup>43</sup>

Sendero was in fact a main beneficiary of Belaúnde's largesse at UNSCH, one of the many ironies of 1980 when Belaúnde returned to power. When Guzmán arrived in 1962 the party put him in charge of youth work in the region. At the university one of his first moves was to have students carry out censuses in the barrios on the outskirts of the city which by 1970 made up as much as 38 percent of the city's population. These were the first efforts on the part of Guzmán and his emerging student following to develop the "intimate relationship" with the surrounding peasantry. The nature of this relationship needs, however, to be properly defined. Reflecting on his first arrival in Ayacucho, Guzmán tells us how his original intention to stay in Ayacucho for only a year ("I had my plans, the proletariat had others") was altered by a fascinating discovery: the peasantry.<sup>44</sup> Guzmán's tone resembles that of the anthropologist, which is probably the

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<sup>43</sup> Angell, "Classroom Maoists," pp.4-8; education accounted for 40% of government expenditure increases under Belaúnde.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 101. Guzmán writes: "Ayacucho helped me discover the peasantry...if you walk toward the outskirts [of town], in fifteen minutes you're already in the countryside."

appropriate analogy given the role the university played in establishing a program that both insisted on speaking Quechua, and that saw a large number of students graduating with humanities degrees in disciplines like anthropology. One could perhaps call this relationship between party and masses "knowing the 'other.'" Such a description best states how Sendero differs from both the Maoist strategy of "swimming in the sea of the peasantry," and the vanguard urban party which it otherwise is. As mestizo educators they understand the fears and hopes of the peasantry surrounding Ayacucho, and during the war have played on these emotions in a cynical and violent fashion.

At the same time as he was discovering the peasantry, Guzmán made his first attempts at applying Maoism to his new found realities in his first years at UNSCH.<sup>45</sup> Mainly, however, he continued to study the more accessible and digestible "classics" of Stalin. These in fact would prove useful later in the decade in his struggle for power within the Maoist left. In the first years after his arrival, the international schism of the Soviet and Chinese parties was played out in a fierce if not farcical manner in Peru. By 1964 the PCP had split into pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese factions. Named after their newspapers, these parties became known as

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<sup>45</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, "There too I started to understand Chairman Mao Tse-tung. I advanced in understanding Marxism." Guzmán also read "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement."

the Peruvian Communist Party "Unity" (PCP-U, Unidad), and the Peruvian Communist Party "Red Flag" (PCP-BR, Bandera Roja), respectively. Money and party resources and most of the national leadership went with the former. Bandera Roja, led by Saturnino Paredes, maintained the support of some regional committees and youth organizations, many of whom had already moved towards Maoism.<sup>46</sup> One of these regional committees was that of Ayacucho (CRA), and was lead by José Sotomayer. Still later, in 1965, Paredes's leadership was questioned, leading to a further split, and creation of the PCP-"Red Nation" (PCP-PR, Patria Roja). Guzmán declined an offer to lead Patria Roja, choosing instead to stay in Bandera Roja in charge of military affairs. He also continued to work closely with youth.

The processes leading to the formation of the Sendero Luminoso in 1970 were largely exercises in petty squabbling and petty power struggles within the Maoist left in which labels such as "left liquidationist" were tossed about

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<sup>46</sup> It is not meant to imply that Bandera Roja was comprised only of small "isolated" regional committees, disconnected from Lima (this view is often the corollary of the argument that Ayacucho is an isolated backwater). In fact, Bandera Roja was strong at San Marcos University in Lima, as was Vanguardia Revolucionario (VR), whose leader in the mid-1970s, Julio César Mezzich was "incorporated" into Sendero in 1982. Mezzich, who is blonde and blue eyed, is currently Sendero's leader. Mezzich's past experience as peasant organizer in Andahuayalas in the mid-1970s helps explain Sendero's successes in that region since 1982. See Ronald Berg, "Sendero Luminoso and the Peasantry of Andahuaylas," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs. 28(4), 1986-87, pp. 165-97. On Mezzich's pre-Sendero experience see Flores Galindo Tiempo de plagas, pp. 136-44. On San Marcos as a "temple of Mao" see Lynch, Los jóvenes rojos de San Marcos, pp. 64-93.

routinely. Guzmán, helped by the power he wielded in the university, was recognized as early as 1965 as leader of a so-called Red or Peking Faction within Bandera Roja. During this period the sons of new UNSCH president Efraín Morote Best, Osmán and Katya, became "active followers of Guzmán."<sup>47</sup> It was only a matter of time before his faction split. Two events of this period were essential to Guzmán's faction's final drive for hegemony: the lessons learned from the failures of the 1960s guerrillas; and trips to China during the Cultural Revolution made by Guzmán and the future "number three" man in Sendero, Antonio Díaz Martínez, an agronomist whom Guzmán met at UNSCH.

Much has been written on the guerrilla fronts of the 1960s. The most notable were led by Hector Béjar (ELN, a break away from PCP), Hugo Blanco (Trotskyist, POR, FIR), Luis de la Puente (MIR break away from APRA).<sup>48</sup> Most were inspired by the Cuban Revolution, and Che Guevara's and Régis Debray's concept of the guerrilla foco. All are generally seen to have failed because they knew the peasantry insufficiently well and

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<sup>47</sup> Gorriti, "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky," p. 155.

<sup>48</sup> The classic accounts of the period are Hector Béjar's 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970); Hugo Blanco, Land or Death. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972). A good comparative discussion of the experience is Leon G. Campbell's "The Historiography of the Peruvian Guerrilla Movement, 1960-65," Latin American Research Review. 7(1), 1973, pp. 45-69.

exaggerated their potential.<sup>49</sup> In other words they romanticized the revolutionary potential of the peasantry without sufficient propagandization and organization. Their knowledge of the Indian was also a problem. Inspired by the romanticist indigenist ideology of people like José María Arguedas, they had a naive, paternalist vision of what the "Indian peasants" were like and what they wanted.<sup>50</sup> They named their fronts after Túpac Amaru, Pumacahua, and other legendary leaders of Indian rebellion.<sup>51</sup>

Guzmán's faction learned important lessons from this experience. At the time they and other Maoist factions argued vociferously that objective conditions were not right and that what was required was patient building of a strong party. Guzmán and others had done just that. From their offices at UNSCH they watched and waited with probable delight as the Peruvian government unleashed a bombing campaign against Béjar, Blanco and others between 1963-65, that Wickham-Crowley claims was "the most intensive seen in Latin America" until

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<sup>49</sup> Blanco: "Our analysis of the situation was not very clear at the time...The necessity of imbuing the peasants with optimism fills one with a greater optimism than would result from an absolutely unemotional analysis," Land or Death, p. 69.

<sup>50</sup> Arguedas is known as Latin America's premier "bicultural" writer of the 1950s. He wrote passionate novels of the andino's suffering. See Blanco p. 126, where he writes his last letter to Arguedas - in Quechua - 4 days before Arguedas killed himself. He also invokes Valcárcel and Ciro Alegría, two indigenists from the 1920s, p. 131.

<sup>51</sup> It is, of course, highly ironic that Sendero chose a Spanish name for the party and for Guzmán's nom de guerre, "Gonzalo," yet has been viewed as an Indian rebellion.

Somoza's offensive against Sandinista guerrillas in the late 1970s.<sup>52</sup>

The most important lesson they learned was in fact the same one Blanco has identified in his recollections, the need for a strong vanguard party that can withstand counterinsurgency and one not encumbered by romantic visions. As Blanco explains, their "error was not in turning to guerrilla warfare. It was in having neglected from the start to build the party, which would have organized, extended, and centralized all aspects of the struggle."<sup>53</sup>

After watching and learning these lessons, Guzmán and others (Díaz Martínez) were sent to China at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.<sup>54</sup> There they were taught "masterful lessons" in, among other things, "humble explosives." The experience was important in establishing the cult of "Mao Thought" that Guzmán would later utilize in the construction of his own personality cult, Gonzalo Thought. Guzmán recounts how he looked with religious awe ("I was only able to see from a distance") at Mao "the great Leader, an extraordinary Marxist, a pinnacle of Marxism"<sup>55</sup> The trip had other

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<sup>52</sup> Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, "Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, 1956-70," Comparative Studies in Society and History. 32, 1990, p. 231.

<sup>53</sup> Blanco, Land or Death, p. 69.

<sup>54</sup> Guzmán made one, possibly two trips to China. In his interview he speaks of two.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pp. 100-101.

important effects, principally the completion of the final steps on the road to a completely metaphysical relationship with Marxism. Guzmán has written: "We believe that Comrade Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. What Chairman Mao said about him is correct: his errors amounted to thirty percent, and the root of these errors was in his limitations in grasping dialectics. But no one can deny that he was a great Marxist." His limits, in other words, were in an insufficiently metaphysical Marxism. In resolving Stalin's insufficiencies the key source for Guzmán was Mao's "On Contradiction," which Guzmán refers to as "the only fundamental law," while the pro-Sendero El Diario sees it as a "unique universal law."<sup>56</sup>

The effects on Díaz Martínez were similar. A former agronomist in Belaúnde's first administration, Díaz Martínez

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<sup>56</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 7; p. 88. El Diario, August, 9, 1989. Stuart Schram argues that the discovery of the original 1937 text of "On Contradiction" "proves that Mao did in fact adopt such a position before Stalin," and that therefore it cannot be seen as simply Stalinism's influence in the formation of Maoism. See Schram's entry in Tom Bottomore (ed.), A Dictionary of Marxist Thought. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 299-300, and Schram, The Thought of Mao Tse-Tung, pp. 66-67. Nevertheless, it was in 1964 that Mao explicitly repudiated Hegel's and Marx's three laws by reducing them to one: the law of the unity of opposites - "the fundamental law of thought", according to Mao - seen by some as the influence of Stalin's own reductions or as a manifestation of the Chinese ying and yang. In either case we have in "On Contradiction" a metaphysical interpretation of Marxism. And, the 1965 revised version cites Stalin's Foundations of Leninism approvingly: "Stalin's analysis provides us with a model for understanding the particularity and the universality of contradiction and their interconnection" Reprinted in David McLellan (ed.), The Essential Left. (London: Unwin, 1986), p. 288. Sendero's take is essentially the same, see PCdelp, Bases de discusión. (Lima: Ediciones Bandera Roja, 1987), pp. 16-17.

was previously known in academic circles for a study of Ayacucho entitled Ayacucho: Hambre y Esperanza (Hunger and Hope) (1969).<sup>57</sup> Although the Stalinist metaphysic is present at times in this work, it is otherwise known for its "close grained and sensitive" reading of Ayacucho's poverty that "never loses a sense of mixture and movement."<sup>58</sup> This analysis of Ayacuchano reality is noticeably absent in his later work China: la revolución agraria (1978), reflecting his wholesale conversion to the formulaic Maoist (Stalinist) language characteristic of PCP-SL documents and interviews. Hunger and Hope does, on the one hand, reflect the influence of Maoism, in particular in the definition of Andean agrarian structures as semi-feudal which remains a Sendero centerpiece. But, on the other hand, it is marked by a layman's sense of change and fluidity in Ayacuchano society, and its overall scope is exemplified by the title word, "hope," and not by the glorification of death which saturates Sendero documents.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Antonio Díaz Martínez, Ayacucho: Hambre y esperanza. (Ayacucho: Waman Puma, 1969); "Ayacucho y las Comunidades del hambre," América Indígena. 30(2), 1970, 307-20.

