

- 1780 Tupac Amaru II uprising sweeps across Peruvian highlands.
- 1824 Peru gains its independence from Spanish rule.
- 1894 Marxist intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui is born.
- 1928 Mariátegui publishes *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality*; founds Peruvian Socialist Party and seeks to affiliate it with the Communist International.
- 1930 Mariátegui dies; the Peruvian Socialist Party becomes the Peruvian Communist Party.
- 1934 Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán is born.
- 1959 Hugo Blanco begins to organize peasants in La Convención Valley.
- 1962 Guzmán begins to teach philosophy at the University of Huamanga.
- 1963 Police capture and imprison Hugo Blanco.
- 1964 The Peruvian Communist Party splits into pro-Moscow and pro-Chinese factions.
- 1965 Failure of Luis de la Puente Uceda's guerrilla *foco* (armed revolutionary group); Guzmán travels to China.
- 1968 General Juan Velasco Alvarado's Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces assumes control of the Peruvian government.
- 1969 Promulgation of Agrarian Reform Law.
- 1970 Population shifts take Peru from a predominantly rural, highland, indigenous society to a majority urban, coastal, and mestizo one; Guzmán forms the Communist Party of Peru—Shining Path.
- 1976 *Rondas campesinas* (rural patrols) are established in the northern highlands to address civil and criminal problems.

Peruvian Shining Path

CHRONOLOGY

- 1200 Legendary leaders Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo establish Inca empire.
- 1438 Pachacuti Inca begins imperial Inca expansion out of Cuzco valley.
- 1493 Huayna Capac takes over the Inca empire and eventually expands it to its greatest size.
- 1532 Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro defeats Atahualpa at Cajamarca; begins Spanish rule of Peru.
- 1572 Spanish capture and execute Tupac Amaru, the last Inca ruler.

1979 The Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party—Shining Path decides to prepare for armed struggle.

1980 Fernando Belaúnde Terry wins Peru's first presidential elections in seventeen years; the Shining Path launches the armed phase of its "People's War."

1981 Peruvian government declares terrorism to be a special crime.

1982 Death of Shining Path leader Edith Lagos; Ayacucho is placed under a state of emergency.

1983 Peruvian government creates *rondas campesinas* (rural patrols) in the southern highlands to fight the Shining Path.

1984 Founding of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA).

1985 Alán García wins Peruvian presidency.

1986 Shining Path inmates riot in Lima prisons; military kills 287.

1990 Shining Path calls for an "armed strike" in Lima; Alberto Fujimori wins the presidency in Peru and subsequently implements economic austerity measures ("Fujishock").

1992 The Shining Path executes popular leader María Elena Moyano; Fujimori assumes dictatorial rule ("Fujicoup"). Shining Path battles police at Lima's Canto Grande prison, resulting in the deaths of about fifty inmates; Shining Path detonates car bombs in the wealthy Lima suburb of Miraflores; Guzmán is captured and sentenced to life imprisonment.

1993 Guzmán calls for an end to armed struggle and offers to negotiate with the Peruvian government.

1995 Peru grants amnesty for members of the police and military implicated in human rights abuses since 1980.

1999 The government captures Oscar Ramírez Durand, alias Feliciano, the highest-ranking Shining Path leader still at large after Guzmán's capture.

2000 Fujimori falls from power and goes into exile in Japan.

2001 Alejandro Toledo is elected president of Peru.

2003 Peruvian government releases the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, examining political violence between 1980 and 2000.

INTRODUCTION

On May 17, 1980, on the eve of Peru's first presidential election in seventeen years, an armed group stole ballot boxes and voting lists in the highland town of Chuschi and burned them in the central plaza. The Shining Path guerrilla group pointed to this as the beginning of the armed phase of their "People's War" against the Peruvian government. This seemingly innocuous beginning in many ways represents the contradictions inherent in the Shining Path's rise to one of the largest and most bloody guerrilla movements in Latin America. This initial action went virtually unreported in the press, and in its first year almost no one paid any attention to the embryonic group. However, it quickly grew into one of the world's best known guerrilla movements.

