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Ideology Versus Reality:

The Rise and Fall of Social Revolution in Peru

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Ideology Versus Reality:

The Rise and Fall of Social Revolution in Peru

by

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Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of the University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

December 2009

TO THE LOVE OF MY LIFE, LBT.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work would not be possible without the support of countless professors, mentors, friends, and family members. In particular I would like to thank the following people: Dr. Henry Dietz for his invaluable mentorship, guidance, encouragement, and instruction. Dr. Ami Pedahzur, who gave me plenty of constructive criticism and showed me how to frame my argument. COL (R) Sergio de la Peña, who not only allowed a culturally naïve and linguistically deficient lieutenant to work with the Chilean Army, but also introduced me to the Army FAO program. Mrs. Carolyn Reed and Miss Lillian Eiten for providing a foundation in writing that has enabled so much of my success throughout the years. My parents who helped mold me into the man I am today. My loving wife, whose constant love, support, patience, and occasional proofreading have broadened my perspectives and helped me rise above my own mediocre expectations. Finally, I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to the One who has given me all of my abilities and the freedom to use them.

Ideology Versus Reality:
The Rise and Fall of Social Revolution in Peru

by

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2009
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In Latin America, a social revolution is statistically far more likely to fail than to succeed. Yet there is little understanding as to the contributory factors of revolutionary failure or success. Many researchers look for commonalities by examining multiple revolutions across the region or even around the globe and throughout large periods of time, but their analysis frequently lacks commonality in the underlying conditions of the insurgencies. The case of Peru, however, provides a unique opportunity to examine multiple revolutions in the fairly homogenous environment of one state during a short and constrained timeframe of thirty years. In the history of the Republic of Peru, there have been only four social revolutions. These insurgencies were contained within two discreet periods of time: the MIR and ELN in the 1960's, and Shining Path and MRTA in the 1980's to 1990's. While each of these revolutions experienced varying levels of success, each ultimately failed due, in no small part, to a particular set of structural and socio-economic variables.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In the history of the Peruvian Republic,[1] there have only been two significant periods of insurgency with the goal of "social revolution," as defined by Skocpol, that is: the "rapid, basic transformations of a society's state and class structures […] accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below."[2] Both of these periods of social revolution occurred in the latter part of the twentieth century. Two separate insurgencies attempted revolution within each period — two during the mid-1960's and two during the 1980's to 1990's. Prior to these insurgencies, internal armed conflict, rebellions, and uprisings in Peru were generally relegated to contests for power by various groups, factions, or political or military leaders with clear intentions of making changes, gaining control, and/or ruling within the existing political system.[3] Political usurpers prior to the mid-1960s may have used methods that fell outside of these boundaries in their quest for power, but they always acknowledged (implicitly or explicitly) that their actions were exceptional. Not until the Republic of Peru's first period of attempted social revolution in the early 1960's did any significant revolutionary movement arise with the express aim of completely reconstructing the nation's socio-political structure.

Two separate insurgencies, the Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) led by Luís de la Puente, and the Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) led by Héctor Béjar, took up arms against the government in late 1964. By the spring of 1966, De la

Puente was dead, Béjar was in prison, and both movements lay in ruins, having been eagerly crushed by the Peruvian military. In the wake of their rapid and inglorious defeat, theories abounded surrounding the question of why these two movements failed. The guerrillas themselves — at least those who survived — believed their defeat lay in their lack of unity, short preparation time, tactical mistakes, and a lack of unity with the indigenous peasantry of the *sierra*.[4] On the other hand, the Peruvian armed forces and their U.S. advisors viewed the situation from a military power perspective: the well-planned, thoroughly prepared, and forcefully executed counterinsurgency campaign of the Peruvian Armed Forces led to decisive victory.[5] Other academics and observers felt that the agrarian reforms of the 1962 military *junta* and later the Belaúnde administration dampened the potential for radicalization within the peasantry. There is no doubt that each of these arguments has merit: the revolutionaries made countless tactical and strategic blunders, the military's quick and forceful campaign essentially annihilated guerrilla resistance, and land reforms did indeed ease peasant unrest. Each of these three explanations, however, hinges on the assumption that a rural-based communist insurgency in 1960's Peru could possibly have succeeded. In this, all three are wrong.

Just fifteen years later, a second, and much more turbulent period of insurgency began in 1980, running well into the mid-1990's. Sendero Luminoso (SL, or Shining Path) and the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA) waged protracted, and much more successful, insurgency campaigns throughout Peru. These groups, especially Sendero Luminoso, amassed a staggering death toll and left an indelible mark on

Peruvian society. Like their 1960's predecessors, the ultimate objective of both Sendero and MRTA was the replacement of the Peruvian state by a communist government, but they employed significantly different strategies. Sendero Luminoso aimed to collapse the state completely before moving to take over control of the country; their tactics earned them the reputation of "one of the most ruthless terrorist groups in the Western Hemisphere."[6] Founder Abimael Guzmán quietly and patiently built the ideological and military components of his organization over a period of ten years before initiating the *lucha armada* in 1980. On the other hand, MRTA, and its leader Victor Polay, sought to create a "natural fusion of arms with the masses" by providing an example of revolutionary action to guide the population in their inevitable pending uprising and overthrow of the state.[7] Polay sought to provide an alternative to both the evils of the state and the extremism of its revolutionary counterpart Sendero.[8]

Initially, the Peruvian government did not take seriously the threat that Sendero Luminoso and MRTA posed to the state. And indeed MRTA never became more than a footnote against the extreme backdrop of violence surrounding Sendero. Even in the mid-1980's, as state security services clearly showed signs of losing ground to Sendero, most scholars still viewed the Shining Path as a worrisome but not a severe threat to Peru. Yet by the first months of the 1990's, with Peru's economy in free-fall, the problem of Shining Path actions clearly began to overwhelm Peruvian military and police services. For the first time, observers began to advance the possibility that Sendero might topple the Peruvian State.[9]

Two short years later, the opposite situation existed in Peru. The urban mobilizations predicted by Guzmán's strategy failed to materialize. Peru's new president, Alberto Fujimori, commanded unprecedented popularity and voter confidence from all socioeconomic levels. The government passed amnesty laws intended to encourage defections from Sendero's base followers, and the military refined its strategy and enacted local *comités de autodefensa* to combat the Shining Path in its rural strongholds. The anti-terrorism police captured Abimael Guzmán in Lima; information gathered from his safe-house coupled with previously gathered intelligence produced a chain reaction of arrests of Shining Path leadership. Sendero Luminoso began to break apart, and its viability as an effective insurgency quickly waned. Likewise, MRTA also could not translate tactical success into strategic gain. State security forces arrested Polay and decimated MRTA just a few months prior to capturing Guzmán.[10] Nestor Cerpa Cartolini, Polay's repacement, continued the fight, but MRTA led a subdued existence for the next four years. Finally, in December 1996, Cerpa led the organization in its most spectacular operation by capturing over 600 hostages at the residence of the Japanese Ambassador in Lima. Despite its audaciousness, in reality this operation was a final convulsion from a dying organization. Four months into the hostage operation, Peruvian Army commandos assaulted the compound and killed all of the militants. With Cerpa and his militants died MRTA's remaining hope of revolution.

Despite its considerable success in Peru's rural highlands, Sendero Luminoso failed in its objective to mobilize the citizens of Lima and ultimately topple the government of

Peru. The attempt by MRTA to provide an attractive revolutionary alternative to the Shining Path was equally fruitless. Neither group ever gained a significant following in Lima; their influence throughout the country continuously declined throughout the 1980's and plummeted in the 1990's.[11] After a decade of battling the Shining Path and MRTA, improved government counter-insurgency strategies and successful military and police operations of the early 1990's provided some of the impetus for their ultimate decimation and marginalization. But the actions of state security services alone cannot explain the ultimate failure of these revolutions. Rather, the true nature of the defeat of Sendero Luminoso and MRTA lay much deeper in the fabric of Peru.

Che Guevara began his 1960 manifesto *Guerrilla Warfare* with the assertion that "popular forces can win a war against the Army" in "underdeveloped America" through a rural-based insurgency. He further claimed that an insurrection need not wait "until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them."[12] The 1959 Communist social revolution in Cuba sparked the imaginations of radicals throughout Latin America; Che's instruction manual in guerrilla tactics fanned the flames of revolution even higher, inspiring attempted revolutions throughout the continent.

About two and a half thousand miles separate the steamy, tropical island of Cuba from the cool mountain expanses and arid coastal deserts of Peru; more separates the two countries than mere physical distance and geography. In revolutionary Cuba there existed a set of structural, social, and (within the insurgencies) organizational conditions that were conducive for social revolution through popular mobilization and revolt. The

same was true of both China and Russia during their respective twentieth century revolutionary periods. The insurgents of 1960's and 1980's Peru argued that their nation had sufficiently similar revolutionary characteristics. Yet still they failed.