<sup>58</sup> Orin Starn, "Missing the Revolution," p. 80.

<sup>59</sup> In the article "Ayacucho y las Comunidades" (p. 315), he describes Andean structures as "traditional" suggesting that he was less interested in rigid analytical categories than in just understanding how "things worked." Importantly, Díaz Martínez also comments on the absence of youth in the communities he visited, realizing that they had all been "pushed" to Lima, Ayacucho, or the jungle. (p. 310). For his later, more dogmatic views, in addition to China, see the interview with him in José María Salcedo "Con Sendero en Lurigancho," Quehacer. 41 (June/July, 1986), pp. 18-23, taken while he was in prison at Lurigancho just months prior to his death in the prison massacre there.

The importance of his earlier work lies in the fact that it shows an understanding of regional and national realities that, although lost in the Stalinist rhetoric of Sendero documents, is acted on in practice.

When Guzmán and Díaz Martínez returned to Ayacucho in 1968 they found, in a scene reminiscent of the crumbling of the New Left in the United States and Europe, the pro-Chinese faction in "disarray," caught up in "bitter and vicious" debates between pro-Cuban supporters and rival Maoist factions.<sup>60</sup> It was at this time that Mariátegui was "re-

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<sup>60</sup> Gorriti, "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky," pp. 156-58. While we wish to emphasize the local and Peruvian factors in the emergence of Sendero, the parallels between the situation in Peru in 1968-70 and the implosion of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the United States are striking, and not at all unrelated. Of special note is the history of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP), along with Sendero, one of the most important parties affiliated with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. RCP rose from the ashes of the 1969 SDS convention at Chicago which sealed the fate of the beleaguered SDS and saw the departure of the Progressive Labour Party (PLP), at that time the strongest voice of Maoism in the U.S., thus opening the way for the emergence of the RCP, and the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) - the two largest Maoist organizations in the United States in the 1970s. During the convention the RCP (then the Bay Area Radical Union), with the help of the Weathermen, played a key role in ousting the PLP from SDS.

Like Sendero, which never had deep roots among peasant organizations but managed to infiltrate or impose its leadership over them after 1980, the RCP never really had deep roots among the student movement or among SDS, but managed to position itself at the helm of the Maoist movement in the U.S. - a position it still holds. Its founders (Bob Avakian) opportunistically intervened in the 1969 convention "merely to block the PLP" from carrying the mantle of Maoism. The PLP was criticized for "revisionist behaviour" by Avakian and others in a moment reminiscent of Sendero's attempts to outflank Patria Roja and other Maoist groups in Peru at the same time. Furthermore, the RCP distinguished itself among the Maoists with its puritanical and moralistic tone. Like Sendero the RCP's constitution upholds "proletarian morality" despite the obvious absence of proletariats among the party elite.

discovered" by Guzmán and his Red Faction as a source that offered them a nationalist and communist tradition, elements needed to survive in the midst of intense intra-left struggle for hegemony. As Guzmán tells it, "the more I understood Mao Tse-tung, the more I began to appreciate and value Mariátegui. Since Mao urged us to apply creatively, I went back and studied Mariátegui"<sup>61</sup> A revealing example of this creative application of Maoist truth was Guzmán's speech to a party conference in 1979:

Our people were illuminated by the brighter light [of] Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought. We were first dazzled; at the beginning [there was] a burst of interminable light, light and nothing more; little by little our retinas began to understand this light, [when] we lowered our eyes and we began to see our country, Mariátegui and our reality.<sup>62</sup>

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Homosexuals and those living together outside of legal marriage are seen as violators of this morality, guilty of "bourgeois decadence." Theoretically, the RCP is noted for its enthusiasm for Stalin's writings, in particular, his views on the "national" question. And, "more than any other Maoist group [in the U.S.]" the RCP emphasizes the role of ideology. Its major slogan, "Create Public Opinion...Seize Power" is analogous to Sendero's emphasis on "armed propaganda" and "the importance [the party] gives to politically educating and mobilizing the masses" through leaflets and El Diario. On the RCP see A. Belden Fields, Trotskyism and Maoism: Theory and Practice in France and the United States. (New York: Autonomedia, 1988), pp. 185-229.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 102.

<sup>62</sup> Cited in Deborah Poole and Gerardo Rénique, Peru: Time of Fear. (London: Latin American Bureau, 1992), p. 34.

Guzmán's adoption of the "true" Mariátegui was intended, of course, to establish a direct lineage to Mariátegui's Socialist Party and thereby outflank the numerous Leftist parties that also claimed Mariátegui as their mentor. Thus, the pro-Sendero newspaper El Diario refers to the "more than fifty years of the Communist Party" tradition, erasing the brief history of the Socialist Party from historical memory. Discussions of party history in party publications read like the equivalent of Stalin's Short Course, positing an unbroken lineage between Mariátegui and Guzmán.<sup>63</sup>

Guzmán's Red Faction encountered a new dilemma in 1968, the coming to power of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (GRFA). While many stress the ineffective nature of the agrarian reform program as a cause of Sendero, the importance of the military's actions really lies elsewhere. There are two ironies to the military's rule. First, its revolutionary rhetoric and peculiar concept of "anti-politics" created a political opening on the left, one the government would later attempt to close in an increasingly authoritarian manner after 1974.<sup>64</sup> The second irony is that despite its devotion to education as a key modernizing strategy, the military cut post-secondary education funding. Indeed, it did

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<sup>63</sup> Good examples are found in, PcdelP, Desarrollemos la guerra de guerrillas!, Comité Central, 1982, pp. 1-6.

<sup>64</sup> Brian Loveman and Thomas Davies Jr. (eds.), The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1978).

so on the same day as it promulgated its Agrarian Reform Law (June 24, 1969). Known as Decree 006, the education law severely curtailed access to free public education. Cities like Ayacucho and Huanta erupted with anger. This anger led to the formation of the People's Defense Front, one of whose leaders was Guzmán.<sup>65</sup>

The events of 1969 brought a measure of prestige and power to Guzmán's Red Faction, facilitating its final break with Bandera Roja and Paredes, who Guzmán began to call "Mr. Liquidationist." Paredes returned with his own invective, calling Guzmán "Mr. Opportunist," a label not far from the truth. In 1970 Sendero Luminoso was born, beginning a ten year period of rebuilding the party from the top down, what they refer to as the "reconstitution of the party as a party of a new type."<sup>66</sup> The main steps toward this had in fact already been taken through Guzmán's faction's control over key administrative posts in the university. Guzmán was provost from 1968 to 1969, while Díaz Martínez was Dean of Student Affairs. And, of course, the education department was virtually occupied by Senderista militants. Sendero initiated the armed struggle only after losing its grip on key positions of power within the university to other New Left parties such

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<sup>65</sup> Poole and Rénique, Time of Fear, pp. 36-37.

<sup>66</sup> Desarrollemos la guerra de guerrillas, p. 1. The best work on this period, from the internecine battles of 1969 to the last preparations for armed struggle in 1979, is Carlos Degregori's Ayacucho 1969-1979: el surgimiento de Sendero Luminoso. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1990).

as Vanguardia Revolucionario. The first loss was control over Huamanga's student organization in 1973. A gradual weakening of their power continued so that by 1975 their position in the People's Defense Front was also severely weakened. By the late 1970s Sendero power in UNSCH was limited to a few remaining loyal professors.

Understanding both Sendero's successes and failures in generating popular support since it initiated the armed struggle involves recognizing the characteristics of its pre-insurrectionary period. In particular, three factors have determined Sendero's fortunes: its mestizo status, giving it the ability to participate in and exploit the shifting dynamics between "two worlds;" its pedagogical roots, which allow it to "know the other," and Peruvian realities as a whole,<sup>67</sup> and which put it in an important position to offer ideological coherence and power to a cholo lumpen intelligentsia;<sup>68</sup> and a Stalinist ideology that is both

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<sup>67</sup> This is hardly a popular point to make as it appears to some as proof of advocacy of Sendero's brutal tactics. As a result few are willing to make it, not the least of which is the Peruvian government. Anthropologist Gavin Smith's comments are particularly apt here: "It is a long way from giving Sendero Luminos [sic] credentials they do not deserve, to point out that their success arises from their ability to deal convincingly with the problems of peasants, rather than with the peasants as problems." The latter approach has typically been the government's and, sadly, academics' approach. "The Long Memory of a Forgotten People," Canadian Dimension. 19(5) (December 1985), p. 36. The peasants did, of course, become problems for Sendero once they refused to accept Maoist truth (see below).

<sup>68</sup> "The party has decided to 'sow the seeds of Power' so that people begin to exercise it, and learn to run the State...Once they learn to run the State they learn that [it] can only be maintained

pragmatic and dogmatic.

Perhaps the most important factor is the party elite's mestizo status. Guzmán and Díaz Martínez form part of a long tradition of mestizo educators in a provincial setting. As we have seen, the provincial mestizo is an intermediary between "two worlds" and participates equally well in both. They are neither wholly outsiders nor wholly insiders; they imitate high creole culture and appropriate the "low" Andean culture. The relationship between mestizo and Indian and cholo is typically authoritarian, but the mestizo understands their hopes and fears and uses them to his/her advantage.

This fact explains the shifting support for Sendero as the war progressed in the early 1980s. In the first few years Sendero's executions of local bosses and politicians often coincided with peasant aspirations which sought revenge against past exploiters. In places such as Chuschi, Sendero commanded fairly widespread support until late 1982. As the war progressed, however, Sendero stepped up its "armed propaganda" and "selective annihilations" to include leaders of peasant organizations, unions and other popular organizations. In addition, Sendero initiated its first "moralization campaigns," outlawing local fairs and other

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by force of arms...We sow in people's minds the need for the New Power and that people see it in practice," Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 79. An important point to make on this lumpen intelligentsia in Peru is that, unlike in the First World, financial constraints make it more difficult to co-opt them into "polite society."

elements of village life. As a consequence, the initial correspondence between Sendero's aims and those of the peasantry was broken. Degregori and others have correctly interpreted Sendero's puritanical stance as a reproduction of the old mestizo authoritarianism in a new setting. In February 1983 the community of Chuschi flew white flags from municipal buildings, requesting that a Civil Guard post be established.<sup>69</sup> The contingent nature of support seen in Chuschi was replayed in essentially the same fashion two years later when Sendero's "flame leaped to Puno" in the south.<sup>70</sup>

Sendero's targeting of popular organizations and rejection of all other organizations on the left as "revisionists," including MRTA ("armed revisionists"), should not be narrowly interpreted as proof of fanaticism, or a luddite mentality.<sup>71</sup> Instead, it is the logical continuation

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<sup>69</sup> Sendero's moralizing campaigns and loss of initial support in Chuschi are analyzed by Isbell, "Shining Path and Peasant Responses in Rural Ayacucho," In, Palmer (ed.), Shining Path, pp. 59-81, and "The Emerging Patterns of Peasants' Responses to Sendero Luminoso," (Paper presented at the NYU/Columbia University Latin American Studies Consortium, New York, December, 9, 1988), pp. 1-19.