While Peru was moving away from a military dictatorship and toward a civilian democracy, the Shining Path mounted a violent revolution. Revolutionary movements in Latin America tend to emphasize an open and voluntarist flavor of Marxism, but the Shining Path imposed an authoritarian and dogmatic ideology. It became a mass movement, but it was based on a secretive cell structure that showed little interest in advertising its ideology or goals to the public in general. It emerged among an ethnically Quechua indigenous group but espoused an orthodox Marxist class analysis. The Shining Path became noted for the attraction of women to its ranks, but one of its most noted victims was community leader María Elena Moyano. It presented an idealized vision of rural society even while Peru was quickly becoming an increasingly urban country.

Since the capture of its leader, Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, in 1992, the Shining Path has collapsed and become merely a shadow of its former self. Although small armed bands continue to operate in the Peruvian highlands, the Shining

Path's eventual victory is no longer the assured event that it once seemed to be. The contradictions inherent in the Shining Path, however, continue to grab people's interest. Since the 1980s, a sizable body of literature has grown up around the group. How did the Shining Path emerge, and why did it take the direction that it did?

B A C K G R O U N D : CULTURE AND HISTORY

The Shining Path emerged out of a situation of crushing poverty and racist oppression in which indigenous peoples, who made up a majority of the Peruvian population, lived. These Quechua Indians were the descendants of the Inca empire, which ruled over Peru from about 1200 to 1532. (While "Inca" has been the traditional spelling, many Quechua linguists now say that "Inka" is a more accurate rendering.) Emerging out of its legendary founders Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo, the Incas saw themselves as great civilizers who brought agriculture, learning, and order in the face of chaos. Through the use of promises, threats, and force, the Incas spread their superior language (Quechua) and religion (sun worship) across the Andes. When the eleventh Inca, Huayna Capac (1493-1527), died, the empire broke into a civil war between two of his sons, Huascar and Atahualpa.

Shortly after Atahualpa's victory over his brother, he encountered the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro at the northern Peruvian city of Cajamarca, on November 16, 1532. Finding the two hundred Spanish explorers more of a curiosity than a significant threat to the battle-hardened Inca troops, Atahualpa was shocked at the invaders' attack in the face of what he assumed was a shared tradition of unarmed diplomatic meetings. In what could be seen as foreshadowing the collapse of the Shining Path 460 years later, the Inca troops accepted the defeat, capture, and execution of their leader as representative of their own fate. While subsequently the Inca empire no longer existed in its previous glory, a fractional group retreated in an attempt to re-create an Inca empire in exile. For forty years that group continued to harass Spanish attempts to assume rule of the empire, until the eventual capture and execution of Tupac Amaru in 1572. While Inca leaders like Tupac Amaru became important symbols of indigenous resistance in Peru, they never entered into the Shining Path's pantheon of heroes, the group preferring to focus instead on traditional Marxist and Western figures.

Under Spanish colonial rule, Peru became divided into two parts: the Republic of the Spanish and the Republic of the Indians. A large rural, marginalized indigenous population remained isolated from urban politics and economy. This cre-

ated the context for one of the largest indigenous uprisings in the Americas. In 1780, a local leader named José Gabriel Condorcanqui took the name of the last Inca ruler, Tupac Amaru, as he called for the expulsion of the Spanish and the re-establishment of an independent Inca empire. Initial victories led to growing support for his movement that quickly spread like wildfire throughout the Andes. Although he nearly succeeded in evicting the Spanish, six months later royal officials captured and executed the rebel. The Tupac Amaru II uprising, however, irrevocably altered social relations in the Andes. His mobilization of rural populations and challenge to Spanish colonial power eventually led to Peruvian independence, in 1824. This uprising further established the name Tupac Amaru as a symbol of indigenous resistance.