What factors contributed to the failure of those four social revolution attempts in Peru to spawn popular mobilization? My basic proposition is that the structural and sociopolitical characteristics of a functioning democracy are not conducive to popular mobilization and successful revolution. I focus on the dominant insurgent group in each period of insurgency — the MIR during the 1960's and Sendero Luminoso in the 1980's and 90's; I also selectively address the other two insurgent groups — ELN and MRTA — to provide additional context given their similarities and complimentary ideals to the first two groups. To answer my primary question, I examine the problem from both a structural and a sociopolitical perspective. I colocate my discussion of relevant theory in each chapter in order to facilitate the correlation of theory and analysis. This paper examines four insurgencies in two discrete yet proximate timeframes within one medium-sized country. While I cannot draw universal conclusions from my results, I believe that this paper provides both a useful framework to analyze revolutionary insurgencies in other countries, as well as strong evidence that a functioning democracy makes popular mobilization for social revolution highly unlikely.

NOTES-CHAPTER I

[1] The Peruvian Republic signifies the time from declared independence in 1821 to the present day.

[2] Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 4.

[3] A prime example is that of APRA, perhaps the most significant leftist force in early twentieth-century Peruvian politics. Despite their leftist rhetoric, Loveman and Davies make it clear that APRA had no intention of overthrowing the existing political-economic system. Ernesto Che Guevara, Brian Loveman, and Thomas M. Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, trans. J. P. Morray, Latin American silhouettes (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1997), 272-273.

[4] Héctor Béjar, *Perú 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*, trans. William Rose (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 51-52, 109-111.

[5] "Internal Defense Plans for Peru," Two Part Telegram, November 3, 1965, National Security Files, Country File, Box 72, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, TX [hereafter LBJ-CF-NSF-72]; Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas en el Perú y su represión* (Lima, Peru: Ministereo de relaciones publicas del ejército del Perú, 1966).

[6] U.S. Department of State, "Country Reports on Terrorism, Chapter 6 -- Terrorist Organizations," *Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism*, http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/crt/2007/103714.htm.

[7] Gordon McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men: Peru's Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1993), 15-16 (quote from p. 16).

[8] McCormick, *Sharp dressed men*, v.

[9] Lewis Taylor, "Counter-insurgency strategy, the PCP-Sendero Luminoso and the civil war in Peru, 1980-1996," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 17, no. 1 (1998): 48.

[10] David Scott Palmer, "The Revolutionary Terrorism of Peru's Shining Path," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 297, 301.

[11] Cynthia McClintock, "Peru's Sendero Luminoso Rebellion: Origins and Trajectory," in *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, ed. Susan Eckstein and Manuel A Garretón Merino (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 86, 88.

[12] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 50.

CHAPTER II: HISTORY AND IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF INSURGENTS

In order to understand the events surrounding the twentieth century Peruvian insurgencies, it is useful to first understand the history and basic ideology of the major actors. In this chapter I first examine two significant formative influences on the revolutionaries: the writings of José Carlos Mariátegui and the historical instability of the Peruvian left. I then examine the ideological and organizational formation of each of the insurgencies. I review the MIR and ELN from the 1960's as a group given their proximity both ideologically and chronologically. I discuss Sendero and MRTA separately despite their coexistence. Given the size and scope of Sendero's operations, I provide a more detailed look into their origins and ideology as well as a brief overview of their operations.

A PERUVIAN TWIST ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

The writings of José Carlos Mariátegui had significant influence on the Peruvian left, especially the revolutionaries of the 1960's and 1980's. Mariátegui was a Peruvian communist activist and writer in the early twentieth century. Despite his death in 1930 at only thirty-five years of age, Mariátegui's writings continue to hold significant political influence among the Peruvian left. In his work *Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana (1928),* Mariátegui argued that communism in Peru must necessarily be adapted to Peru's unique characteristics. Mariátegui's writings presented an idealized view of Peruvian history in which he describes a form of agrarian collectivism that

supposedly existed before the arrival of the Spanish. In the Incan empire, "collective work and common effort were employed fruitfully for social purposes."[1] The Indians' "humble and religious obedience to social duty" created a society that enjoyed "material comfort" until "the Spanish conquistadors destroyed" it, implementing a far inferior economic system meant to facilitate the extraction of "rich booty" from Peru.[2] Mariátegui used this idealized indigenous vs. European contrast, in part, to justify the importance of the indigenous population in his Peruvian version of Marxism.

Central to his work was Mariátegui's claim that "the Socialist Party [adapt] its praxis to the concrete circumstances of the country."[3] In his analysis, Peru did not have a bourgeois state and the urban proletariat was relatively small, accounting for only about one-fifths of the masses (the remaining four fifths being Indians and the rural proletariat). The impending social revolution would require a worker-peasant alliance since the power of the masses was found primarily in the indigenous peasantry. The emphasis he placed on the Indian masses vis-á-vis the revolution put Mariátegui's ideology at odds with Soviet Communism, as did his subordinating of class distinctions to race and ethnic issues.

Mariátegui believed that within Peru three economies operated simultaneously: in the *sierra* both a feudal economy perpetuated by large *haciendas* and a small indigenous economy left over from the pre-colonial times co-existed; on the coast a mentally backward "bourgeois economy … growing in feudal soil" prevailed.[4] He did not view the role of the Peruvian coast, and particularly the role of Lima as Peru's capital, as

particularly important to Peru. He charged that Lima's dominance in Peru was an artificial remnant of the Conquistadors' arbitrary placement of their colonial capital — a mere holdover from the days of Spanish. Mariátegui theorized that the future importance of Lima would be determined almost solely on "whether first place in Peru's social and political reform is given to the rural Indian masses or to the coastal proletariat."[5] Years later, Mariátegui's ideas enjoyed significant influence on the development of revolutionary ideologies among the Peruvian left.

The Left in Twentieth-Century Peru

The insurgents of both 1965 and 1980 had experienced a myriad of confusing and destabilizing political events in their lifetimes which likely contributed to their distorted views of reality. From the death of Mariátegui in 1930 to the commencement of the early stages of the first rebellion in 1964, the Peruvian left faced a roller coaster of persecution and legitimacy issues, identity crises, internal division and infighting, and a general lack of coherent leadership and direction. Two primary tensions explain the dysfunctionality of the left in the years leading up to the first insurgencies. The first and most important tension was between the Peruvian military and the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA), a socialist political party founded by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre that historically maintained a troubled and often violent rivalry with the armed forces. A second tension was between elements of the left itself, between those who sought political legitimacy and those who favored extralegal action to include revolution.

Haya de la Torre's APRA and Mariátegui's Partido Comunista del Perú (PCP) earned the animosity of, and repression by, the Peruvian military from their disruptive activities (such as strikes and student protests) among civil society and subversive activities within the ranks of the armed forces.[6] Certainly friction between the left, especially APRA, and the military existed before Luís Sanchez Cerro, framed in terms of those who are sworn to protect the status quo (to include the current administration) versus those with a desire and potential to make significant changes intra- and extra-systemically. But upon the assumption of power by (and later election of) Sanchez Cerro, the contention between these two social and ideological factions came to a head. President Sanchez Cerro was, after all, a lieutenant colonel in the Army; his replacement, Oscar Benavides, was a general officer. Peru's military rulers from the 1930's through 1980 maintained a disdain for the ineptitude of civilians to guide Peru to functioning modernization and success — a precursor to the military anti-politics of the 1968 military *junta*.[7] It was one thing for the Peruvian military to interfere in politics; APRA's strong opposition to the military's ostensibly anti-political rule was an affront to, and distraction from, the important work Peru's military rulers attempted to accomplish. In April of 1933, a young *Aprista* radical assassinated President Sanchez Cerro, shooting him through the heart as he was reviewing new Army recruits needed for Peru's unpopular armed conflict with Colombia.[8] And while a subsequent investigation determined that the assassin had acted alone, rumors spread that dissident members of the military, chiefly Benavides, were actually behind the assassination.[9] Nevertheless, the political

killing confirmed for many military leaders the seriousness of the subversive threat APRA and the political left posed to the stability of the Peruvian state. Under the Benavides regime, a new wave of political repression commenced.[10]

Ironically, it is entirely possible that much of APRA's widespread appeal was due in part to their suffering under the military's political oppression. Under the military influence, both direct (when in power) and indirect (when allowing civilian rule) of the next fifty years, APRA was alternately banned and legalized. During the periods in which APRA was barred from the legal political scene, Haya de la Torre was able to gain a widespread following, "to be all things to all people."[11] Conversely, during those periods of legal political activity, APRA's ideology would moderate. This caused the radical left of the party endless frustration, causing many to become disillusioned and spurring some to abandon APRA and join forces with the PCP and other communist groups.[12] Usually this was exacerbated by the manner in which APRA emerged from "underground." For example, newly legalized after a long (1931-1945) period of being exiled under military presidencies, APRA supported the candidacy of soon-to-be President José Luis Bustamante y Rivero in a successful bid to win significant seats in the Peruvian Congress, gaining 40% of the Senate.[13] Again exiled by Army General and President Manuel Odría after his *coup d'état* in 1948, Haya de la Torre lived in exile-*cum*-captivity in the Colombian embassy in Lima for six years.