<sup>70</sup> "Flames Leap to Puno," A World to Win. 6, 1986, pp. 37-39. Puno became the sight of an "explosive political cocktail" in which Sendero fought it out against other political parties (APRA, PUM), peasant federations and miners unions for control over the area. Puno really represents a perfect example of Sendero's strategy of eliminating truly popular organizations and imposing the rule of the party. Lewis Taylor, "Agrarian Unrest and Political Conflict in Puno, 1985-87," Bulletin of Latin American Research. 6(2), 1987, pp. 135-62.

<sup>71</sup> Harding, "Antonio Díaz Martínez and the Ideology of Sendero Luminoso," argues persuasively against the common perception that Sendero wants, like Pol Pot, to "turn back the clock." pp. 68-69.

of its pre-insurrectionary period, in which it had a hotly contested position vis-a-vis other parties. It also means that Sendero steps outside of its otherwise dogmatic Maoist vision, and recognizes that the Peru of 1980 is not the China of 1930. Events since 1980 indicate that Sendero recognized the realities of the Peruvian countryside - the existence of peasant organizations, development organizations, and rival political parties - and formed its strategy around these realities. Peasant organizations are quite simply an obstruction in Sendero's path to Stalinist truth.<sup>72</sup> Sendero's entire strategy has been based on eliminating these organizations, which they lump together under the label the old "semi-feudal" order. In their place, Sendero imposes the absolute leadership of the party, what it calls the "New State."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> There is ample documentation of Sendero's attacks on popular organizations. Poole and Rénique Time of Fear; Robin Kirk, Decade of Chagwa; Jo-Marie Burt and Aldo Panfichi, Peru: Caught in the Crossfire. (Jefferson City, MO: Peru Peace Network, 1992); on Sendero attacks on development organizations, including the experimental farms associated with UNSCH, see Michael Smith, Rural Development in the Crossfire: The Role of Grass Roots Support Organizations in Situations of Political Violence in Peru. (Ottawa: International Development Research Center (IDRC), 1991). John Gitlitz and Telmo Rojas document early Sendero attempts to infiltrate and impose leadership over "spontaneously" generated peasant vigilante committees (rondas campesinas) in Cajamarca, "Peasant Vigilante Committees in Northern Peru," Journal of Latin American Studies. 15(1), 1983, pp. 180-81.

<sup>73</sup> PCP-SL documents, not surprisingly, use the phrase "the Party" synonymously with the "New State," according to the logic that "the state is inextricably linked to the Party and the army." PCdelp, Develop the People's War to Serve the World Revolution. (Berkeley: Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, 1986), p. 31.

Sendero's authoritarian relationship with the masses is therefore a product of a Stalinist political agenda that has its roots in the bitter intra-left struggles of the 1960s, and its mestizo status with roots in the Andean seigniorial system. This cultural factor has its appropriate ideological expression, Stalinism. According to Guzmán, Sendero "is a peasant army under the absolute leadership of the Party according to the principle 'the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.'" <sup>74</sup> As Degregori comments, the two elements, Stalinism and mestizo racism, are "mutually reinforcing" traditions. <sup>75</sup>

Sendero's pragmatic understanding of Peruvian realities also explains its political-military strategy, one we should be careful of too hastily stamping as "classically Maoist," a phrase which raises as many questions as it answers. Indeed, two elements most frequently cited by Senderologists as evidence of Sendero's fealty to Mao's theories - the revolutionary strategy of "encircling the cities" from the

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<sup>74</sup> Develop the People's War, p. 41. On the party, Guzmán has written: "Chairman Mao teaches us that the Party is not a mass Party but has a mass character. It has a mass character in the sense that while being a select organization - a selection of the best, of the proven, of those, as Stalin said, who have what it takes - being numerically small in proportion to the broad masses...Our Party is a Party of fighters, of leaders, an instrument of war like the one Lenin himself would demand," Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 28. This conception of the Party really most closely approximates that of Enver Hoxha in Albania who, in fact, Sendero is least hostile to, calling Hoxha's ruthlessness mere "errors."

<sup>75</sup> Carlos Degregori, "Sociedad rural y violencia," p. 168.

countryside, and its appreciation of the leading role of peasants - are subject to substantial debate.<sup>76</sup>

It is argued here that the PCP-SL's strategy lies in-between the classic guerrilla *foco* strategy associated with Che Guevara, and truly prolonged popular people's war identified with Mao, as well as in-between an exclusively rural and an exclusively urban strategy, reflecting Sendero's very "in-between" position in Peruvian society, and its understanding of Peruvian realities. A comment by Blanco, in which he argued against the Cuban *foco* strategy, is highly revealing: "In Peru several Fidelista groups have sprung up, and the Maoists combine this position with Stalinist opportunism."<sup>77</sup>

Sendero's presence in Lima and other major centers, which most authors date to 1985 or later, claiming it was the result of a "shift" in its original "orthodox Maoist strategy," was actually manifest as early as 1981.<sup>78</sup> It was not, however, of

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<sup>76</sup> Sendero's apparent strategy of "encircling the cities from the countryside", in keeping with Mao's strategy, is virtually uncontested in Senderology and is a favourite among those of the "narcoterrorist" school, indicating that perhaps the strategy comes more from the imaginations and fears of counterinsurgency theorists than from Sendero. See for example Tarazona-Sevillano, Sendero Luminoso and the Threat of Narcoterrorism, pp. 49-52.

<sup>77</sup> Blanco, Land or Death, p. 62.

<sup>78</sup> On Sendero's apparent shift to the cities see Wheat "Shining Path's Fourth Sword Ideology," p. 50; William A. Hazleton and Sandra Woy-Hazleton, write that "the move to the cities" was a "strategic shift from protracted rural warfare to an accelerated urban-based revolution." "Sendero Luminoso and the Future of Peru," pp. 23-24; Tarazona-Sevillano claims that "Guzmán and other Sendero leaders did not foresee the massive wave of urban migration

the highly visible nature of its presence in provincial towns and villages. Susan Stokes reports that in 1983 there was only a "shadowy guerrilla presence" in the shantytowns which surround Lima.<sup>79</sup> The reason is obvious, the State's forces of coercion are concentrated there, making it more difficult to operate. It is true that Sendero has been and is still relatively weak among unionized workers in Lima, although this is not necessarily for lack of effort. In actual fact, Sendero's "move to the city" was identified as part of a "two-pronged" strategy from the start.<sup>80</sup>

In its simultaneous plans and actual strategic operation in the cities - mostly in shantytowns - Sendero's strategy more closely approximates the strategy of say the FMLN in El Salvador. The comments by FMLN Commander Leo Cabral on the nature of the revolution in El Salvador are revealing:

Insurrection in the countryside has one set of characteristics, urban insurrection another. [Urban insurrection] combines guerrilla siege - not a

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that began in 1980...The people Sendero had planned to organize against the cities were now moving to the cities voluntarily." (p. 50). In fact, one of the things Díaz Martínez was most struck by when he travelled throughout Ayacucho in the late 1960s was precisely this disproportionate migration, "Ayacucho y las Comunidades del hambre," pp. 310-311.

<sup>79</sup> Susan Stokes, "Politics and Latin America's Urban Poor: Reflections from a Lima Shantytown," Latin American Research Review. 26(2), 1991, p. 78.

<sup>80</sup> In his interview Guzmán identifies this as party plan since 1968, p. 34; Peter Johnson identifies consistencies of this sort going back to 1965. "The Consistency of a Revolutionary Movement: Sendero Luminoso and its Texts," p. 272.

classic encirclement - with incursions. [This is] not in the Maoist sense of moving to encircle the cities from the countryside. We are forming a guerrilla belt all around the cities - but at the same time we are already inside the suburbs and the cities themselves.<sup>81</sup>

Compare Guzmán's remarks in his interview and elsewhere: The war was not conceived in terms of one single region but in terms of simultaneous though uneven development in several regions"<sup>82</sup>

And:

There are those who say that we incorrectly try to apply Chairman Mao in an era where [sic] he is no longer applicable...[Ours] is a struggle that is waged in the countryside and in the city, as was established as far back as 1968 in the plan for the people's war. Here we have a difference, a particularity: it is waged in the countryside and the city. This we believe has to do with our own specific conditions. Latin America, for instance, has cities which are proportionately larger than those on other continents. It is a reality of Latin America that can't be ignored. So, for us, the city

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<sup>81</sup> Leo Cabral interviewed in NACLA: Report on the Americas. 23(3), (September), 1989, p. 28. Emphasis added.

<sup>82</sup> Pcdelp, Develop the People's War, p. 27. Emphasis added.

could not be left aside, and the war had to be developed there as well.<sup>83</sup>

And:

We believe that our work in the cities is indispensable...because it is in the cities that the proletariat is concentrated...we should turn the working class districts and shantytowns [of Lima] into belts of iron to enclose and trap the reactionary forces<sup>84</sup>

Finally, Guzmán has summarized the above points with his frank acknowledgement that, "just as in the beginning we moved fighters and communists from the cities to the countryside, later we must move them from the countryside to the city."<sup>85</sup> In conclusion, it is evident that the party's urban strategy was articulated early on, possibly as early as 1968, and was not the result of a "shift" in strategy or ideology, nor a "forced" survival technique. In this sense, we have not witnessed, after 1985, a "repudiation of its orthodox Maoism" as Wheat suggests, but rather a pragmatic recognition that the Peru of the 1980s is not the China of the 1930s. As Lewis Taylor reminds us, "Sendero Luminoso has never been an organization of mindless fanatics divorced from all social

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<sup>83</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pp. 33-34. Emphasis added. At a different point in the interview he comments that "since 1976 we've had guidelines for work in the cities." p. 37.

<sup>84</sup> Guzmán cited in A World to Win. 13, 1989, p. 5

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 38.

reality."<sup>86</sup> Instead, they are the quintessential Stalinist party, oscillating "between the axiom and *realpolitik*, dogmatism and opportunism." Like Stalin, Guzmán is "a mixture of Marxist theorist, pragmatist, and hypocrite."<sup>87</sup>

The culmination of Sendero's Stalinism came in 1988 at the first party Congress. And, as with every other Stalinist party, the central elements of the Congress were the arrival at Truth and the purge of those who failed to see it. Although evidence is sparse, it is widely believed that the coining of Gonzalo Thought coincided with a purge of dissidents within the party by Guzmán.<sup>88</sup> In his interview Guzmán explains it this way: "Previously we called it Guiding Thought. And if today the Party, through its Congress, has sanctioned the term Gonzalo Thought, it is because a leap has been made in the Guiding Thought."<sup>89</sup> This too was the logical outcome of its formative years.