By the twentieth century, Peru had one of the most unequal and archaic land tenure and labor systems in Latin America. The majority of the population was still rural and indigenous, removed from a small urban elite that defined the country's economic, political, and cultural life. Ayacucho, where the Shining Path first emerged, was one of the poorest, most remote, most rural, and most indigenous parts of Peru. Evictions from traditional landholdings and a growing sense of hopelessness drove a migration from the highlands to plantations on the coast, and from rural areas into impoverished urban neighborhoods (euphemistically called *pueblos jóvenes* or *new towns*) surrounding the capital city of Lima. By the 1970s, a majority of the population had left their indigenous roots and was in the process of assimilating into an urban, Catholic, Spanish-speaking dominant culture. The Shining Path drew on the rising expectations of disinherited populations in both rural and urban areas for its base of support.

CONTEXT AND PROCESS OF REVOLUTION

JOSÉ Carlos Mariátegui

In 1970, Abirnael Guzmán, then a philosophy professor at the University of Huamanga in the highland town of Ayacucho, broke from the mainline Communist Party and announced his intention to push forward *por el sendero luminoso de José Carlos Mariátegui*, by the shining path of José Carlos Mariátegui. He formed a group with this name that he later changed to Partido Comunista del Perú—Sendero Luminoso (Communist Party of Peru—Shining Path) and finally shortened in common parlance to simply Sendero Luminoso, or the Shining Path.

Mariátegui (1894-1930) is traditionally seen as the founder of Peru's Communist Party and is claimed as a symbolic leading figure of virtually the entire Peruvian Left, with different

groups often accusing others of misinterpreting his philosophy and legacy. In 1926, Mariátegui founded the avant-garde journal *Amauta*, which provided a vanguard voice for the revolution. He also published the book *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (1928), which became a fundamental work on Latin American Marxism. In addition to his writings, he founded the Peruvian Socialist Party (PSP) and sought its integration into the Communist International. Unfortunately, Mariátegui died in 1930, before he could work out in practice all of the implications of his theories. His followers changed the name of his party to the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) and took it in a more doctrinaire direction. Mariátegui's unique approach to Marxist theory becomes particularly apparent when examining his critique of Peru's land tenure system and the role of rural indigenous peoples in a revolutionary movement. Unlike orthodox Marxism, which looked to an urban working-class vanguard to lead a revolution and believed that a traditional peasantry was reactionary, Mariátegui understood that in Latin America in the early twentieth century there was a very small urban proletariat. In Peru, 80 percent of the population was rural and indigenous, and a Marxist critique must focus on improving their marginalized and impoverished condition. He argued that the rural populations could develop a revolutionary consciousness, and advocated an "Indo-American" Socialism based on the ancient communal values of the Incan empire. Rather than moving through set stages of history, Mariátegui argued, the indigenous peasantry in the Andes could advance directly to the advanced stage of a Communist society. Guzmán drew on these ideas as he forged the ideology that drove the Shining Path.

1960s Peasant Movements

Peruvian governmental attempts to reform the archaic land tenure system that Mariátegui described largely met with failure. Unfulfilled promises led in the 1960s to peasant land invasions and an increasingly militant guerrilla movement. Hugo Blanco, a peasant organizer in La Convención Valley north of Cuzco in the Peruvian highlands, was one of the most charismatic and effective leaders. Under the slogan "Land or Death," he organized a revolutionary mass movement that slowly moved toward guerrilla warfare. The peasants, however, lacked training in armed insurrection, and Blanco proved to be more effective as a peasant organizer than a guerrilla fighter. At the same time, and under the influence of the Cuban Revolution, Luis de la Puente Uceda attempted to establish a guerrillafoco with the goal of triggering a mass uprising. Before it could gain much traction, the military wiped out the guerrilla group. While Blanco's movement had organized peasants in desperate need of guerrilla support, de

la Puente's guerrillas failed because of lack of support from an organized peasantry. The military also quickly defeated a third group, Héctor Béjar's Ejército de Liberación Nacional (Army of National Liberation, ELN), which had splintered from the Peruvian Communist Party. Much of the leadership of these movements emerged from urban political movements that lacked strong ties with rural activists or a good understanding of local traditions and customs. These failures effectively ended any guerrilla activity in Peru until the emergence of the Shining Path fifteen years later.