In an effort to bring APRA back into legitimacy again, in 1956 Haya de la Torre moved the party to the right, supported the candidacy of soon-to-be President Manuel

Prado, and again made significant gains in both houses. The partnership between Prado and APRA began a period of *convivencia* between APRA and the Prado administration. Haya de la Torre used this period to position himself for winning the presidency. In the 1962 presidential elections, Haya de la Torre became the presidential frontrunner but failed to gain the necessary one-third of votes. Proving how ideologically limber APRA could be, APRA partnered with former President Odría's party Unión Nacional Odriista (UNO) in a bid to return Odría to the presidency (and gain significant traction in the new administration. This prompted the military to annul the election, seize power in yet another *coup d'état,* and reschedule the elections for the following year. Though they did not gain the presidency in 1963, the APRA-UNO coalition settled for a consolidation of political power within the Peruvian congress. In a twist of irony, APRA-UNO frequently flexed their political muscles in opposition to the land (and other) reforms of President Belaúnde, stagnating progress on the very issues they had long touted. For the radical leftists, APRA and *convivencia* represented an abdication of the moral authority Haya de la Torre had built among the left during the early years of the Odría administration.

The moderation and entry into the mainstream by APRA caused serious rifts among the Peruvian left. There is no question that the Peruvian left suffered oppression from established state powers. But perhaps the greatest barrier they faced in advancing their ideology was self-imposed.

Throughout the twentieth century, the discord within the Peruvian left consistently prevented any unified attempt — be it legal, extra-legal, or revolutionary — of

establishing social change. When APRA was founded in 1924, there was no communist or socialist party in Peru. Many Peruvian leftists gravitated towards what was, at the time, the only socialist-leaning game in town. Haya de la Torre wanted to transform APRA from a mere alliance "'alliance' or coalition of socialists, communists and bourgeois radicals ... [into] an independent party."[14] Some within APRA, to include Mariátegui, resisted this move; by 1928, the schism between Haya de la Torre and Mariátegui had grown too large to be repaired, and Mariátegui withdrew his support for APRA. That same year, Mariátegui and his followers founded the Peruvian Socialist Party (PSP), and subsequently declared his opposition to APRA. The first of many major rifts in the Peruvian left was thus born. One month after Mariátegui's death in 1930, the PSP changed its name to become the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP). By the 1950's, APRA and the PCP remained the two primary, though by no means exclusive, representations of the Peruvian left.[15]

Discontent with the actions, or lack thereof, of APRA and the PCP by the more radical members of the Radical left soon began to create irreversible rifts within these two parties. Haya de la Torre's APRA party was the first to see significant defections. Notably, APRA's alliance with former dictator Manuel Odría and its large center-ward shift in the mid 1950's greatly angered the radical wing of APRA. The PCP was also not immune to internal dissent; many radical leftists became disillusioned by the PCP's failure to translate revolutionary doctrine into action.[16] Some of these radicals left APRA

and the PCP in the early 1960's to form the Trotskyist Frente de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (FIR).

In 1958, just a few years prior to the first revolutionary period, a trotskyite named Hugo Blanco began organizing peasant unions in the southern *sierra*. Born in Cuzco and fluent in Quechua, Blanco returned from Lima to his hometown as a representative of the Peruvian Trotskyist party Partido Obrero Revolucionario, or POR, in 1958. The POR sent Blanco to build alliances with the Cuzco Workers Federation (FTC). Blanco, upon finding that the FTC was not an organization of industrial workers, but rather of artisans and peasants. Blanco soon became active in the local peasant union, and later, the Provincial Peasants Federation of La Convención (FPCC). His peasant organizations conducted numerous strikes in the early 1960's. His work with the FPCC and the POR led to the creation of the FIR in 1961, which essentially served as a vanguard party of the POR.[17]

In 1962, the FIR initiated a campaign of land seizures in La Convención. Although these invasions were not intended to function as the initiation of a revolutionary campaign, these seizures greatly concerned the ruling military *junta* (of 1962-63). The military government sent the Peruvian Guardia Civil to evict the invaders and capture the leadership. Initially Blanco evaded the Guardia Civil, but was eventually captured in late May of 1963. The unrest continued for months until the military *junta* initiated limited agrarian reform in the south-central *sierra*.[18] Ironically, while many in the Peruvian left agreed with Blanco's actions, they refused to support him materially or financially

because of the ideological and doctrinal disagreements between leftist groups in Peru. This disunity foreshadowed to the events of 1965, where the two separate communist insurgencies independently planned and executed their revolutions within a few miles of each other.[19]

MIR AND ELN

The moderation of APRA and apathy of the PCP created other divisions within the left. Ironically, it was small splinter groups from these divisions, not elements of the mainstream Peruvian left, that led the first true revolutionary uprisings in Peruvian history. These two groups were the MIR and the ELN.

In 1959, a group of disaffected left-wing Apristas led by Luís de la Puente Uceda formed a faction within APRA called the "Comité Aprista Rebelde." De la Puente, a lawyer with a passion for agrarian reform, was a student of Che Guevara's *foco* theory of revolutionary warfare, as was his contemporary in the ELN, Héctor Béjar. De la Puente visited Cuba in 1959, shortly after Castro's successful revolution, and came to believe that armed revolution was necessary to create a communist society in Peru. The leftists in Comité Aprista Rebelde grew increasingly dissatisfied with the rightward movement of their party and its collusion with former military dictator Manuel Odría. Unable to affect the center-ward trend of APRA, in 1960 the group formally cut ties to APRA and became "APRA Rebelde." By early1962, the group changed its name again to the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria, or MIR, in order further distance themselves from APRA. [20]

Considered the "premier guerrilla theoretician in Peru" of the 1960's, De la Puente crafted MIR's ideology around a peasant-based movement.[21] Agrarian reform took center stage in APRA Rebelde *cum* MIR's ideological platform. De la Puente even met with Hugo Blanco near Cuzco shortly before the latter's land invasion campaign; true to form for the Peruvian left, the two radical leftists disagreed on enough issues that De la Puente withheld MIR support from Blanco and the FIR's campaign. De la Puente believed that the conditions for revolution were present but not mature in Peru, and that the revolution — a guerrilla movement first, then a regular army in the Cuban model — must start in the sierra. The mission of the guerrillas was to develop the party and mobilize the masses, which he believed required several fronts given the size of Peru. In the early 1960's, the MIR began to secretly create resistance networks within the zones they would later use as guerrilla bases. Guerrillas from the MIR travelled to China and Russia for training; with funds and support from these governments, they moved weapons and ammunition into Peru from Brazil and Chile. By 1964, the MIR was ready to act.[22]

Like the MIR, the ELN too believed that the party should grow out of the revolutionary struggle. However, its leader Béjar did not exhibit nearly the same organizational and planning skills of his contemporary. The ELN "did not put much effort" into developing its program, preferring to create its doctrine and strategy on the fly.[23] The ELN's objectives centered around agrarian reform and a socialist government, which Béjar believed could only be attained through "armed struggle and popular unity."[24]

In February of 1964, Luís de la Puente gave a speech in the Plaza San Martín in Lima, declaring the beginning of the MIR's revolutionary operations. Shortly after that, the MIR guerrillas deployed to three fronts in the *sierra* of Peru and began to construct their base-camps. De la Puente set up his headquarters on the Mesa Pelada, a remote mountain in La Convención province, a few miles away from Machu Picchu. He also used this base as the headquarters for the southern front, nicknamed "Pachacutec." In preparation for the upcoming conflict, the MIR revolutionaries dug trenches and bunkers, stockpiled weapons, ammunition, and food, and placed land-mines on the avenues of approach to their camp. About two-hundred miles to the northwest, in the mountains of Concepción province, Guillermo Lobatón set up a similar base-camp for the central front, the "Túpac Amaru." Finally, on the northern border of Peru near Piura, Gonzalo Fernandez began preparing the northern "Manco Cápec" front. In addition to preparing their base-camps, the MIR guerrillas spent time organizing the peasantry in their respective areas of operation.[25] By the beginning of 1965, the MIR guerrillas were ready to openly challenge the Peruvian State.