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<sup>86</sup> Taylor, "Agrarian Unrest and Political Conflict in Puno," p. 155.

<sup>87</sup> E.P. Thompson, The Poverty of Theory, p. 141.

<sup>88</sup> See Ansión, "Sendero Luminoso: La politica como religion,"

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 6.

## Chapter 4

### "JOURNEYS TO DEATH" IN THE HIGH ANDES: THE PERUVIAN MAGICAL REALITY OF MARIO VARGAS LLOSA<sup>1</sup>

The second Belaúnde administration has been a bizarre attempt, worthy almost of a García Márquez novel, to turn back the clock; to return to a simpler, more manageable past.<sup>2</sup>

Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa's unsuccessful run for President in 1990 was the culmination of an ideological odyssey that perhaps parallels only that of the so-called New York Intellectuals.<sup>3</sup> He studied Marxism at Lima's San Marcos University in the 1950s and was for a brief period a member of the Communist Party. In the 1960s Vargas Llosa, like fellow novelists Carlos Fuentes and Gabriel García Márquez, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Cuban Revolution. His fallout with Marxism and Cuba began in 1966; by 1970 he had clearly defined himself as a "god that failed" renegade by writing two

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter takes some of its inspiration from William Stein's "Rebellion in Huaraz: The Newspaper Account of an 'Obscure' Revolt in Peru," Dialectical Anthropology. 5(2), 1980. Stein discusses the Peruvian elite response to an "Indian" rebellion of 1885 led by mestizos in which the "nature" of the Indian was hotly debated.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Lee Clinton, "From Belaúnde to Belaúnde," Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies (PCCLAS). 13, 1984, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> The group known as the New York intellectuals included people like Lionel Trilling and Norman Podhoretz. Trotskyists in the 1930s, many of them became unabashed supporters of Reagan's Central American policies in the 1980s.

letters to Cuba, one of which was to Castro himself.<sup>4</sup> With the break from Cuba, Vargas Llosa began his journey to the extreme right, becoming in the eyes of many a "messianic convert" to neo-conservatism and supporter of Reagan and Thatcher in the 1980s.<sup>5</sup> He surfaced in Peru after many years of self-imposed "exile" as champion of a "neo-liberal revolution" that cynically courted poor informales, the thousands of impoverished and desperate street vendors and artisans of Lima, to what fellow ideologue Hernando de Soto called "popular capitalism."<sup>6</sup> He is the ideological antithesis of Sendero.

Following an extensive election campaign, amid the benighted atmosphere provoked by the near collapse of the state under the administration of President Alan García,<sup>7</sup> Vargas Llosa was narrowly defeated in the run off vote for President, to the surprise of virtually all foreign observers,

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<sup>4</sup> The specific occasion for the letters to Cuba in 1971 was the Cuban government's ill-treatment of Cuban poets and intellectuals. Both are reprinted in Contra viento y marea, 1962-1982. (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1983), pp. 164-68.

<sup>5</sup> Eugene Robinson, "The Vision of Vargas Llosa: Peru as the Promised Land," Washington Post, 26 March 1989. Robinson reports that Vargas Llosa also has ties to "far-right" groups in Argentina.

<sup>6</sup> Hernando de Soto, with forward by Mario Vargas Llosa, The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World. Trans. by June Abott. (New York: Harper & Row, 1989).

<sup>7</sup> Garcia was the first (and possibly last) APRA President. Young and charming, Garcia entered office one of the most popular Presidents in Peruvian history and left one of the most detested. John Crabtree, Peru Under García: An Opportunity Lost. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992).

by dark horse candidate Alberto Fujimori. Vargas Llosa lost the election, most observers believe, primarily because he was the white candidate running against the non-white, Alberto Fujimori, the son of Japanese immigrants. The ugly racism that marred the campaign, in which Vargas Llosa made racial slurs about Fujimori's Japanese heritage, made a mockery of the historic "search for identity" that always marks such events, and was felt strongly among the Indian population and the growing migrant population of major centers like Lima.<sup>8</sup>

Before becoming the darling of the Peruvian right, Vargas Llosa was best known in Peru and Latin America as one of the "big four" of the 1960s Latin American literature "boom." Indeed, novels such as The Time of the Hero (1962) and The Green House (1966) established him, in the eyes of one critic, as the "prodigy" of the writers associated with the boom.<sup>9</sup> The modernist fiction of Vargas Llosa and the boom authors - a genre that has been called Magical Realism - is lauded for its ability to decipher the complex cultural realities of

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<sup>8</sup> For an interesting take on the elections see the special issue, "Vargas Llosa for President," Granta, 36, 1991, including Vargas Llosa's account, "A Fish Out of Water," pp. 15-75. The analogy is misleading, however, since Vargas Llosa's politicization continued throughout the 1980s so that by 1990 every Peruvian was aware of his rightist political affiliations. The part-Japanese Fujimori really was the fish out of water. On the racist atmosphere of the elections see Carlos Degregori, Elecciones 1990: Demonios y redentores en el nuevo Perú, una tragedia en dos vueltas. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> Raymond Leslie Williams. Mario Vargas Llosa. (New York: Ungar, 1986), p. 1. The others of the "big four" are: Julio Cortázar, Carlos Fuentes, and Gabriel García Márquez.

Latin American societies, where otherwise "objective" accounts have failed. Moreover, Vargas Llosa's visions of Peruvian reality, according to another critic, have the lofty distinction of being "always the closest to 'real' reality among the major figures of the boom."<sup>10</sup> In the eyes of outsiders Vargas Llosa is seen as the most perceptive of Peru's intellectuals.

In the 1980s, Vargas Llosa's novels take on an unmistakably allegorical, and moralising tone. Reflecting his drastic shift to the right, these later works - The War of the End of the World (1981), The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta (1984), The Storyteller (1987) - deal with political themes dear to him in the 1980s: the struggle between "democracy" and "dictatorship," "backwardness" versus "civilization," and the lingering problem of Peruvian national identity. The messages of these novels, along with his articles for such journals as Vuelta, make Vargas Llosa Latin America's "staunchest literary defender of liberalism" in the 1980s.<sup>11</sup> For some, however, the allegorical tone of his latest novels raised questions about his grasp of reality. Deborah Poole and Gerardo Rénique,

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<sup>10</sup> John S. Brushwood, "Two Views of the Boom: North and South," Latin American Literary Review. 15(29), 1987, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> Gerald Martin, Journeys Through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century. (London: Verso, 1989), p. 375n33. Recent articles by Vargas Llosa include: "Karl Popper al Día," Vuelta. (México). 14(184), 1992, pp. 25-33; and "Liberalismo y política," Vuelta. 12(144), 1988, pp. 29-32. Both are attacks on the left from the point of view of Karl Popper's The Open Society and Its Enemies.

for example, suggest that he was "confusing the allegorical spirit of his novels with the realities of Peru" during the 1990 election campaign. It is a suggestion worth exploring further, because in 1983 Vargas Llosa was asked by President and personal friend Fernando Belaúnde Terry to head the investigation of the massacre of eight journalists at the hands of Iquichano Indians in the highland village of Uchuraccay.<sup>12</sup> The Uchuraccay commission was the first significant political move on Vargas Llosa's part in the 1980s, on his way to the 1990 Presidential elections. The report of the commission produced a great deal of controversy in Peru for its possible role in a government cover-up. It also produced the raw material for an article by Vargas Llosa for the New York Times Magazine<sup>13</sup>

The commission report, Informe, co-authored by Vargas

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<sup>12</sup> Uchuraccay is in the Province of Huanta, Department of Ayacucho. Vargas Llosa was chosen to participate in the commission, it appears, because he was a loyal supporter of Belaúnde ("I voted for Belaúnde every time he ran"). Belaúnde, according to Vargas Llosa, had offered him a number of posts: embassies in London and Washington, the ministry of education and even the office of the prime minister. See Vargas Llosa, "A Fish Out of Water," p. 41.

<sup>13</sup> Mario Vargas Llosa, Luis Millones et al. Informe de la Comision Investigadora de los sucesos de Uchuraccay, (Lima: Editora Peru, 1983). Vargas Llosa, "Inquest in the Andes: A Latin American Writer Explores the Political Lessons of a Peruvian Massacre." New York Times Magazine, 31 July, 1983, pp. 18-23, and *passim*. Vargas Llosa's account also appeared in the British literary magazine Granta. 9, 1983, as "The Story of a Massacre," and in the Peruvian monthly Oiga which is comparable to Time in its outlook and format. Oiga made headlines in Peru in 1982 by declaring Guzmán "Man of the Year" on its front cover which also carried Guzmán's famous 1979 police mug shot.

Llosa, established with "absolute conviction" that the eight journalists were killed by the villagers because they suspected them of being Senderista guerrillas.<sup>14</sup> It seemed a plausible enough conclusion given the previous incidence of village-Sendero conflict in the area. Indeed, the journalists were on their way to Huaycho to investigate the killing of seven Senderistas by villagers just days earlier. The report successfully refuted the outlandish claims made by Political-Military commander for Ayacucho, General Clemente Noël, at a January 30, 1983 press conference, that the journalists had entered the village chanting pro-Sendero slogans, carrying a red flag and that their cameras were mistaken for machine guns. In place of Noël's explanation, the report concluded that it was a tragic case of mistaken identity made possible only by the continued isolation of the Indian community.

In the months that followed, however, further evidence came to light that put the commission's findings in question. Later judicial investigations disclosed that the army was complicitous if not directly responsible for the killings and,

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<sup>14</sup> The Commission was composed of Vargas Llosa, three anthropologists, one lawyer, one psychoanalyst, and two linguists. Informe qualifies each finding according to three categories: "absolute conviction," "relative conviction," and "doubtful conviction." These categories should have triggered suspicion at once since, as Roy Freyre pointed out in La República (March 8, 1983), "it is not possible to make relative conviction without [being] doubtful." That there was intense criticism of its findings immediately after, highlights the illusion of objectivity such headings were to give. Moreover, the document is punctuated by qualifications even for conclusions arrived at with "absolute conviction."

moreover, that Vargas Llosa's commission may have actively covered up information pointing to the army's involvement.<sup>15</sup> Uchuraccay was probably the most controversial issue of Belaúnde's crisis-ridden second administration. Many Peruvians today suspect the military was involved in some manner, but some of the specifics of the massacre remain cloudy. For Vargas Llosa, the controversy had strangely positive effects, save for the nightmares he and wife Patricia experienced as a result of media hounding.<sup>16</sup> In putting himself in the role of apologist - a capacity he filled throughout Belaúnde's term<sup>17</sup> - he secured the confidence of the Peruvian right

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<sup>15</sup> For an early critical appraisal of the report see Henry Pease García (Presidential candidate for the United Left in 1990), "Uchuraccay, Lucanamarca y muchos más," Quehacer. 22:48-57, 1983. In addition see the articles by José María Salcedo in Quehacer. 45, and Quehacer. 65. Amnesty International also rejected the commission's findings, and blamed the government.