In October 1968, when General Juan Velasco Alvarado took over the government, many observers initially assumed that this was just another in the long series of palace coups that have plagued Peru's history. Velasco, however, quickly implemented deep-seated reforms that proposed a third way of national development, between capitalism and socialism. His Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces implemented sweeping reforms, including an extensive agrarian reform law (appropriately named the Plan of Tupac Amaru), designed to do away with unjust social and economic structures. While this reform ended serfdom and increased rural wages and the quality of life, the slow-moving reform, with its centralized planning, resulted in its limited effectiveness. An ultimate goal of removing threats from guerrilla movements by undercutting their social base, however, was largely successful.

A 1978 constituent assembly paved a return to civilian government. For the first time in Peru's history, illiterates had the right to vote in these elections—effectively extending citizenship rights to indigenous peoples. The new civilian government undid many of Velasco's reforms. Among the actions it took was the privatizing of agricultural land that had been converted into cooperatives, and restoring the free market system. These neo-liberal policies led to a decline in living standards, growing unemployment, and an increase in social protest. It was out of this context that the Shining Path emerged, its leaders condemning the limited reforms of Velasco's military government while at the same time feeding off peasant frustrations at a failure to receive the benefits the government had promised.

Emergence of the Shining Path

Guzmán formed the Peruvian Communist Party—Shining Path out of a split between pro-Moscow and pro-China wings of the party. Rather than joining either wing, he excelled in building a new party, using internal purges to build a single party line while at the same time cultivating a cult of personality around himself. Initially he relied on Mariátegui's analysis of Peru in the 1920s, emphasizing issues of land tenure, imperialism, and the role of the proletariat. Under the nom

de guerre of Presidente Gonzalo, Guzmán began to develop his own "Gonzalo thought," which positioned the Shining Path as the "fourth sword" of Marxism after Marx, Lenin, and Mao. At the university, Guzmán had trained teachers who upon returning to their rural communities formed the cadre of the Shining Path. Free education (which the 1968 military government had eliminated) became a more important demand for these activists than land.

Rather than joining leftist coalitions that participated in massive national strikes that pushed Peru toward a civilian government, the Shining Path decided in a 1979 Central Committee meeting to prepare for an armed struggle. On April 19, 1980, the guerrillas graduated the first class of combatants from their newly formed military school and announced the ILA, *inicio de la lucha armada*, or initiation of the armed struggle. Like John Brown, the violent opponent of slavery before the U. S. Civil War who wanted to "purge this land with blood," the Shining Path promised to pay "the quota" of blood necessary to transform society. While early actions were initially concentrated around Ayacucho, their activities eventually extended throughout the highlands and to the capital city of Lima on the coast.

The Shining Path's "People's War" began in 1980 with symbolic actions such as hanging dogs from lamp posts and blowing up electrical towers. The dogs apparently represented the notion of "running dogs of capitalism," meaning people who served the interests of exploiting capitalists. They gained support for their emphasis on popular justice and moral behavior, including holding "people's trials" that often ended in the execution of abusive property owners, police officers, and other unpopular figures. Much of their support came from rural students and schoolteachers who found their social mobility blocked because of racial prejudice and economic stagnation. The Shining Path emerged partly as the result of its isolated provincial context, and partly as a logical outcome of a situation in which, faced with no legal routes for bringing about social change, activists turned to violence. The uprising did not emerge so much out of a situation of poverty and misery in the rural highlands as a failure of reforms over the previous two decades to meet the rising expectations that those reforms had encouraged. Furthermore, the guerrilla movement did not emerge automatically as a result of objective conditions. It was very deliberately designed and inaugurated by a central leadership. At the height of its activities, it had 10,000 to 12,000 people under arms and could draw on the collaboration of a civilian base perhaps ten times that size. Guerrilla activity extended to all but two of Peru's twenty-five departments (provinces), although, except for select communities, the Shining Path never controlled much territory.