In contrast to the deliberate preparations exhibited by the MIR, the ELN guerrillas under Héctor Béjar did not deploy to their chosen are of operations until April of 1965. The ELN chose Chinchibamba, near Ayacucho, for their base of operations. In his book, Béjar recounts the difficulties that his small band of guerrillas experienced in establishing their front, the "Javier Heraud." The guerrillas entered their area of operations in April, which is the middle of fall in the Peruvian highlands, yet they did not bring coats or cold-

weather clothing. Neither did they speak any Quechua, the native tongue of the peasantry in much of the southern Peruvian highlands. As a result of their poor preparation, they encountered significant difficulties living and communicating with their target audience. The ELN guerrillas were predominantly from Lima, where the temperature remains mild throughout the year and the indigenous migrants speak Spanish. They clearly were not familiar with the peoples and topography of their chosen field of battle. Their failure to research or reconnoiter their area of operations demonstrated the ideological naivete of the ELN. Undaunted by their setbacks, however, Béjar and his guerrillas soon made headway in organizing the local population, primarily winning over the peasantry by providing basic medical assistance. The ELN had maintained contact with the MIR since 1962, and knew that De la Puente's organization was preparing revolutionary operations; however, standing disputes between the two groups over leadership and philosophy prevented them from coordinating their actions.[26] Béjar did not realize that he had placed his base-camp almost directly between the MIR's southern and central fronts; when MIR guerrillas initiated armed conflict in early June, the ELN felt obliged to do the same, despite their recent arrival into the *sierra* and their incomplete preparations.

In June of 1965, the MIR guerrillas initiated their armed actions by blowing up a highway bridge and attacking a mine, multiple *haciendas*, and a police station. The Peruvian government sent in the Guardia Civil, who found the insurgents more difficult to dislodge than Hugo Blanco in 1963. Blanco did not use (nor believe in) guerrilla tactics; many of the MIR guerrillas had trained in unconventional warfare in China and

Russia. The Guardia Civil quickly realized that it was neither trained nor organized for the kind of guerilla warfare the groups used. The insurgents enjoyed relatively high success against the Guardia Civil by using ambushes, raids, and other asymmetric tactics. In addition to whatever clandestine support existed, Russia and Cuba provided overt moral approval through broadcasts over Radio Moscow and Radio La Havana — the latter even broadcast in Quechua. Unsettled by the strength of the uprising and the guerrillas' foreign connections, the military pressured President Belaúnde to hand them responsibility for counterinsurgency operations. On 2 July, Belaúnde gave the armed forces authority to intervene in the situation, and two days later suspended civil liberties in the region for thirty days. The situation concerned the military enough that they threatened Belaúnde with a coup unless he gave them total control of the situation, which he did on 14 July. Furthermore, the generals pressed for and received from congress a law placing the guerrillas' actions under jurisdiction of the military justice system.[27]

Once the armed services had permission to act, they wasted no time directing their resources against their foe. They used almost all of the tools in their arsenal to combat the guerrillas, including such newly acquired assets as helicopters, napalm, and infrared photography. De la Puente's Pachacutec front first clashed with the Army on 9 September. By 20 September the Army had built base-camps and two combat roads to access the Mesa Pelada. The air force conducted saturation air strikes using napalm and conventional bombs, and the Army riddled the area with machine-gun fire, forcing De la Puente's southern front to withdraw. With the help of a defector from the MIR, the Army

conducted their final assault onto the Pachacutec camp. The survivors of Pachacutec tried to escape with some of the survivors to a nearby town, but the Army intercepted them and killed De la Puente — presumably in combat — on 23 October. Lobatón's center front fared better than that of his leader De la Puente. His group, which had conducted the most actions against the state and landholders, actually bore the brunt of Army and Air Force attacks. Yet the Túpac Amaru group continued to fight until early January of 1966. Behind the other two groups in combat preparations, the northern Manco Cápec front never began operations. The Army gathered intelligence about the northern front from captured guerrilla fighters and moved quickly to captured them in December, before they could fire a shot.[28]

Ironically, Héctor Béjar of the ELN outlasted all of the other guerrilla leaders. The least prepared and smallest insurgent group conducted some insignificant raids on *haciendas*, and did not present a major threat to the Army compared to the neighboring MIR fronts. A case of dumb luck, the ELN's lack of preparation and ineffectiveness spared it the brunt of the Army's wrath. Béjar and his small band of guerrillas played "hide and seek" with the Army until mid-December, when an Army unit ambushed them at Tincoy. Béjar and many of his guerrillas escaped and survived as fugitives. The military killed or captured some of the ELN fighters, others fled to Bolivia and joined Che Guevara's ill-fated expedition there. Béjar himself wound up a prisoner of the Army; he was the only senior guerrilla leader who survived.[29]

MRTA

Armed elements of the MIR and ELN insurgencies were decimated by the Peruvian Armed Forces in 1965. But the MIR as an organization did not die with founder Luís de la Puente on the Mesa Pelada. Rather, those in the MIR who survived the failed uprising of 1965 maintained their faith in De la Puente's words: "el camino de la revolución es el único camino que le queda a nuestro pueblo."[30] By 1967, the surviving MIR members had organized into various splinter groups, such as MIR-EM (MIR El Militante), MIR IV (MIR 4th Stage), MIR Voz Rebelde, and even a coalition of five various factions called "MIR de la Confluencia-Grupo de los Cinco," or MIR-5. In 1976, other radical leftists created the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR) to protest the military *junta's* failure to complete its original reforms. The PSR had two wings--one public, the other clandestine ("la Orga"). Within two years, the ideology and politics of the two wings had diverged considerably; the more radical "Orga" members left the PSR and created the PSR-ML (for "Marxista- Leninista"). The PSR-ML and the MIR-EM had in common, among other things a belief in the use of force as the only way to gain power in Peru. [31]

In 1978, the methodical return to democracy, which began through the elections of a constitutional assembly, gave rise to many political coalitions. The MIR-EM initially joined the Unión Democrático Popular (UDP), but soon broke its ties with the UDP because the coalition would not support a platform of legal political discourse supported by armed action. Prior to the 1980 national elections, the PSR and UDP joined the Unidad de Izquierda (UI); a requirement of their membership was the exclusion of their

radical left wings. The MIR-EM and PSR-ML, both effectively excluded from the legal political process, began to work closely together. In May of 1980 they issued a joint declaration that the return to democracy did not change the underlying structural conditions of Peru, which was still in a pre-revolutionary stage; they proclaimed their preparations for revolution. In June of the same year with the aim of furthering their desire to unite under shared vision for militant revolution in Peru. The resulting organization which emerged from the conference called itself PSR-ML--MIR-EM. By September, the two organizations changed their prognosis of the Peruvian situation to that of "revolutionary."[32]

By 1982, the groups had continued to work together. As they considered the rapid growth, in only two years of armed campaign, of Sendero Luminoso, they decided that the time was ripe to begin their own armed struggle. In March of that year, the PSR-ML--MIR-EM became the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA), the name Túpac Amaru used to honor one of the MIR fronts during 1965. By September of 1983, MRTA had finished preparing for its armed actions, and in early 1984 it initiated its campaign. In June of 1984, the group issued its first communiqué revealing its 12-part platform. The platform declared that MRTA was "continuing down 'the path chartered by Luís de la Puente.'"[33] In this platform, MRTA proclaimed armed struggle as the path to reforming Peruvian society, and called on a wide variety of elements within society to join them. In this respect, MRTA viewed revolution in a much more eclectic manner than their counterpart Sendero Luminoso. At the same time, MRTA has not lost its roots in the

MIR, maintaining that the peasantry held great importance in the revolution. Playing catch-up with Sendero, MRTA proclaimed its first armed action to have occurred two years earlier, in May of 1982. Their self-comparison with the Shining Path led them to base part of their revolutionary appeal on being a moderate but still armed revolutionary group between the legal (and in their view impotent) left, and the extreme revolutionary violence of Sendero.

Polay's MRTA never was able to make much headway in their armed revolution; they always operated as a relatively minor second-rate operation compared to the relatively overwhelming influence of the Shining Path. Many scholars view MRTA's insurgency failure as, in part, a result of Sendero's ability to crowd them out of the revolutionary "market." It is true that Sendero's superior organizational abilities, greater level of preparation, and stronger ideology structure likely contributed to MRTA's marginalization. However, Sendero had some other positive and negative effects on MRTA. First, by the time MRTA began their armed conflict, the Peruvian state had already mobilized and been at war for four years with Shining Path. The militants from MRTA, on the other hand, were just tasting their first encounters with guerrilla combat operations. The extreme violence initiated by Sendero had also forced the legal Peruvian left into partnerships with the government, virtually closing off any remaining opportunities for MRTA to gain leftist support. By the time Shining Path had declined enough for MRTA to emerge from the shadow of also-ran, the state, military, and civil society anti-insurgency structures implemented to counter Sendero were somewhat

refined, functioning fairly well, and more than capable to keep MRTA at bay. These same institutions have decimated MRTA leadership as much or more as they had that of Sendero, leading to MRTA's last-gasp effort to revive their revolution through the 1996-1997 Japanese Ambassador's Residence hostage operation. But Nestor Cerpa, MRTA's leader in the mid-1990's, seriously underestimated the Peruvian state and military's revival. Three years of declining insurgency effectiveness after the capture of MRTA's Polay and Sendero's Guzmán had given the state sufficient opportunity to restore its sources of power. Even had this hostage operation ended with some sort of amnesty for the hostage-takers, MRTA as an armed revolution was certain to certain to fade from existence. As it was, the Peruvian military's *Operación Chavín de Huántar*, in a stunning (and quickly tainted) show of tactical competence, executed an amazing hostage rescue operation, suffering the death of only one hostage and two army commandos. All fourteen MRTA militants were killed. The initial account by military personnel was that all fourteen died in active combat with the military commandos. However, evidence indicates that at least some of the fourteen militants were summarily executed after their capture.[34] Nevertheless, the operation and resulting death of most of MRTA's remaining leadership spelled the effective end of MRTA as an operational insurgency.