<sup>16</sup> "A Fish Out of Water," p. 41.

<sup>17</sup> See his article "A Media Stereotype," Atlantic, (Feb., 1984, pp. 20-24) for a broad defense of human rights abuses under Belaúnde's second administration (ironically he was deposed by the military in 1968, only to return twelve years later). The article, ostensibly an attempt to uphold Western liberal democracy as the way out of Latin America's malaise, is in fact, a poor rendering of the kind of double speak that landed Jeane Kirkpatrick a job in the State Department under Reagan. Indeed, it landed Vargas Llosa a shot at the Presidency in Peru. He complains that foreign commentators too often see "the only things worth reporting are errors and horrors," and not the democracy's kindler and gentler side. (p. 22). The article is Kirkpatrickesque because Vargas Llosa deems it more important to have highly repressive civilian governments in Latin America than a possible victory for anything resembling the left (the "sinister obstacles confronting us in our struggle", p. 24). As an example, during the 1990 election he vowed "not [to] let Alan García's [once radical today centrist-right] APRA party become the Trojan Horse of communism." Cited in Poole and Rénique, Time of Fear, p. 139.

needed for his later Presidential run.

Beyond proving his loyalty to Belaúnde's Acción Popular government, however, Vargas Llosa's involvement in Uchuraccay launched him into the singular role of interpreter of the present state of the "Indian problem" in Peru. For Uchuraccay was not just one among many massacres in Peru in the 1980s - any of which could have provided the basic elements required for a Vargas Llosa novel or story given his penchant for violence and death<sup>18</sup> - but one committed by highland Indians, who were, in Vargas Llosa's words, "armed with a ferocious brutality" as well as some sharp sticks.<sup>19</sup> The Iquichanos' brutality is given as a consequence, in part, of their being caught between the "two fires" of Sendero and the military's hated *sinchis*. Faced with violence on all sides they have merely responded in kind. But for Vargas Llosa and many other "white" Peruvians, the true source of the Indians' brutality lies much deeper in the past; they live, as Vargas Llosa has written elsewhere, in "the Stone Age," meaning that violence

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<sup>18</sup> "I enjoy violent books very much...it is very difficult [for me] to like a novel in which there is not some form of violence," Vargas Llosa, in Raymond Leslie Williams, "The Boom Twenty Years Later: An Interview With Mario Vargas Llosa," Latin American Literary Review. 15(29) (Jan.-June, 1987), p. 204.

<sup>19</sup> "Inquest," p. 48. It is highly revealing of the current state of affairs in Peru that Uchuraccay, a massacre committed by Indians, has been discussed more than all of the massacres (often of greater magnitude) committed by Sendero and the military against the Indian population. Part of the reason for this is that the victims were journalists, making their story "more worthy" in the eyes of many Peruvians (including Vargas Llosa) than the thousands of innocent campesinos who have died at the hands of either Sendero or the military.

for them is a cultural and historical constant; the war merely exacerbated it.<sup>20</sup>

"Inquest in the Andes" represents, then, much more than its Granta title, "The Story of a Massacre," suggests. Bourque and Warren argue that "Inquest" "captivated American readers with an interpretation of events that emphasized the central issues of ethnicity and democracy."<sup>21</sup> More accurately, it was Vargas Llosa's vision of the Andes as an "exotic" land where death and violence lurk dangerously under foreboding peaks and "threatening clouds," that truly enticed readers to follow the journalists on what Vargas Llosa menacingly calls their "journey to death." In Vargas Llosa's words, the landscape and its "Indian" inhabitants "were as exotic to them [the reporters] as they would be to any foreigner."<sup>22</sup>

Like most of his novels, "Inquest" deals with the problem of national and cultural identity. But, as Martin points out, the current situation in Peru, in which the Peruvian criollo elite finds itself in the midst of the most radical challenge to its hegemony, has given the old debate on the "national question" and "Indian problem" a "still more

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<sup>20</sup> "A Passion for Peru," New York Times Magazine Nov. 20, 1983, p. 108.

<sup>21</sup> Susan C. Bourque and Kay B. Warren, "Democracy Without Peace: The Cultural Politics of Terror in Peru," Latin American Research Review. 24(1), 1989, p. 22.

<sup>22</sup> "Inquest," p. 21.

desperate quality."<sup>23</sup> The defining element of this desperation is the intensification of racism, what Doughty and Vásquez appropriately have called indiophobia, witnessed vividly in the 1980s.<sup>24</sup> As journalist Simon Strong reported during the 1990 election, "fear grips the white elite."<sup>25</sup> Vargas Llosa's political brilliance lay primarily in his ability to articulate and intellectualize these racialized fears. The product of his efforts are War of the End of the World, The Storyteller, and above all, "Inquest in the Andes."

As a measure of Vargas Llosa's success in his efforts, "Inquest" was received with great fanfare by Senderologists and literary critics alike for its "veracious perception" of Peruvian reality.<sup>26</sup> Literary critics were most enthralled, praising its "exciting narrative capabilities" and "brilliant analysis."<sup>27</sup> But this captivation with Vargas Llosa's

<sup>23</sup> Martin, Journeys, p. 93.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Doughty and Mario Vásquez, "Cambio y violencia en el Perú: Problema del Indio," Socialismo y Participación. 34 (June, 1986), p. 115.

<sup>25</sup> Simon Strong, Shining Path: The World's Deadliest Revolutionary Force. (London: Harper Collins, 1992), p. 67.

<sup>26</sup> McClintock, Palmer, and others refer to "Inquest" favourably. Indeed, it is cited as evidence of Peru's backwardness. McClintock, "Why Peasants Rebel," Palmer, "Rebellion in Rural Peru," Hazleton and Woy-Hazleton, "Sendero Luminoso." Literary critic Frederick Nunn, "'Mendacious Inventions', Veracious Perceptions: The Peruvian Reality of Mario Vargas Llosa's *La ciudad y los perros*," The Americas. 43(4) (April, 1987).

<sup>27</sup> Dick Gerdes, Mario Vargas Llosa. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), p. 4. Nunn, "'Mendacious Inventions,'" p. 466n33. How literary critics completely missed the political messages of "Inquest" despite the subtitle it carried, "the political lessons

"narrative form" went beyond fans of his fiction. Americas Watch mentioned the possibility of army involvement, but still proclaimed "Inquest" "an eloquent report" because it blamed not just the peasants "but suggest[ed] the guilt of all Peruvians," for abdicating their democratic authority over the villagers.<sup>28</sup> Surprisingly, criticism of "Inquest" has yet to go beyond the odd anthropologist's concern for its naivete.<sup>29</sup> This minimizes, however, the great weight that Vargas Llosa's views carry in Lima and indeed in Washington. As Eugene Robinson reminds us, Vargas Llosa "cannot be dismissed as simply the darling of the country club set...He may live in a bubble, but he sees through it with a vision more acute and discerning than most."<sup>30</sup> This perception that Vargas Llosa sees Peru and Latin America more clearly than virtually any other contemporary Latin American intellectual is, of course, the reason he was chosen to preside over the Uchuraccay

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of a Peruvian massacre," is one of the many unexplored mysteries of this story.

<sup>28</sup> Americas Watch, Abdicating Democratic Authority: Human Rights in Peru. (New York: Americas Watch, 1984), p. 75. The actual comment on "Inquest" reads: "the document blames the peasants directly, but suggests the guilt of all Peruvians for not having incorporated the Indians into modern society."

<sup>29</sup> Billie Jean Isbell, "The Emerging Patterns of Peasant Responses," p. 7. Vera Gianotten, Ton de Wit and Hans de Wit, "The Impact of Sendero Luminoso on Regional and National Politics in Peru," in David Slater (ed.), New Social Movements, write that "Inquest" can "be criticized for its rather naive commentary on the way of life in the Peruvian Andes." p. 200n6.

<sup>30</sup> Eugene Robinson, "The Vision of Vargas Llosa: Peru as the Promised Land," Washington Post. Mar. 26, 1989.

investigation and ultimately recruited by Belaúnde and the Peruvian right to run for the Presidency.

His literary vision - that of The Time of the Hero, and The Green House - helped shape a generation's thinking on Peruvian and Latin American identity. In the 1980s, however, Vargas Llosa's "bubble" seems clouded by the exigencies of "dirty war" and the "neo-liberal revolution." In many ways, then, his move from prodigy to Presidential candidate is a tragedy for Latin American literature, because its project - what Gerald Martin calls its attempt to "liberate the labyrinth" of Latin American historical and cultural identity - remains incomplete.<sup>31</sup> This perhaps explains the absence of critical readings of "Inquest," or for that matter War and The Storyteller. "Inquest," however, both deserves and demands our attention. It deserves it because Vargas Llosa's vision remains a powerful one in the world view of the Peruvian elite. It also demands our attention, however, because when his grim portrayal of Indian life is acted upon by the Peruvian military it can, and did, have ominous consequences. The following analysis, therefore, attempts to situate "Inquest" in two contexts: the historical context of the national or Indian problem, and the present context of "dirty war" in which Vargas Llosa has played a central role as participant and apologist.

A reader of "Inquest" does not get any sense of the fact

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<sup>31</sup> Martin, Journeys, p. 366.

that, at the time of publication (July, 1983), the main findings of the commission were hotly contested in Peru.<sup>32</sup> Even without this knowledge, however, readers had plenty reason to doubt the veracity of Vargas Llosa's conclusion that the villagers killed the journalists. Within the narrative of "Inquest" itself Vargas Llosa admits that "the military were distrustful of journalists when not openly hostile, and that regional commander General Clemente Noel "had no luck with reporters." Moreover, press censorship had been on the rise since 1982, especially in the Ayacucho region.<sup>33</sup> There were other powerful clues that should have raised a speculative eye. In particular, two are notable: Vargas Llosa's confusion of Peruvian realities with his novels, what he himself calls his "schizophrenic relationship" to fact and fantasy, to reason and irrationality, witnessed graphically by the publication of his "most ambitious" novel to date, War, in 1981;<sup>34</sup> and the prior experience of the New York Times Magazine with tales of exotic lands.

Because some of the particulars of the case are blurry, "Inquest" represents for some "a case study in Peruvian ambiguity, demonstrating once again that nothing in Peru is

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<sup>32</sup> Eugene Robinson comments that "many Peruvians believed, and still do, that the journalists were killed by the military," "The Vision of Vargas Llosa."

<sup>33</sup> Americas Watch, Abdicating Democratic Authority, pp. 41-51.