At first, President Fernando Belaúnde Terry used the police

the police unable to suppress the uprising in 1982, he placed Ayacucho under a state of emergency and sent in the military. Most significant were the *sinchis*, a counter-insurgency unit named after the Quechua word for "powerful" and trained by U.S. special forces. The military could not distinguish between the guerrillas and other rural residents and so engaged in severe repression of civilian populations, including rapes, tortures, disappearances, and massacres. Even some persons in the military acknowledged that the large majority of the people they arrested or killed probably had nothing to do with the guerrilla insurgency. Of the several thousand people killed from 1982 to 1985, it is likely that no more than a few hundred were combatants. Throughout the course of this conflict, while the Shining Path's human rights violations were more severe than those of any other insurgent group in Latin America, military abuses were yet more extreme and more of a problem. Many observers note, however, that fundamentally the Shining Path's struggle was a political one. Military responses only tended to force peasants into joining the Shining Path, because there did not appear to be any other alternative. It appeared, and was largely true, that the mestizo, urban, coastal government in Lima cared little about the rural, indigenous realities in the highlands. The colonial division of "two Perus" remained very much a reality.

In spite of the Shining Path's having been organized principally among a rural Quechua indigenous population, many observers noted the seeming lack of an Andean context for the Shining Path insurgency. The guerrillas rejected race and ethnicity as tools of analysis, adhering instead to the orthodox Marxist dogma of class warfare. While emerging out of deep divisions between the two Perus, ideologically and religiously it was rooted in the Western tradition. Even the leader's nom de guerre was that of a Spanish conquistador (Gonzalo Pizarro). The Shining Path could be seen as a messianic or millenarian movement, but seemingly without roots in the rich history of Tupac Amaru and other indigenous revolts. Its leaders did not desire to return to an Incan empire from the past, but rather to move forward into a utopian Communist future.

The Shining Path imposed a top-down leadership style, rejecting major participation by the masses in decision making, in favor of the domination by the party elite. This authoritarian approach resulted in a strong hierarchy in which leaders were depicted as teachers from an external urban and mestizo world, whereas the masses were students from a rural indigenous realm. The intention, observers claimed, was not to empower the masses; the Shining Path wanted to lead, not lead. Such a view

hierarchy and carefully designed autonomous cell structure provided for efficient actions and for tight security that proved very difficult for the government to penetrate. These strengths, however, were also weaknesses. Its authoritarian nature and failure to empower the people at the grassroots level alienated potential supporters and ultimately limited its strength.

Interestingly, as Carol Andreas (1991) notes, the Shining Path provided a special appeal to women, and many of their leaders were women. The feminine attraction to the movement dates from the beginnings of the Shining Path. In a 1975 essay, leader Abimael Guzmán explained this appeal to women by pointing out that Mariátegui had argued that an analysis of society must begin at its base with a study of the role of women and family structures. Women have traditionally played a significant role in public and political life in the Andes, and perhaps 35 percent of the Shining Path's leaders were women (Castro 1994, 219). Part of the appeal of the organization was that it provided adherents with a faith and identity, as well as providing women with a protected space in which they knew that they would not face humiliation or discrimination for being poor, Indian, and female. The Shining Path also drew on the desire of people for progress, as well as their personal ambitions for power and a place in a new and emerging society. Furthermore, it provided an opportunity and mechanism for settling scores in a traditional society, including challenging the abuse from husbands, fathers, and other male-dominated authority structures. It also constituted a challenge to leftist political parties and mass organizations that mouthed women's rights but largely failed to do anything to follow through. In this way, the Shining Path became an effective vehicle for women to counter the forces that oppressed them. Also, as Andras noted, women were often willing to risk more when in an oppressive society, since they had less to lose.