Sendero Luminoso: History

The viciousness exhibited by Sendero Luminoso in their quest for social revolution during the 1980's and 1990's shocked the world. Perhaps equally disturbing was the

degree of premeditation founder Abimael Guzmán invested in his terrorist organization to prepare it for a prolonged struggle against the state. While Sendero Luminoso commenced its *lucha armada* in 1980, the organization had actually began as a revolutionary movement in 1970, and the roots of Sendero's ideology reach back further still. [35]

Manuel Rubén Abimael Guzmán Reynoso was born in a small coastal town in the department of Arequipa in 1934. Born out of wedlock, he lived the first few years of his life with his biological mother; when he was only five years old, she passed away and Abimael went to live with his uncles. Guzmán's father, a relatively well-to-do import wholesale businessman, took custody of young Abimael a few years later. After living in Lima with his father and mother-in-law for a brief period, the family eventually resettled into a prosperous neighborhood in the city of Arequipa. Guzmán attended a prestigious catholic high school, and was known for being both a good student and one "who had ten times as much pocket money as his class mates."[36] Guzmán developed a close and loving relationship with his stepmother that he maintained even during his Shining Path years. Conversely, he harbored deep resentment toward his father. This sentiment was reciprocated by the elder Guzmán; a family acquaintance remarked that "his father wishes Abimael was dead."[37]

At age nineteen he entered the university in Arequipa to study law and philosophy. He acquired as friends and mentors a philosophy professor named Miguel Rodríguez Rivas, who introduced him to Kantian philosophy, and left-wing painter Carlos de la

Riva, who introduced Guzmán to communism. It is from these mentors that Guzmán gained extremist views. Rodríguez Rivas' Kantian intellectualism was rigid and fervent; a colleague noted that "he was [so] crazy [that]…if his thinking suffered a deviation it could take him anywhere in the world, and he would follow it…following sacred Reason."[38] Carlos de la Riva was "an undiluted Stalinist," later a fervent adherent of Mao, who felt that "Communist parties…must be unyielding, stoic, aggressive…[with] dialectic methodology ferociously carried out."[39] From Rivas, Guzmán acquired his fanatical devotion to reason and methodology; from de la Riva, he inherited a devout adherence to Maoism.

In 1962, Guzmán joined the faculty of the newly re-opened National University of San Cristóbal del Huamanga in Ayacucho. Hidden away in the Andes, in 1962 the city of Ayacucho represented one of the lesser developed areas of Peru. There was rampant poverty and an abundance of traditional semi-feudal haciendas; the Catholic Church maintained a strong influence on the region. The university's influence was a significant factor that influenced change in the region. Students at the university took a mandatory first-year course, taught by Guzmán, on "scientific concept." This course taught concepts such as Darwinian evolution, dialectical materialism, and a Marxist view of religion.[40] One of Guzmán's former pupils explained the effect this class had on many students: "until the day we graduated from high school all of us believed [in] Adam and … Eve. Once we had learned that the Bible could be wrong, everything was up for grabs."[41] Guzmán and other like-minded professors at the university began an intentional

indoctrination of students. This process, though not coordinated at first, evolved over time. Guzmán and his fellow communists used the university, in part, as a communist indoctrination academy, and Guzmán himself earned the nickname "Shampoo…because he [washes] your brains, [cleans] your thoughts when confused [and clarifies] problems … he has an answer for everything."[42]

While teaching at the university, Guzmán became deeply involved with the local Partido Comunista del Perú (PCP) in Ayacucho. When the PCP fractured in 1964, following the Sino-Soviet split, Guzmán's passion and devotion to Maoism quickly elevated him to a senior leadership position of the pro-China faction, the PCP-Bandera Roja. The fractures in the Peruvian left created ideological chasms despite apparent similarities in goals and objectives. When the Cuban-sponsored and inspired MIR and ELN began their revolutions, the PCP-Bandera Roja refrained from supporting their actions. Apparently instructed by its backers in Beijing not to assist these Cuban-sponsored insurgencies, Guzmán earnestly struggled to convince his zealous followers not to join in the fight. The uprisings of 1965 brought a swift and effective military response against the insurgents and unwanted government attention to the Peruvian highlands; despite the Maoist camp's abstinence from the insurgencies, Guzmán fled to China to avoid arrest. While in China, Guzmán attended a Chinese insurgency cadre school, where he gained, among other things, substantial training in the subversive use of explosives.

Upon his return to Peru, Guzmán began to consolidate the power of the PCP-Bandera Roja and develop the ideological base that would later form the tenets of Sendero Luminoso. At the university, Guzmán obtained the position of director of personnel, which he used to winnow the faculty into predominately party adherents, and created an education program that recruited party members as primary school teachers for regional schools, bringing communist indoctrination to the emerging generation. An initial "admirer of Castro," Guzmán soon came to believe that Castro's *foco* model of rural-based insurgency was a "petit bourgeois militaristic deviation doomed to sure defeat," preferring the Chinese "People's War model," in which "political work was central and military actions only a complement."[43] Guzmán's extremism reinforced his growing distaste for the Cuban revolutionary philosophy. When the pro-Moscow PCP and even the Cuban government expressed support for the ruling military *junta*'s left-wing reforms, he viewed this as a betrayal of communism. He also found his own PCP-Bandera Roja party deficient in zeal: in 1970, Guzmán and his most devout followers split from the party to form their own party, the "Partido Comunista del Perú en el Sendero Luminoso de Jose Carlos Mariátegui," also known as the PCP-SL or Sendero Luminoso (SL).

In 1970, as Guzmán gained authority within the *PCP-SL,* he and his fellow communists also controlled many important personnel and student functions within the University of Huamanga. He used his dominance of both organizations from 1970-1972 to grow his organization from the ranks of the university and "acquire the 'correct

line.'"[44] Guzmán and Sendero incurred a significant loss of influence at the university from 1973-1978, but this did not stop Shining Path from continuing its internal process of introspection and ideological evolution. In the final years of preparation from 1977-1980, Sendero developed regional committees and cells throughout Peru as it formed its national structure. During this time, SL began an intense "vilification campaign against the rest of the revolutionary left," denouncing any leftists concessions to the Peruvian state as traitorous.[45] This uncompromising repudiation of the Peruvian left was a mainstay of Sendero ideology throughout its dominant years.

In March 1980, Guzmán convinced Sendero's Central Committee that it was time to begin armed struggle against the government. Throughout 1980, the Central Committee continued to debate the final form Sendero's strategy would take. Guzmán articulated a strategy of "prolonged rural guerrilla war that originates in the countryside eventually encircling and forcing the collapse of the towns."[46] A rival strategy put forth by a faction led by Luís Kawata and dubbed the "Albanian Line" gave equal emphasis "to armed actions in town and country."[47] Guzmán's strategy prevailed, and Kawata was ostracized and marginalized by Sendero. That April, Sendero held its first military school. In May the organization stepped onto the national stage by burning ballot boxes in the small village of Chuschi near Ayacucho and in Lima and Ayacucho by hanging dogs from lamp posts.[48] The *guerra popular* had begun in earnest.