<sup>34</sup> Vargas Llosa's "schizophrenic" relationship is cited in Robinson, "The Vision of Vargas Llosa,"

quite what it first appears to be."<sup>35</sup> Although this may well be the case, the point to be made is that Vargas Llosa has had much to do with this blurring of the lines between reality and fiction or fantasy.<sup>36</sup> This is where the importance of "Inquest" and others of his writings in the 1980s - both fictional and "non"-fictional - lie.

Just prior to his participation in the Uchuraccay commission, Vargas Llosa had completed War, a novel based on Euclides da Cunha's classic account (Rebellion in the Backlands) of a peasant millenarianist rebellion and subsequent military massacre in Canudos, northeastern Brazil in the late nineteenth-century.<sup>37</sup> War, ironically the only one of Vargas Llosa's novels situated outside of Peru, speaks directly to the war in Peru. In Vargas Llosa's words, it is a novel about the "reciprocal fanaticisms" or "extremisms of the left and the right" that have prevented the true nurturing of democracy in Latin America and specifically in contemporary

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<sup>35</sup> Bourque and Warren, "The Cultural Politics of Terror in Peru," p. 22.

<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Vargas Llosa's claim to fame, according to Zamora is precisely his ability to "blur fantasy and reality, and ultimately to erase and redraw the lines between fiction and history." War of the End of the World is given as the best example to date, although "Inquest" is easily as worthy. Lois Parkinson Zamora, Writing the Apocalypse. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 189.

<sup>37</sup> Euclides da Cunha, Rebellion in the Backlands (Os sertoes). For Vargas Llosa's thoughts on how "one of the most horrible massacres in Latin American history," inspired him to write War, see Chapter 7 of his A Writer's Reality, edited with introduction by Myron I. Lichtblau, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1991).

Peru. "We have," he writes, "a living Canudos in the Andes."<sup>38</sup>

More significant, for our purposes, than the allusions to Sendero in War, are the easily recognizable parallels to his narrative on Uchuruccay, "Inquest in the Andes." Both concern massacres set in "remote" culturally divided regions in times of deep economic and political crisis. And, interestingly, War also contains a government commission attempting to piece together the truth of a lesser massacre committed by devil-worshipping primitives.<sup>39</sup> The strange parallels between the novel and "Inquest" prompted critic Gerald Martin to satirize that "even fantasy can become inadequate ultimately, and the writer can decide to 'make history as other men write plays'; so Vargas Llosa, looking for real events to transpose, wrote a novel about a notorious massacre in Brazil...and then joined a national commission to investigate a massacre of journalists in Peru." It is possible, in this context, to understand why Vargas Llosa ran for President (something he said he would not

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<sup>38</sup> "To Nurture Latin Democracy," Harper's, June 1987, pp. 15-18, excerpted from "Latin America: The Democratic Option," Vargas Llosa's speech to the Trilateral Commission in San Francisco. The protagonists in War are "fanatical bandits" who follow a messianic leader, an obvious allegory to Sendero. His discussion of the "reciprocal fanaticisms" at work in Brazil and how they relate to Peru today can be found in A Writer's Reality, p. 132-39.

<sup>39</sup> The War of the End of the World, (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1984). In an extraordinary moment in the novel (during the commission) we find the line "the truth began to come to light months later." (p. 28)

do as late as 1985<sup>40</sup>), it was the "only script [left] which could still provide a frisson." In doing so, Martin writes, Vargas Llosa "journeyed knight-errant along side the Shining Path - through history as if through one of his favourite novels of chivalry."<sup>41</sup> The implication, of course, is that Vargas Llosa's "Inquest in the Andes" is little more than a shorter version of what is a rather long novel. That is to say that the former lacks some of the nuances of the latter. Nevertheless, its uncritical acceptance by so many means it cannot be dismissed.

Attentive readers may also have been aware of the scandal in 1981 involving the New York Times Magazine, concerning an article by Christopher Jones about a trip to Cambodia.<sup>42</sup> Jones's account, entitled "In the Land of the Khmer Rouge," fascinated readers with his speculation that he saw Pol Pot: "on the summit of a distant hillside, I saw a figure that made me catch my breath: a pudgy Cambodian...the eyes in his head looked dead and stony...I was staring at Pol Pot - whoever he may be." Animated by such good fortune, Jones departs Cambodia, and offers a parting vision that is distinctive of much of the reporting on Cambodia: "I looked back. By an old

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<sup>40</sup> See his account of the 1990 election in "A Fish Out of Water," pp. 17-79.

<sup>41</sup> Martin, Journeys, p. 300.

<sup>42</sup> Jones, "In the Land of the Khmer Rouge," New York Times Magazine. Dec. 20, 1981. For comments on Jones see Alexander Cockburn, Corruptions of Empire. (London: Verso, 1987), pp. 275-76.

Cambodian cemetery a blind man was chanting the Ramayana, a part of Cambodia's cultural heritage, as he twanged a primitive guitar. What better personification of Cambodia could I have found?" Finally, Jones concludes his journey with these musings: "Cambodia, a land possessed, its ancient rhythms, like its temples, fallen on evil days. Of all dead lands, the most dead."

As it turns out, Jones made the entire tale up, having never made a trip to Cambodia, and having seen neither the "pudgy Cambodian" nor the primitive singer. Indeed, Jones did not even pen these creative closing lines; they were written by Andre Malraux in his novel The Royal Way (1930).<sup>43</sup> It is difficult to blame Jones for his transgressions; after all, he was not the first Westerner to have his creative impulses stirred by the combination of the wondrous temples of Angkor Wat and Pol Pot's carnage.<sup>44</sup> What is most significant in Jones's piece is the fact that a character from an Andre Malraux novel is seen to personify Cambodian reality in a time of civil war and not something very real like the carnage caused by unremitting U.S. carpet bombing. In this sense, Jones's vision is typical of much of what passed for news on Cambodia, where the horrors of Pol Pot were rarely placed in

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<sup>43</sup> Malraux's The Royal Way, published in 1930, was based on a trip he made to Cambodia and Angkor Wat in 1923.

<sup>44</sup> See for example Anthony Barnett's recent article "Cambodia Will Never Disappear," New Left Review. 180. (March/April) 1990: 101-25.

the context of the United States attempt to bomb Cambodia into the stone age.<sup>45</sup>

Much embarrassed by the Jones fiasco, the Times editors must have had a sense of deja vu when, just two years later, Vargas Llosa's "Inquest in the Andes" went to print. The parallels between the two are quite striking. Both were journeys to ancient "exotic" lands in the midst of unimaginable violence perpetrated by Maoist "fanatics." In addition, both articles were similar in terms of format and style, directed as they were at the Sunday travel/leisure reader. Vargas Llosa, however, is not a hack journalist with pretensions of grandeur; on the contrary, in the 1980s he has been arguably Latin America's most influential and articulate voice and was a Nobel Prize nominee. Moreover, Vargas Llosa is actually Peruvian, and had actually been to the Peruvian Andes on at least a few previous occasions prior to his involvement in the Uchuraccay commission. These facts were obviously sufficient to assuage any doubts on the part of the Times editors of the authenticity of his account.

Another factor that could have raised their doubts, however, is Vargas Llosa's familiarity with, and fondness for, the works of Andre Malraux.<sup>46</sup> While not foolish enough

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<sup>45</sup> Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, After the Cataclysm: Postwar Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology. (Boston: South End Press, 1979), Chapter, 6.

<sup>46</sup> Vargas Llosa's reminisces on his past works and the influence of writers such as Malraux, Faulkner and others, can be found in A Writer's Reality where Vargas Llosa credits Malraux with

actually to plagiarize Malraux, Vargas Llosa's "encounter" with the Andean "other" nonetheless draws on tropes exhibited in Malraux's The Royal Way. The central image of Malraux's novel is a journey down a once Royal, now decayed, road which ends in death. The road is overgrown with jungle; it is unexplored wilderness where an ancient civilization once lived but now it crawls only with vile creatures and mortal diseases. In Malraux's words, it was "a dead land amid the dead."

"Inquest" repeats the genre, chronicling the story of the journalists' trip from their safe Lima homes to the city of Ayacucho and from there to the highest peaks of the Andes. The journalists emerge from Lima's fog, its modernity threatened by rampant inflation and the invasion of the de-peasantized Indian "Other,"<sup>47</sup> they traverse the plains, streams, hills, they enter the "sacred mountains," finally arriving in the "desolate wasteland" of Uchuraccay. Vargas Llosa calls it an "encounter with another time," and a "journey to violence."<sup>136</sup>

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helping him understand "the ways in which a great number of people act, in public demonstrations, in a war." p. 50.

<sup>47</sup> Vargas Llosa complains of how Lima has "lost much of its charm, its tranquility and carnival," because of the invasion of "millions" of migrants from the sierra. "A Passion for Peru," p. 100.

soon realizes that the death of the eight journalists was predetermined by five hundred years of failure to integrate this ever present "other."

Anthony Barnett argues that works such as The Royal Way are an example of a much larger political trope evident in writings on Cambodia - European expressions of lament on the fate of the Khmer people as a political tool for French colonialism.<sup>48</sup> Anthropologist Renato Rosaldo has called this paradoxical expression of grief for the very people one has colonized "imperialist nostalgia" - "a person kills somebody and then mourns the victim."<sup>49</sup> We see it at work in Malraux's novel written during French rule in Indochina, in Jones's fabricated Malrauxesque account written just after the United States withdrawal from Indochina,<sup>50</sup> and it is manifest in Vargas Llosa's "Inquest in the Andes," written in the midst of the Peruvian government's "dirty war" against Sendero. As Vargas Llosa writes, "at no time had I felt as much sorrow as in Uchuraccay on that late afternoon."

According to Rosato, typically the literary elements of "imperialist nostalgia" include tender recollections of an earlier epoch and reverence for the natural. Letters home,

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<sup>48</sup> Barnett, "Cambodia Will Never Disappear," pp. 118-119.

<sup>49</sup> Renato Rosaldo, Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), p. 69.

<sup>50</sup> Thus Chomsky and Herman's subtitle, "the reconstruction of imperial ideology," for the role played by the New York Times and others in the Indochina wars.

travel narratives, and ethnographies are exemplary genres for nostalgic discourse. In many ways, these are Vargas Llosa's chosen genres in the 1980s. Looking back on his student days at San Marcos when he made his first trip to the Andes, Vargas Llosa describes it as his most "fertile" endeavor, one in which he discovered "half-naked compatriots" alongside all the elements of "untamed, untouched nature," including "great rushing rivers, virgin forests, and animals that seemed to come out of legend."<sup>51</sup> Articles such as "A Passion for Peru," therefore, really constitute letters home to Peru, an inversion of the colonial writer's letters home to the mother country, but otherwise of the same effect. As he writes, "living abroad accentuated my patriotic feelings."<sup>52</sup> His relationship to the Andes, the "other Peru," is akin to the colonist's, and his mission is a civilizing one. Meanwhile, "Inquest" represents a hybrid of journalism, travel writing and ethnography. Perhaps the most apt definition of it is that given to Cunha's Rebellion by González, "half-reportage, half-scientific analysis, and all literature."<sup>53</sup> Moreover, "Inquest" clearly resembles both eighteenth century travel writers and those hailed as the new school of travel writers

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<sup>51</sup> "Passion for Peru," pp. 109-110.