At first the Shining Path gained a certain amount of sympathy, both within Peru and internationally, because of its apparent idealism and stance in behalf of the marginalized and impoverished rural masses. Locally, the promise of social mobility appeared to attract poor but aspiring peasants and students to the guerrilla ranks as they sought to position themselves more favorably in a new emerging order. As the guerrilla group grew larger, its brutal tactics and dogmatic philosophy became more apparent. It made what others would see as serious tactical mistakes, including imposing control over agricultural harvesting and commerce, placing young people in control of communities in which elders traditionally had assumed leadership roles, and executing violators of social norms rather than using lesser and more appropriate punishments. All of this was part of imposing a rigid vertical control. As Olin Stepan (1990) has described in

the military to ask for arms to protect themselves from guerrilla attacks. The resulting vigilant groups, known as *rondas campesinas* (rural patrols), began cooperating with the military and were largely responsible for the decline in the Shining Path's presence in the highlands. Communities that refused to join the *rondas* found themselves squeezed between the guerrillas and the military, under suspicion from both of collaboration with the other.

In that context, the victory of Alán García in the 1985 elections appeared to present a fresh alternative. García, from the center-left American Popular Revolutionary Party (APRA) party, had campaigned on a populist, reformist program that defended Velasco's agrarian and industrial reforms while rejecting Belaúnde's free market policies. Initial economic gains led to very high approval ratings, but then increasing problems—including cleavages between the indigenous rural highlands and the more prosperous mestizo urban coast—led to growing tension. Human rights groups also condemned the excesses of his repressive security forces attempting to end the Shining Path insurgency. From the beginning, the Shining Path attacked the García government for pursuing reformist rather than revolutionary goals. A military attack on Shining Path cellblocks in three Lima jails that killed hundreds of inmates in 1986 appeared to mark a turning point in García's strategy. Furthermore, the growing war made leftist activists from his APRA party targets for the guerrillas, which in turn led to an increase in military atrocities. García's popular support plummeted, and he left office as one of the most disliked politicians in Peru's history. By the late 1980s, Peru led the world in disappearances and security force massacres, arguably forcing peasants into the arms of the Shining Path.

Many of the Shining Path's most virulent attacks were reserved for social movements that they criticized for being part of a reformist and revisionist Left. They denounced leftist politicians as part of the old order, and insisted that everyone follow their line. As a result, the Shining Path became divorced from growth on the Left, and remained disconnected from other popular organizations including political parties, labor unions, and neighborhood associations. The Shining Path's ideological rigidity and refusal to enter into alliances with other groups were perhaps its greatest weaknesses. Representative of the Shining Path's rejection of other social movements was the execution of María Elena Moyano in Villa El Salvador in 1992. She had organized community soup kitchens and called for an end both to Shining Path's violence and to government repression. The guerrilla leadership accused her of following a reformist line rather than seeking a radical change in society. Blowing up her body with dynamite in front of her family was not intended



Women who fled the violence of the Shining Path insurgency use a textile style called "arpillera" to depict their lives "yesterday" in the conflictive zone of Ayacucho and "today" in a poor settlement near Lima. (Photo by Marc Becker)

absolute control over the revolution led to a weakening of grassroots social movements and leftist political parties.

The Shining Path pursued a Maoist strategy of prolonged popular war that included laying siege to the city from the countryside, eventually bringing its war to poor shantytowns on Lima's periphery. By the early 1990s, car bombings of TV stations, military barracks, and banks; assaults on trucks; and the dynamiting of power lines had a real effect on the urban population. The Shining Path responded to an attack on its militants in Lima's Canto Grande high-security prison that killed about fifty of its followers with a bombing campaign against middle- and upper-class targets in the Lima suburb of Miraflores that further polarized an already tense situation. By 1992, the government had brought about half of the country under emergency rule. About 25,000 people had been killed in the conflict, most of them noncombatants. The war displaced about 250,000 peasants, and resulted in \$24 billion in property damage. It appeared that militarily the Shining

Path could not take power, and that the government was incapable of destroying the movement. Nevertheless, given the Shining Path's ruthless dedication to the pursuit of its goal, eventual victory—even if it took a generation or a hundred years—seemed inevitable, to at least some observers.