SENDERO LUMINOSO: IDEOLOGY AND STRATEGY

Sendero Luminoso took great lengths to marry political ideology and military action. Guzmán, who often used an alias of *Presidente Gonzalo*, emphatically believed that the armed insurrection must always remain subordinate to the political line. Sendero's political line, derived under the heavy-handed guidance of Guzmán, viewed the true line of communist ideology as "Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought."[49] The idea was that Marx provided the concept of class struggle, Lenin developed the "dictatorship of the proletariat," Mao conceived of the rural revolution, and Mariátegui (who remained unmentioned in this pantheon of heroes) envisioned a "nationalistic domestic Third World revolution."[50] Within the decade, Shining Path doctrine boldly changed this phrase to "'Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong-Gonzalo Thought', or even just 'Gonzalo Thought,"[51] with Presidente Gonzalo fulfilling his role as a "living guide" to interpret and formulate the synthesis of the four previous ideologues.[52]

Guzmán's admiration of Mao and Mariátegui is clearly evident in Sendero's ideology and strategy, although he often misinterpreted and misapplied their philosophies. Similar to Mariátegui assessments of Peru, Mao viewed revolutionary China as a semi-feudal state whose revolutionary power lay outside of the urban centers with the peasantry. Thus for Mao and the Communist Party of China (CPC), control over ever-increasing portions of rural China was key to their success. Mao's strategy centered around three-phases: the "strategic defensive," the "strategic equilibrium" or "stalemate," and the "strategic counter-offensive."[53] During the strategic defense phase,

Mao's armed forces were militarily inferior to the Kuomintang (KMT) government forces. To preserve his combat strength and compensate for the disparity, Mao developed a strategy of targeting vulnerable KMT units and avoiding strong forces. He described this strategy as pitting "one against ten" at the strategic level, yet always pitting "ten against one" tactically.[54] In order to maintain the correct party line consistently throughout the revolution, Mao created a highly centralized leadership structure that maintained firm strategic control of the revolution. At the same time, Mao pushed operational and routine decision-making down to his field commanders in order to encourage initiative and permit tactical flexibility. During the rural campaign, Mao built support bases in the countryside among the peasantry. This not only provided supplies and recruits for his army, but also reduced counter-revolutionary opportunities by the peasantry in these areas. Rural support bases also provided a captive audience for the early adoption of CPC's political agenda. As Mao's military gained ground, the rural support bases continually grew and eventually grew together, allowing his army to encircle and capture cities and towns. In effect the CPC grew communist China one support base at a time.

Guzmán's adherence to their theories, especially those of Mao, bordered on obsession. Where the ideas of Mao and Mariátegui conflict, Guzmán would give preference to Mao. A prime example was Guzmán's rejection of Mariátegui's race-based philosophy in favor of Mao's primacy of the class struggle.[55] Guzmán and Shining Path leadership had strong ties to communist China, and Guzmán was known to have travelled

to China on at least three occasions[56]; Sendero sent many other members of its cadre to China for training as well during the twelve years of partnership prior to Deng Xiaoping's coup of 1976.[57] After breaking off relations with China in 1978, Sendero lost its only external ally; at this point Guzmán and the leadership of the Shining Path felt as if they were the only true communists, the "beacon of world revolution," and declared Guzmán "the 'fourth sword of Marxism,' after Marx, Lenin, and Mao."[58] But Sendero's radical adherence and loyalty to Maoism was not diminished, as evidenced by the dogs they hung from lampposts in Lima in 1980 bearing signs that read "Deng Xiaoping, son of a bitch."[59]

Guzmán promoted four themes of "Gonzalo Thought:" "primacy of the class struggle," the removal of imperialist influences from Peru, the necessity of a vanguard party, and most importantly, the "universal law" of violence.[60] Like Mao, Guzmán firmly believed that ideology (the "party line"[61]) must guide action. During the Shining Path's military school in April of 1980, Guzmán ensured that his followers understood Mao's exhortation on maintaining political control: "When the party line is correct, we have it all: if we have no guns, we shall get them and if we do not have power, we shall conquer it. If the line is incorrect, we will lose everything that we have gained."[62] From their political line, Guzmán established the party's objectives: "'the destruction of the Peruvian state' … expropriation of all foreign assets … confiscation of property owned by 'bureaucratic capitalism', both private and public … and a 'liquidation of semi-feudal property' by applying the principle of 'land to the tiller.'"[63]

The composition of the revolution decided on by the Central Committee was based on the political line that the peasantry should be led by the proletariat, with the party always in an overall supreme leadership role to ensure the maintenance of the party line. The petty bourgeoisie and, to a much lesser extent, the national bourgeoisie, would be allowed to participate but would be kept subordinate to the truly revolutionary classes.[64] Sendero claimed that while under Mao, the Party, the guerrilla army, and the new communist state "were interrelated," Guzmán's "greatest political innovation" was to make the party "the hub around which the army and then the state are built."[65]

Mao, unlike Mariátegui, also provided proven military strategies desperately needed by Sendero. This was extremely important to Guzmán. The general consensus among scholars is that though Presidente Gonzalo was a brilliant manipulator, imaginative he was not. Thus Guzmán and Sendero "uncritically [adopted] ideas from Mariátegui and Mao … they were plagiarists rather than innovators."[66] Key to Sendero's appropriated philosophical and military strategies was the premise that Peru in 1980 was a semi-feudal country with a powerful peasantry ripe for revolution. Guzmán claimed that "sixty percent of the population are peasants who through having too little land of their own are forced into servitude."[67] As I discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, this statement was at best wishful thinking — Peru's census bureau gives a rural population in 1981 of thirty-five percent.[68]

Nevertheless, Sendero built its military strategy on a rural-based revolution. Guzmán, taking a page from Mao, envisioned the same three strategic phases of

revolution: “strategic defense”, “strategic equilibrium”, and “strategic offensive.”[69] Sendero documents from 1980 reveal that the Central Committee devised a list of conditions required for the success of the revolution: 1) popular support for the revolution manifested through active participation, 2) endurance and moral agreement among the populace for the revolution, 3) revolutionary leadership nucleus capable of conducting the revolution and seizing power, 4) a unified revolutionary movement, and 5) a popular revolutionary army.[70] These conditions were not prerequisites of revolution; rather they appear to be objectives the party must achieve before the revolution can advance from the strategic defense to the strategic equilibrium.[71] From Guzmán’s borrowed strategic phases, Sendero devised a five-stage operational plan detailing the actions each regional committees must execute. This five-stage operational template was designed to be executed by each region independently. The stages were:

(1) agitation and armed propaganda, (2) opening campaign/sabotage against Peru's socioeconomic system, (3) the generalization of violence and the development of guerrilla war, (4) conquest and expansion of the movement's support base and the strengthening of the guerrilla army, and (5) general civil war, the siege of the cities, and the final collapse of state power.[72]

Figure 1 displays the general relationships among these five stages and the three strategic phases of the revolution. The operational stages are not necessarily or directly correlated to the strategic phases. The intent of the strategic phases was to provide national direction; similarly the operational stages provided regional direction. Each

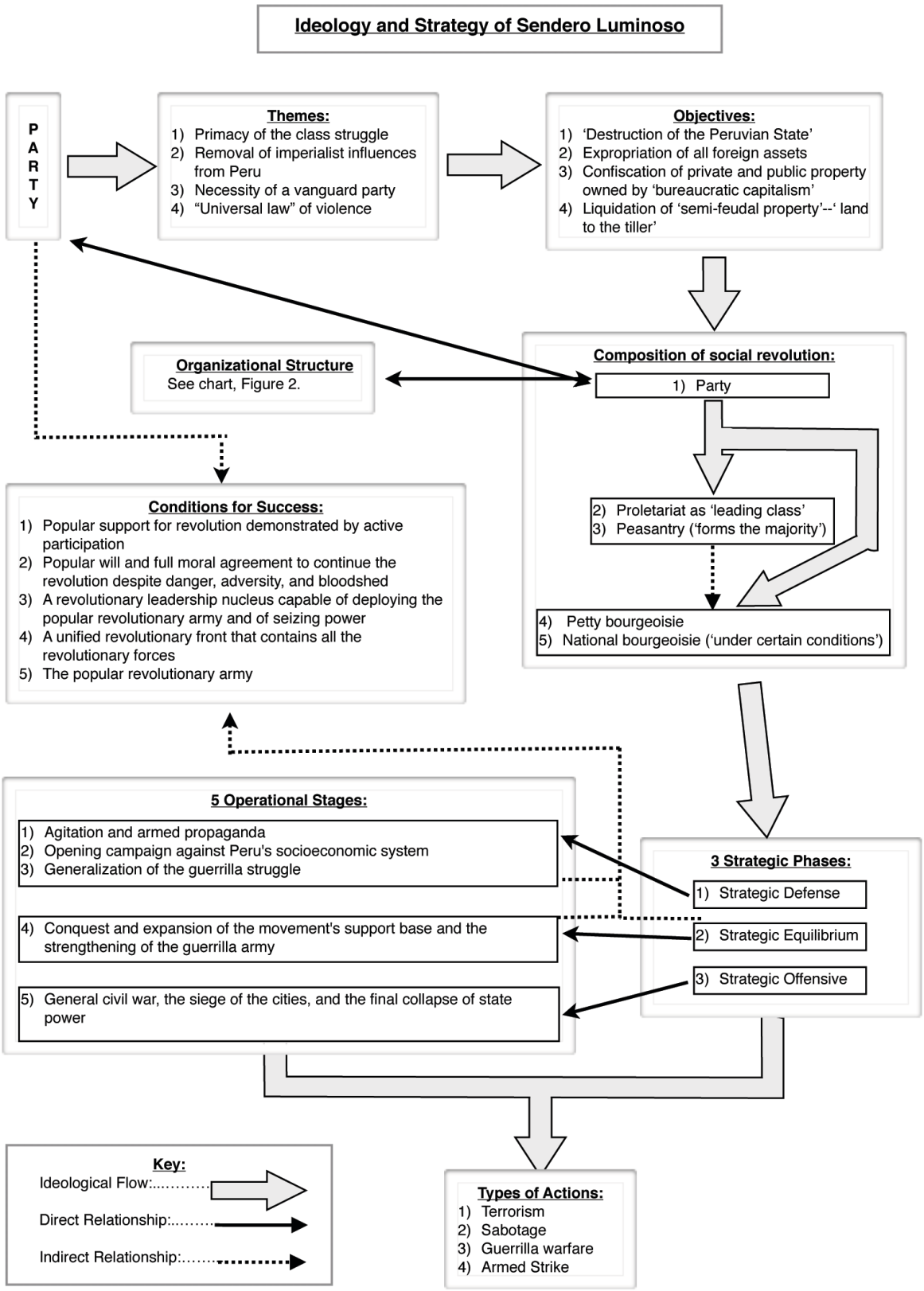

Figure 1: Sendero Ideological Flowchart. Source: Multiple Sources

region was expected to autonomously execute revolutionary operations[73]; hence any given region could be ahead, behind, or alongside of other regions in the implementation of the operational stages.