<sup>52</sup> "A Passion for Peru," p. 79.

<sup>53</sup> Roberto González Echevarría, Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 126.

associated with the British literary magazine Granta.<sup>54</sup> And, The Storyteller (1987) opens with a Peruvian student who has left Peru for Italy but finds himself inexorably drawn to his country by the exotic photographs of "men and women naked to the waist and daubed with paint" in a nearby travel agency. He returns to Peru to search for his and his country's "identity."

To understand why we can legitimately classify Vargas Llosa's latest writings as "imperialist nostalgia," it is necessary to sketch briefly his special relationship to Peru and the nature of his involvement in the literary quest for national identity.

Born in the southern highland Department of Arequipa in 1936, he moved to Cochabamba, Bolivia, on the Bolivian side of Lake Titicaca, one year later, where he was raised by his mother and grandparents. He returned to Peru in 1946. While at Lima's San Marcos University, he studied socialist-realism, the indigenist poet/anthropologist José María Arguedas, and made his first trip through the Andes, on his way to a remote Indian community in the jungle.<sup>55</sup> After graduating in 1959 he again left Peru, this time for Europe - Madrid, Paris and London. There he read Sartre, Camus, Andre Malraux and

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<sup>54</sup> On this group and their genre ("postmodern imperialism") see Alexander Cockburn, Corruptions of Empire, pp. 95-100. "Inquest," it will be recalled, also appeared in Granta, as did Vargas Llosa's account of the 1990 election.

<sup>55</sup> The Storyteller (trans. by Helen Lane), (New York: Farrar Strauss, and Giroux, 1989).

developed the modernist language for which he and the other boom writers are known. Vargas Llosa's experience, therefore, defines Magical Realism. It is the product of an encounter between Latin American indigenism and European modernism.<sup>56</sup>

Having spent so little of his adult life in Peru - returning from Europe in 1974, only to leave again for much of the 1980s - Vargas Llosa's relationship with Peru is that of the exile. In the 1960s, this "critical distance" produced two classics of the Latin American "new novel," The Time of the Hero (1962), based on his experiences at the Leoncio Prado Military School between 1950-52, and The Green House (1966), based on a visit to the jungle while a student at San Marcos. Time of the Hero is his first attempt to deal with the cultural divide between "the two Perus," and is praised for its "technical mastery, stylistic innovations and thematic relevance." It won Vargas Llosa several literary prizes and international recognition. It is Green House, however, that provides us with Vargas Llosa's first real "direct confrontation with Peruvian reality."<sup>57</sup>

Green House deals with the process of cultural dislocation - an Indian is uprooted from his culture and home by the penetration of Western capitalism. The conceptual model underpinning it has been described as a rejection of "the

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<sup>56</sup> Gerald Martin, Journeys, p. 124. Rowe and Schelling see it as an "encounter between modernism and popular culture," which amounts to saying the same thing. Memory and Modernity, p. 214.

<sup>57</sup> Gerdes, Mario Vargas Llosa, pp. 2-4.

rational logocentrism of European civilization." In its place, the novel "posits a return to the natural, authentic world of America," reflecting the influences of Latin American indigenism and the "new anthropology" on Vargas Llosa.<sup>58</sup> For Vargas Llosa these two mutually reinforcing traditions were fused together in the form of one man, José María Arguedas.

Arguedas is considered the greatest indigenist novelist of Latin America, although he is still little known outside of it. As a mestizo who was raised entirely in an Indian community, he lived a tormented life with one foot in each "world." His attempt to bring these two worlds together, by writing novels mostly in Spanish but within a Quechuan thought structure, and in later life by doing ethnography, was ultimately unsuccessful, as he killed himself in 1969. Arguedas differs from most indigenists in that the latter generally lacked his intimate knowledge of Indian culture. His vision of Andean culture is recognized as unique and forceful, more indignant and angry than romantic and nostalgic, and, therefore, less bourgeois.<sup>59</sup>

Green House and Garbiel García Márquez's One Hundred

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<sup>58</sup> Gerald Martin, Journeys, pp. 200. González defines the "new anthropology" as that which reversed the "scientific racism" of nineteenth century positivist evolutionism, and put in its place a romantic concern for the "other," Myth and Archive, pp. 149-51.

<sup>59</sup> For Vargas Llosa's views on Arguedas see A Writer's Reality, p. 40, where he credits Arguedas' Los ríos profundos (Deep Rivers) with providing the raw material for Time of the Hero. Vargas Llosa also wrote the afterword for Deep Rivers. (trans. by Frances Barraclough, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), pp. 235-243.

Years of Solitude (1967), are arguably the two most important works of the Latin American new novel. As such, they mark the late 1960s as the culmination of a twenty year exploration of the "labyrinths" of Latin American historical, cultural and national identities. They correspond to what González calls "archival fictions" - narratives that attempt to "find the cipher" of these identities.<sup>60</sup> Like its European predecessor, therefore, the new novel is the principal art form to chart the rise of bourgeois consciousness and the nation state. Green House and Hundred Years mark 1966-67 as the crowning moment of that rise of consciousness, coinciding as they did with the Latin American bourgeoisie's efforts to carve out a piece of autonomy through import substitution industrialization (ISI) and other reformist strategies.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, however, they point to a moment of crisis in the new novel as the Cuban Revolution made its indelible mark on Latin American literature. The different paths followed by Vargas Llosa and García Márquez after 1967, the former to the far right, the latter to a continued, if at times ambivalent, support for Castro, were in fact prefigured in these two seminal works.

Green House, written between 1962 and 1966, offers an

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<sup>60</sup> González Echevarría, Myth and Archive, p. 173.

<sup>61</sup> See M.J. Fenwick, Dependency Theory and Literary Analysis: Reflections on Vargas Llosa's *The Green House*. (Minneapolis, 1981). It is important to note that the roots of dependency theory are not Marxist, but nationalist, originally articulated by people like Raúl Prebisch and the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America.

excellent example of how Vargas Llosa was ultimately bound by the horizons of bourgeois liberalism. Although it can be read as both a critique of capitalism influenced by dependency theory and a rejection of Enlightenment reason, in the end Vargas Llosa remains a bourgeois realist at heart. In Martin's opinion this can be seen in the progression of the narrative of Green House. It begins as an "initially indecipherable indigenist text [but] gradually achieves almost complete Western legibility by the conclusion." Martin's argument is that Vargas Llosa "perceives with absolute clarity the nature of bourgeois idealism and accepts it."<sup>62</sup> While One Hundred Years is considered the quintessential Magical Realist novel, and is easily one of the most indecipherable pieces of literature of the twentieth century, it differs from Green House in important ways. Reflecting García Márquez's political commitments, it can be read as a multilayered critique of colonialism and neo-colonialism that rejects Vargas Llosa's option for "complete Western legibility."<sup>63</sup>

Recognizing such differences also means recognizing that as a genre Magical Realism was never monolithic. It always lent itself to certain simplifications, and always offered a variety of ideological agendas. The same needs to be said of

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<sup>62</sup> Martin, Journeys, pp. 208-212.

<sup>63</sup> Gerald Martin, "On 'magical' and social realism in García Márquez," In, Bernard McGuirk and Richard Caldwell (eds). Gabriel García Márquez: New Readings. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). The impenetrability of One Hundred Years, does, however, pose problems.

the indigenist tradition in Latin America. It too has always allowed for diverse agendas from the most progressive (Arguedas, Mariátegui) to the most reactionary (in the 1980s, Vargas Llosa). In addition to "Inquest," Vargas Llosa's The Storyteller, also based on his trip to the jungle in 1959, illustrates both these points.

González correctly sees Storyteller (about an anthropology student who attempts to make himself into a native shaman/storyteller) as a renewed discourse about the "other," but views it as "a kind of ethnography of anthropology," a critical evaluation of anthropology's "institutional discourse."<sup>64</sup> González, however, misinterprets what Vargas Llosa has done in Storyteller, and how this represents a break with the vestiges of his bourgeois liberalism and his concomitant conversion to Reaganite conservatism. Storyteller's rejection of anthropology is of a particular sort, and needs to be understood as Vargas Llosa's response to current political developments. It resembles an older pre-modern anthropological discourse in which the fascination with the exotic "other" stands alongside a great fear of it. His intention in the novel is to legitimate the final assault on real or perceived remnants of Indian culture, chiefly represented here by non-Spanish speaking people.

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<sup>64</sup> Mario Vargas Llosa, The Storyteller (El hablador). trans. by Helen Lane, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989. González, Myth and Archive, 174-74.

Anthony Pagden helps us understand how Vargas Llosa's recent vision differs from his previous attempts at understanding the "other," and why it recalls a pre-Enlightenment discourse. The task of pre-Enlightenment writers, as they saw it, "was not to describe a remote 'otherness,' but to arrive at an evaluation of Indian behaviour which would eliminate that 'otherness' and by doing so avoid bringing these disturbing new men within the grasp of an anthropology."<sup>65</sup> This is what The Storyteller's intention is. Indians remain a centerpiece of the novel but they are outside the grasp of anthropology. This, of course, differs from Vargas Llosa's earlier work and that of the major works of the boom, which were influenced first and foremost by the new anthropology.

"Inquest" can be read in the same way. Vargas Llosa's intention is to mark the Andes off as an unknowable alien "other." We find therefore such fanciful claims as that the Iguichanos are "zealous defenders of their customs," which "have not changed in two hundred years." They are even unknowable to journalist Amador García, born in Ayacucho, as well as Octavio Infante who worked in Ayacucho. Although fluent in Quechua and familiar with much of the region, García and Infante are ultimately incapable of understanding the "depth of the cultural chasm" they had stepped into.

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<sup>65</sup> Anthony Pagden. The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 5.

Importantly, Vargas Llosa tells us that the trip was "an encounter with another time, a gap mere language could not bridge." This is a central element in Vargas Llosa's account, because the judicial hearings following Uchuraccay discovered that a dialogue had taken place between the villagers and the journalists, yet the Indians still killed them. Presumably the journalists had plenty of opportunity to identify themselves as journalists, although one cannot help but think that their cameras were sufficient indication of their benign intentions. Forced to deal with such a peculiar scenario, Vargas Llosa claims that the villagers had at best only a "dim-witted" understanding of what a journalist is, an assertion as suspicious as those of General Noël's. He concludes that the story is "colder and crueller" than he at first thought, inferring that no amount of dialogue could have avoided certain and painful death. In this sense, Vargas Llosa's account does the experience of the Spaniards' original encounter one better. As Todorov and others have shown, the lack of common tongue between Spaniard and New World inhabitant was at the heart of the debate about their nature.<sup>66</sup> For Vargas Llosa, even the attainment of common tongue cannot solve the "Indian problem."

For Vargas Llosa, therefore, the civilizing project of the Conquest is unfulfilled. In Writer's Reality, he argues that,

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<sup>66</sup> Todorov, Conquest of America.