IMPACTS

The inability of Alón Garcia's government to solve persistent problems effectively brought an end to Peru's traditional political parties and led to the victory of Alberto Fujimori, an obscure agronomist and son of poor Japanese immigrants, in the 1990 election. Fujimori ran as a political outsider and populist who promised to address people's basic needs. Once in office, he implemented severe neo-liberal austerity measures known as "Fujishock," which removed consumer price subsidies and privatized public enterprises

attract foreign capital. Facing frustration over political debates with congress, on April 5, 1992, he suspended the constitution and took dictatorial powers it what was called the "Fujicoup." His main goals were to end corruption and the Shining Path insurgency. At first he seemed to achieve neither objective.

On September 12, 1992, Fujimori scored a major victory with the capture of Abimael Guzmán and nineteen other Shining Path leaders, as well as key organizational records. The broadcast of pictures of Guzmán in a striped convict suit and in a tiger cage did much to collapse the aura around him. The Shining Path had been built as a cult of personality, but with its leader gone the movement was now decapitated. The tightly centralized control that had made the Shining Path so powerful now proved to be its undoing. More than anything else, Guzmán's arrest gave Fujimori a significant boost in public support. The situation in Peru had become increasingly desperate, and the country experienced a collective sigh of relief over the end of the war.

After the 1992 coup, Fujimori put in place a series of draconian anti-terrorist laws that sharply curtailed an accused person's right to a legal defense and fair trial. Anonymous military tribunals and other judicial abuses with 97 percent conviction rates not only helped collapse the Shining Path's support structures but also resulted in the imprisonment of many innocent people. Fujimori's amnesty program encouraged guerrillas to turn in their weapons and provide intelligence on the organization, which further eroded their significance as a military force. Fujimori's increased executive power and support for having defeated the Shining Path made possible his re-election in 1995. By 2000, however, abuses of power and corruption scandals led to Fujimori's fall from grace, resulting in his resignation and exile to Japan.

From jail, Guzmán called for an end to the armed struggle in 1993 and negotiated a peace agreement with the government. Most of his followers laid down their arms, but nevertheless, even after Guzmán's capture, Shining Path splinter groups, known as the *Sendero Rojo* (Red Path), continued to simmer. These small groups sought to continue the armed struggle, but they ceased to be a significant political threat to the Peruvian state. Nevertheless, it appeared that a low-level guerrilla war might dragon in isolated areas of Peru for years. In June 2003, guerrillas staged a large-scale attack against a gas pipeline that seemed to signal a re-emergence of the Shining Path.

In the aftermath of the war, Peru established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate wartime abuses. It discovered that, in keeping with the racial and social divisions in Peru, many of the abuses in rural areas had never

twice the highest previously reported number, most of them civilians, with a disproportionate number of rural and indigenous victims. It reported many acts of sexual violence during the conflict, with more than 80 percent of the crimes committed by government forces (Remón 2003, 4). A generous amnesty program permitted members of the security forces implicated in human rights abuses to escape punishment. Critics complained that the government was paying little attention to the commission's recommendations, such as paying reparations to victims of violence. After Alejandro Toledo was elected president in 2001, Peru continued to be governed in an authoritarian manner. Poverty, alienation, and the government's inability to address social issues meant that Peru faced conditions similar to those that had originally led to the Shining Path insurgency. Little had been resolved.

PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS

Fujimori, Alberto (Born 1938)

Born in Lima in 1938, the son of Japanese immigrants, Fujimori was an agronomist; in the 1980s, he served as a dean at the Agrarian National University. In 1989, Fujimori founded the political party Cambio 90 and presented himself as an outsider candidate in the following year's presidential election. Through populist rhetoric he defeated the apparent frontrunner, writer Mario Vargas Llosa. Once in power, he implemented neo-liberal economic reforms and in 1992 closed down the congress and judiciary, assuming dictatorial powers. That same year he captured Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán, effectively ending the guerrilla insurgency. While these victories won him temporary popular support, he achieved his successes through repressive measures and abuses of power that proved to be his eventual undoing. As more abuses and violations of human rights came out into the open, he was forced to resign in 2000 and went into exile in Japan.