Sendero had four primary types of tactical operations during the first two phases of revolution: terrorism, sabotage, guerrilla warfare and, after 1989, armed strikes.[74] The first three tactics were planned for use as late as 1980; the last was added to SL's doctrine in 1989.[75] These tactics, as Sendero leaders doubtless learned during their training in Maoist China, focused the strength of the relatively outnumbered and poorly equipped insurgency by attacking the enemy's weakness. Presumably the people's army would have had to use more conventional military tactics during the third phase — strategic offensive — in open combat with the remnants of the state security services. In my research, however, I found no indication that Sendero put much thought into the tactical and operational requirements for the strategic offensive. In the early days of the insurgency, Guzmán made exceedingly clear the institutional patience Sendero would display, particularly during the Strategic Defense. Shining Path documents indicate a willingness to fight a protracted people's war that might continue for decades.[76] It is possible that Sendero felt detailed planning for the Strategic Offensive in the early days of the insurgency was premature. By the time they neared that phase, as I explain in Chapter 3, their leadership found planning difficult due to the pressure from state security services.

The war between Sendero Luminoso and the Peruvian state stretched into two decades and encompassed virtually the whole of Peru. It would be impossible to provide any significant detail of the insurgency, and those particular events that are relevant to this discussion I examine in more detail in later chapters.

Conclusions

The historic fragmentation of the Peruvian left prevented any unified effort to enact change, either legal or extra-legal, within Peru. This disunity is evident in the disagreements of Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre, the countless fractures of leftist parties mid-century, the parallel revolutions of the 1960's, and the disparate strategies of Sendero, MRTA, and the legal left in the 1980's and '90's. Peru's insurgent leftists similarly varied in their methods and tactics. While the reasons for each of these variables is complex and varied, the result was a left unable to achieve consensus not only on how to change their nation, but also on the desired results. These divisions did not prevent insurgencies from initiating or even realizing significant success, but they certainly had significant effect on the insurgencies.

NOTES-CHAPTER II

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[5] Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretive Essays*, 181.

[6] Daniel M. Masterson, *Militarism and Politics in Latin America: Peru from Sánchez Cerro to Sendero Luminoso* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 34-51.

[7] Brian Loveman, *For La Patria: Politics and the Armed Forces in Latin America* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1999), 89-91; Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, *The Politics of Antipolitics* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1997),10-12.

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[9] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 52, 63.

[10] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 273.

[11] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 273.

[12] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 271-273.

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[20] Richard Gott, *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America.* (Garden City N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), 339-342; Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 166-167, 207, 211, 214-218; Gonzalo Añi Castillo, *El secreto de las guerrillas* (n.p., 1967); Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas.*

[21] Gott, *Guerrilla Movements*, 313.

[22] Gott, *Guerrilla Movements*, 339-342; Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 207, 211, 214-218; Castillo, *El secreto*; Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas;* Luís F. de la Puente Uceda, "The Peruvian Revolution," in *Marxism in Latin America*, ed. Luís E. Aguilar (New York: Knopf, 1968), 209-217; "CIA Cable: Decision by the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucianario to Begin Preparations for Revolution," Microfilm (Lima, Peru, February 8, 1964), CIA research reports [microform]: Latin America: 1946-1976, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas-Austin [hereafter BLAC-CIA 1946-76]; "CIA Cable: Plans of the MIR for Revolutionary Action," Microfilm (Lima, Peru, February 10, 1964), BLAC-CIA 1946-76.

[23] Béjar, *Perú 1965, 61*.

[24] Béjar, *Perú 1965, 62*.

[25] Castillo, *El secreto;* Béjar, *Perú 1965;* Masterson, *Militarism and Politics;* Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas;* "CIA Cable" February 8, 1964, BLAC-CIA 1946-76.

[26] Béjar, *Perú 1965;* Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*.

[27] Béjar, *Perú 1965;* Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*; Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas;* Castillo, *El secreto*.

[28] Béjar, *Perú 1965;* Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*; Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas;* Castillo, *El secreto*; "Peru's Troops and Reforms Defeating Insurgents," 11 October 1965, The New York Times, ProQuest Newspaper Historical Databases; Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, "Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, 1956-1970," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 2 (April 1990): 201-237; Leon G. Campbell, "The Historiography of the Peruvian Guerrilla Movement, 1960-1965," *Latin American Research Review* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1973): 45-70.

[29] Béjar, *Perú 1965;* Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*; Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas.*

[30] "The revolutionary road is the only remaining road for our people" (my translation), from Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), "1.4. El movimiento revolucionario Túpac Amaru," *Informe Final*, http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/pdf/TOMO%20II/CAPITULO%201%20-%20Los%20actores%20armados%20del%20conflicto/1.4.%20El%20MRTA.pdf, 379.

[31] Most of the background information I use in this section about MRTA comes from the following sources which I will not cite again except for direct quotations: CVR, "MRTA"; McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men,* 5-19. Also used in this particular paragraph: Charles D. Ameringer, Political Parties of the Americas, 1980s to 1990s (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1992), 507-508.

[32] CVR, "MRTA", 384.

[33] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 6.

[34] *McClintock and Vallas, United States and Peru , 73-76.* An interesting account of the operation is contained in the book by mission commander General José Daniel Williams Zapata, *Chavín de Huántar: El Rescate--22 Abril 1997 - 2007* (Lima, Peru: n.p., 2007). See also Ernesto Che Guevara, Brian Loveman, and Thomas M. Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, trans. J. P. Morray, Latin American silhouettes (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1997), 310-302.

[35] I drew most background on the Guzmán's early years from Simon Strong, *Shining Path: The World's Deadliest Revolutionary Force* (Hammersmith, London: HarperCollins Publisher, 1992); and Gustavo Gorriti, "Shining Path's Stalin and Trotsky," in *The Shining Path of Peru*, ed. David Scott Palmer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

[36] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 23.

[37] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 24.

[38] Gorriti, "Stalin and Trotsky," 152.

[39] Gorriti, "Stalin and Trotsky," *153.*

[40] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 30.

[41] Alma Guillermoprieto, "Letter from Lima, 'Down the Shining Path,'" *The New Yorker*, February 8, 1993, 68.

[42] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 31.

[43] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 33; Gorriti, "Stalin and Trotsky," 156-157.

[44] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 5.

[45] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 5-6; Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 10.

[46] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 12.

[47] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 12.

[48] David Scott Palmer, "Rebellion in Rural Peru: The Origins and Evolution of Sendero Luminoso," *Comparative Politics* 18, no. 2 (January 1986): 129.

[49] Orin Starn, "Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru - Shining Path and the Refusal of History," *Journal of Latin American studies.* 27, no. 2 (1995): 412.

[50] David Scott Palmer, "The Revolutionary Terrorism of Peru's Shining Path," 1990, Collection of Dr. Henry Dietz, University of Texas at Austin, 31.

[51] Starn, "Maoism in the Andes," 412.

[52] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 31.

[53] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 18.

[54] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 18.

[55] see Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 44.

[56] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 5.

[57] Gorriti, "Stalin and Trotsky," 164.

[58] Carlos Iván Degregori, "Origins and Logic of Shining Path," in *The Shining Path of Peru*, ed. David Scott Palmer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 37.

[59] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 77.

[60] Starn, "Maoism in the Andes," 406-409. See Figures 2 and 3 for a graphical representation of the ideological flow and organization of the Shining Path

[61] I found numerous references to the phrases "party line" and "political line" in literature about Sendero Luminoso and infer that they were apparently used by Guzmán himself as well as other Shining Path members. While I have not found any explanation for this term, from the repeated context, it appears that the "party line" was the "correct" (i.e. Guzmán-approved) interpretation of communism as it had evolved from Marx through Lenin and Mao to Guzmán. The use of "party line" appears to be a form of "democratic centralism" used in the Soviet Union, although the etymology of the term could well have come from Mao's "mass-line" technique (see Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 260).