It is useless to ask oneself whether it was good that it [the Conquest] happened in this manner, or whether it would have been better for humanity if the individual had never been born and the tradition of the antlike societies continued forever. The pages of the chronicles of the conquest and discovery depict that crucial, bloody moment, full of phantasmagoria, when, disguised as a handful of invading treasure hunters, killing and destroying, the Judeo-Christian tradition, the Spanish language, Greece, Rome, and the Renaissance, the notion of individual sovereignty, and the chance of living in freedom all reached the shores of the Empire of the Sun. So it was that we as Peruvians were born. Almost five centuries later, this is still an unfinished business. We have not yet seen the light. We do not constitute real nations.<sup>67</sup>

The intention of both Storyteller and "Inquest," in addition to their apologetic tones for the Conquest, is to sanction the current agenda of the Peruvian State to "solve" the "Indian problem" through state terror. That this is so is not, after all, surprising; the Spanish Crown and religious orders commissioned surveys, censuses, and ethnographic and genealogical reports from both government and independent

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<sup>67</sup> Writer's Reality, p. 34.

intellectuals on the nature of the Indian as a function of colonial rule. While not a direct participant in Belaúnde's government (1980-84) (he turned down the chance at a Ministry), Vargas Llosa carries exceptional political weight in Peru, although the election defeat seems to have hurt his credibility amongst the populace as well as created cleavages within the right.<sup>68</sup>

Vargas Llosa goes to great lengths to depict the Iquichanos as foreign and prone to indiscriminate violence. He tells us that "throughout history, whenever the Iquichanos have left their lands, it has been to fight. There is a constant in the outbreaks of violence." This is the only historical context in the story and it is essential to his project of passing over the possibility of army involvement. He does so by intimating that the Indian villagers are uniquely capable of performing such a massacre. They are, in a word, savage. In their savagery and archaic lifestyle, the Iquichanos become a "stable reference point for defining civilized identity."<sup>69</sup>

Vargas Llosa's narrative needs to be placed, therefore, in the historical context of Peruvian elite dread of Indian uprisings. In its founding moment, mere decades after the last

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<sup>68</sup> Specifically, the rift that developed between Vargas Llosa and co-leader of the so-called neo-liberal revolution, Hernando de Soto, over de Soto's participation in the Fujimori government. Vargas Llosa recently called de Soto a "son-of-a-bitch."

<sup>69</sup> Rosaldo, Culture and Truth, p. 70.

of the great Andean insurrections had been defeated, the Peruvian State was mobilized by an intense fear "that the Indians would rise up and initiate a series of racial massacres." The bloody revolt of Túpac Amaru II in 1780 evokes the greatest horror. As Davies reports, it alone has "served for almost two centuries as an example of what could happen. Subsequent, though smaller, revolts merely deepen that fear."<sup>70</sup>

Arguably, however, it is the fear of dead Indian rebellions, of Inkarrí and other Andean myths come true, that evokes the most fear in Lima.<sup>71</sup> When anthropologist Rosalind Gow reports that the Inkarrí myth is "very much alive in the Andes today," she is speaking as much of anthropologists and Peruvian intellectuals like Vargas Llosa who are fascinated by it and other legends, as she is of *lo andino*.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, this example exposes the contradictions inherent in elite discourse on the "Indian problem." As a symbol of Peru's past, of its Indian past (in Vargas Llosa's terms, "our Indians"), myths such as Inkarrí serve an essential purpose in the construction

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<sup>70</sup> Davies, Indian Integration, p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> Other principal Andean myths include the pachacuti, which can be defined as a cataclysmic, world turned upside down, movement led by Wiracocha, the Andean Creator God. The other one that surely evokes fear and loathing is that of the *pishtaco*, a myth going back to the sixteenth century of Indians' fears that Spaniards sought to kill them for their fat, for medicinal purposes. In its contemporary form, "whites" or foreigners are reportedly identified as *pishtacos*.

<sup>72</sup> Gow, "Inkarrí and Revolutionary Leadership in the Southern Andes," p. 197.

of national identity as well as in less grand projects like tourism, an important sector of Peru's economy until the war began. Intellectuals like Vargas Llosa have been the chief transmitters of Indian ("popular") culture into the larger society, yet in doing so they augment their own fears of a racial massacre. The tensions between alternating sentiments of fear and fascination with the exotic inhabitants of the Peruvian Andes are a running theme in the pages of "Inquest." Vargas Llosa's narrative oscillates between the sacred and profane, dictatorship and democracy, and ultimately evil and good. The Iquichanos are infused with "magical" qualities that are at once fascinating, innocent, passive, and repulsive, cunning, and violent.

Finally, Vargas Llosa's portrayal of the Iquichanos as savages needs to be placed in the context of the war itself, as it had developed by 1983. At that time, while many continued to interpret Sendero narrowly as criminals, others, as we have seen, were beginning to identify Sendero as an Indian rebellion on par with that of Túpac Amaru. For his part, Vargas Llosa never believed that, and insisted on Sendero's urban, mestizo roots. Like many, however, he did leave the possibility open that it could develop into an Indian movement. Certainly these fears were widespread in Peruvian white society. The importance of "Inquest" was to intellectualize these fears, and in the end endorse the increasing authoritarianism of the military. The year 1983 saw

a massive escalation in human rights abuses carried out entirely under the auspices of Belaúnde's civilian government. These marked the beginning of what is now commonly called Peru's "dirty war."<sup>73</sup>

Moreover, as the war intensified onlookers were frequently reminded of Sendero's apparent strategy, culled from Mao's thoughts on tactical advantages of the countryside, of "encircling the cities" from the Andes.<sup>74</sup> Despite the fact that this was debatable from the start, it successfully conjured up the appropriate image of invading barbarians, and joined with the aforementioned racial anxieties of the Peruvian white elite to create a powerful vision of reborn Incas-with-an-attitude invading the capital. Western reporting on the war fuelled these fears with sensationalist and alarmist titles like that of Sol Sanders's "Peru's ancient Inca reborn in a terrorist movement." Others incessantly reported that Ayacucho means "Corner of the Dead," in Quechua, never situating it in the context of Ayacucho's place in Peruvian (not Incan) history as the location of the decisive battle in the defeat of Spain, the "Battle of Ayacucho."

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<sup>73</sup> The best reporting on human rights abuses is DESCO's Violencia política en el Perú, 1980-1988. 2 Vols. Lima: DESCO, 1989.

<sup>74</sup> See Philip Mauceri, "Military Politics and Counter-Insurgency in Peru," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs. 33(4), 1991, pp. 89-97, on how the Peruvian military, advised in part by U.S. officials, formulated their counterinsurgency plans in response to the "encircling" idea, and led to a massive rise in death tolls.

Previously called Huamanga, it was named Ayacucho to commemorate the dead, of which there were many. In the present context, however, the phrase "Corner of the Dead," takes on eerie qualities, evoking images of marauding undead savages coming to get their revenge.<sup>75</sup> Such apocalyptic visions have been an important sustaining force behind the "dirty war."

Ironically, in the end we can agree with Vargas Llosa's conclusion in "Inquest" that, "even more dramatic than the blood that flows through this story is the lack of understanding that made the blood flow."<sup>76</sup> Vargas Llosa, President Belaúnde and the rest of Peru's creole society are "prisoners of a cultural heritage that blind them to the realities" of contemporary Peru.<sup>77</sup> Belaúnde's first response to Sendero was reluctance and hesitance; later he simply chose to bury his head in the sand and gave the military carte blanche. Vargas Llosa's response, as we know, was far more active; his "artistic creation," his portrayal of the savagery lurking in the "other Peru," ranks alongside the early

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<sup>75</sup> Sanders, Business Week, Aug. 30, 1982, p. 45. Bennett, "Corner of the Dead;" See also his "Pol Pot in Peru; Shining Path to a Dark Future," New Republic, Jan. 28, 1985, pp. 16-18; Edward Schumacher, "Rebellion Bringing Fear to the Land of the Incas," New York Times, Sept. 8, 1982. Shakespeare, "In Pursuit of Guzmán," are all of this nature and are characteristic of the overall poor reporting on the war in the first few years. A bibliography of the early reporting can be found in Everette E. Larson, "Sendero Luminoso: A Bibliography," Hispanic Focus. 3, 1985, pp. 1-30.

<sup>76</sup> "Inquest," p. 56.

<sup>77</sup> Clinton, "From Belaúnde to Belaúnde," p. 34.

Spaniards' chronicles of the Indian. When acted on by a "frequently drunk" military, hell-bent on "solving" the "Indian problem" by obliterating it once and for all, Vargas Llosa's vision of Peruvian reality had not so unforeseen consequences.

## Epilogue

Despite the arrest of Abimael Guzmán and other top Senderistas in September 1992, the war marches forward with a numbing predictability. The economy too continues its spiralling downward; only the "illegal" cocaine economy is keeping the Peruvian State afloat. In only two decades Peru has gone from one of Latin America's great hopes to its resident "basket case."

The extreme levels of violence witnessed in the 1980s, becoming a generalized, almost routine, element of daily life, are resolving the contradictions and tensions of Peruvian history in a violent and extreme manner. The 1990s will continue to demand fresh thinking on a number of essential points raised by the preceding chapters. How social scientists will meet these demands is not at all clear, however.

If Sendero, Senderology and the "archival fictions" of Vargas Llosa tell us anything it is that we still have a long way to go before we are able fully to understand the complex history of societies like Peru. In the final analysis, one of the most profound commentaries on the state of our understanding of Latin American realities is the paradoxical fact that a Stalinist party such as Sendero appears to understand these realities better than either trained social scientists or a Nobel Prize-nominated novelist. As year 501 of

the "discovery" of the Americas comes to a close this is all the more distressing. In the case of Peru, rather than "new chronicles" of old problems, we need new ways of looking at these issues unencumbered by the legacies of the chronicles of yesteryear. Most importantly, we need to recognize that there is little to be gained and, in fact, much harm to be done by keeping the Spaniards' idea of an alien Indian "other" alive when it no longer corresponds to a reality. Although indigenism has served radically different agendas, from the socialism of Mariátegui, to the current reactionary neo-liberal agenda of Vargas Llosa, more often than not it has hindered, not helped, our understanding of Latin American realities.

While the idea of an Andean "other" constitutes a theory without a reality, the nature of the Andean agrarian structures and economy still poses problems not only as an historical reality without a theory, but a reality that we have as yet insufficient empirical evidence on. At the theoretical level, it is necessary to be critical of paradigms and models that were developed in response to Europe's transition to capitalism. While the history of the countries of Latin America are inextricably bound up with Europe's, they nevertheless developed according to their own historical logic, one that it is marked by contradictions and, from the standpoint of Europe or the United States, paradoxes that defy easy categorization. Perhaps now more than ever we need an

eighth interpretive essay on Peruvian reality, one that accounts for change, fluidity and ambiguity.

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