García, Alán (Born 1949)

The president of Peru from 1985 to 1990, García initially appeared to present a new, refreshing, and youthful face to Peruvian politics. Elected as the candidate of the center-left American Popular Revolutionary Alliance Party (APRA), at thirty-five years of age he was the youngest president in Peru's history. A collapsing economy and failure to solve the Shining Path guerrilla insurgency, however, led to a rapid fall in his popularity, and he left office as one of the country's most disliked politicians.

Guzmán Abimael (Born 1934)

A philosophy professor at the National University of San Cristobal de Huamanga in the highland town of Ayacucho, Guzmán provided the defining ideology for the Shining Path, and effectively was the glue that held the group together. Under the nom de guerre of Presidente Gonzalo, he developed an "Andean Maoism" that was to be a beacon of world revolution.

Lagos, Edith (1963-1982)

A nineteen-year-old Shining Path leader who led a 1982 attack on a prison in Ayacucho where captured guerrillas were held. Police forces subsequently captured, tortured, and executed Lagos. Her funeral procession attracted 30,000 people, about half the population of Ayacucho, and represented a high point in the Shining Path's popularity. Lagos had joined the Shining Path at the age of sixteen; she represented the frustrated aspirations of highland peasants as well as the central role of women in the guerrilla struggle.

Mariátegui, José Carlos (1894-1930)

Born on July 14, 1894, Mariátegui grew upon the outskirts of Lima. Because of a lack of financial resources and the need to support his family, he acquired only an eighth-grade education. Mariátegui entered the field of journalism and used it as a vehicle for expressing his political views. In 1924, Mariátegui lost his right leg, and he spent the rest of his life confined to a wheelchair. In spite of his failing health, Mariátegui increased the intensity of his efforts to organize a social revolution in Peru. His *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* presented a brilliant analysis of Peruvian problems from a Marxist point of view. Mariátegui founded the Peruvian Socialist Party (PSP) in 1928 and served as its first secretary general. In 1929 the PSP launched the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP), a Marxist-oriented trade union federation, as an effort by the party to organize the working class. Although the political party and labor confederation that he had helped to launch flourished, Mariátegui's health failed, and he died on April 16, 1930.

Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA—Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement)

In 1984, radical-left organizations founded the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). While never as large or effective as the Shining Path, some activists saw them as a

more moderate organization that stressed the importance of working together with social organizations, including trade unions, worker and student groups, and peasants. The MRTA was most noted for a daring commando raid on the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima on December 17, 1996. The raiders held seventy-two hostages for four months, until the military attacked the house and killed the MRTA guerrillas. Rather than collaborating with the MRTA, the Shining Path saw them as competitors and would occasionally attack their guerrilla positions.

Moyano, María Elena (1958-1992)

In February 1992, the Shining Path executed Moyano one day after she had organized a march in the poor Lima shantytown of Villa El Salvador, denouncing the Shining Path's violence. She had organized community soup kitchens and was head of the neighborhood *Vaso de Leche* ("glass of milk") program, which provided breakfast to impoverished children. The Shining Path attempted to use intimidation to eliminate social

Partido Comunista del Perú—Sendero Luminoso (Communist Party of Peru—Shining Path)

Commonly known as the Shining Path, this is a clandestine political organization founded by philosophy professor Abimael Guzmán in 1970 in the Peruvian highland city of Ayacucho. It launched the military phase of its "people's war" in 1980. Over the next twelve years it grew in strength until the time of the capture of Guzmán in 1992, which effectively brought the guerrilla insurgency to an end.

Rondas Campesinas

These were rural self-defense patrols that peasants first organized in the 1970s in northern Peru to stop cattle rustling. With the emergence of the Shining Path guerrilla movement, communities used this same structure to defend themselves from the insurgents' coercion and violence. The military found them to be an effective mechanism for creating "strategic hamlets" in their fight against the Shining Path. The government began to impose this type of social organization in other parts of Peru, arming peasants and forcing them to fight against the

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See Also Anarchism, Communism, and Socialism; Documentaries of Revolution: Guerrilla Warfare and Revolution

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