[62] Gustavo Gorriti Ellenbogen, *The Shining Path a History of the Millenarian War in Peru*, trans. Robin Kirk (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 29.

[63] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 20.

[64] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 20.

[65] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 97.

[66] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 21.

[67] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 96.

[68] El Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI), *Perfil Sociodemográfico del Perú*, Census Report, Los Censos Nacionales de Población y Vivienda (Lima, Peru, August 2008), http://www.inei.gob.pe/Anexos/libro.pdf, 19.

[69] multiple sources.

[70] Raúl Gonzalez, "Para entender Sendero Luminoso," *QueHacer*, September 1986, 30.

[71] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 43-44.

[72] Gordon H McCormick, *From the Sierra to the Cities: The Urban Campaign of the Shining Path* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1992), 23; Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 25.

[73] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 24.

[74] Gonzalez, "Para entender," 31; Michael L. Smith, "Shining Path's Urban Strategy: Ate Vitarte," in *The Shining Path of Peru*, ed. David Scott Palmer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 142.

[75] M. Smith, "Ate Vitarte," 142.

[76] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 22.

CHAPTER III: STRUCTURAL EFFECTS ON THE INSURGENCIES

Describing his feelings before embarking on what became the Cuban revolution, Che Guevara stated that "it was imperative to stop crying and fight." While this exhortation might not have been directly heard in Peru in the 1960's and 1980's, the leftist protagonists in Peru during both eras clearly felt an impatience with the pace of revolutionary progress and the perceived capitulation to the existing system by the legal left of their times. Unfortunately for their causes, the leaders of the Peruvian insurgencies failed to realistically assess the then revolutionary potential of Peru. All of the groups ascribed to the Leninist view of the inevitability of revolution, and that leadership or action by the vanguard was a sufficient condition for its creation.[1]

In the 1960's, Luís de la Puente and Hector Béjar, from the MIR and ELN respectively, were clearly inspired by the Cuban revolution; they felt that Guevara's *foco* theory for success was as applicable to Peru as to Cuba. In contrast, Sendero created much of their own revolutionary doctrine loosely based on Marx, Lenin, and especially Mao, claiming that the "vanguard party," would "lead the [peasant] masses across a 'river of blood'" through revolution to the formation of a communist state.[2] Less deliberate than their Maoist counterparts, Víctor Polay and MRTA claimed that the "Revolutionary Party" would be "created through action" from the "embryo" that was essentially the vanguard.[3] This "embryo" would form the nucleus for the spontaneous growth of support for its revolution, "the natural fusion of arms with the masses."[4] Thus with different

specifics, all the Peruvian insurgent groups arrived at similar positive conclusions regarding the appositeness of Peru for revolution. Their faith in their specific form of Marxism complete, no group considered whether the structural conditions for revolution truly existed in Peru.

The insurgents and their views of reality significantly misinterpreted the structural conditions of Peru in their respective time-periods. In part, this failing had a common denominator among the groups. All the revolutionaries traced their ideological roots in some form or fashion to José Carlos Mariátegui, who viewed the indigenous peasants as the true source of revolutionary power. His writings from the 1920's cast Peru's urban areas, especially Lima, as generally insignificant in the socio-political makeup of the nation. Some scholars have debated whether or not his theories were valid during his lifetime; it is clear that the political, social, and economic changes in Peru between the days of Mariátegui and the insurgencies of the late twentieth century significantly eroded any applicability of Mariátegui for the insurgents. Yet De la Puente and the guerrillas of the 1960's found a synergy between Mariátegui's rural, peasant-based revolution and Guevara's call for rural guerrilla warfare and the use of *foco* tactics.

In the 1980's, Guzmán linked Mariátegui's ideals to those of Mao in order to frame the party ideology and strategy for Sendero Luminoso's revolution in Peru. Mao's strategy of rural revolution neglected the importance of an intra-urban campaign. Guzmán's goal was to carry out Mao's revolution, tempered with Mariátegui's Peruvian viewpoint, within his own country. In contrast, MRTA was known for its urban flair — it

started and ended its revolutionary campaign with urban action. Yet even MRTA viewed, at least ideologically, the rural portion of their insurgency as the "main stage" for revolution.[5] However, the key assumption made by the revolutionaries — that conditions in contemporary Peru were sufficiently similar to revolutionary China or Cuba, or even to Mariátegui's Peru — had no basis in reality.

In this chapter I analyze relevant structural conditions of Peru vis-à-vis the late twentieth-century insurgencies, using Skocpol's revolutionary theory as the basis for my analysis.[6] I divide the study into six sections. In the first section I provide an overview of Skocpol's revolutionary theory. In the second section I examine the revolutionary leadership of the insurgencies. In the third and fourth sections, I discuss the structure and relative stability of the Peruvian state and armed forces respectively. In the last two sections, I analyze the urban/rural divide in Peru during each revolutionary period, then focus on the peculiarities inherent in the primacy of Peru's capital city of Lima.

Structural Revolutionary Theory

The American abolitionist Wendell Phillips claimed that "revolutions are not made, they come."[7] In this vein, Theda Skocpol — a leading scholar on revolutionary theory — rejects the idea that vanguards have "ever [created] the revolutionary crises [which] they exploited" to take power[8]. Rather, she claims, successful revolutions took advantage of the existing structural state of affairs. Thus, it may be necessary for the peasantry to be mobilized by the vanguard to create a social revolution, but it is hardly sufficient. Skocpol's theory on social revolutions provides a structural basis by which to examine

the relevant conditions in Peru during the respective revolutionary periods of the four insurgencies.

Skocpol argues that independent structural factors greatly impact the viability of revolutions. She posits that states in which social revolutions have been successful contained similar characteristics. These states generally had agrarian societies with centralized "sanctioning machineries" and a socially independent peasantry.[9] States that have realized successful social revolutions have all suffered under centralized, non-representative governments in which the bureaucratic and military functions were in a pre-existing state of collapse vis-à-vis the revolution.[10] In addition to an extremely weak or failing state, successful social revolutions consisted of an "organized revolutionary leadership" or "marginal elite political movements" that capitalized on widespread peasant uprisings.[11] Contrary to traditional Marxist doctrine, the primary revolutionary conflict pitted peasants against a semi-feudalistic landholder class, not the proletariat against the bourgeois.[12] During the two Peruvian revolutionary periods detailed here, only some of Skocpol's structural conditions are met; most key structural elements required for social revolution were non-existent in late twentieth-century Peru.

Leadership of the Marginal Elites

V. I. Lenin viewed the "vanguard of the proletariat" as those who are "capable of assuming power and *of leading the whole people* to socialism" (italics in the original).[13] Che Guevara added that the role of vanguard was not something to be arbitrarily assigned, but rather was earned by those "at the forefront of the working class through the

struggle for achieving power."[14] Yet Skocpol takes issue with the idea that revolutionary leadership stems from the masses. Rather, she argues that the leadership of revolutionary movements must concern themselves with building an alternate state structure. She does not exclude the definitions of leadership presented by Lenin and Guevara; rather she constrains the field of potential candidates for successful leadership, perhaps in ways not intended by these men. But Skocpol finds that successful revolutions have an organized leadership whose members come from the periphery of elite society and are educated in state-building.[15]

With few exceptions, the principal leadership of the Peruvian insurgencies stemmed from the Skocpol definition of marginal elites. Skocpol explains the term marginal elite as those "who were marginal by virtue of social origins" or who "came from privileged social backgrounds [but] had been converted to radical politics during the course of" their "secondary or university education."[16] It is ironic that organizations purportedly championing the rights of lower-class indigenous peasants and workers, as all four Peruvian insurgencies did in some form or fashion, would place so few of them in positions of influence. Yet clearly the leadership of Peruvian insurgencies consistently displayed this marginal elite demographic.

In the 1960's, the leadership of the ELN and MIR were clear examples of marginal elites. Luís de la Puente, the MIR chief, and his northern front leader, Gonzalo Fernández, were both lawyers. Central front commander Guillermo Lobatón and ELN head Hector Béjar were both journalists. The radicals under them were primarily a

collection of students, academics, lawyers, and full-time organizers and revolutionaries, with only a handful of blue-collar workers and even fewer peasants.[17] The radicals of the 1980's were no less guided by marginal elites. Guzman, of course, was a professor of philosophy at the University of Huamanga, and also had a degree in law. Shining Path gained significant influence over many of Peru's universities,[18] and while the "typical militant is an eighteen-year-old Indian with only a grade-school education," the "Sendero elite is very small and has a college education."[19] Starn contends that the characterization of Shining Path as "a 'peasant rebellion' or 'agrarian revolt'" is completely unfounded; Sendero was a highly racist and classist organization where the poor indigenous peasants made up the rank and file, commanded by "a leadership composed mostly of light-skinned elites."[20] The group MRTA, which has ties to the MIR of 1965, and whose leadership "has 'society' connections," is also top-heavy with elites.[21] The "marginal elite" pedigree of Peruvian insurgent leadership is indisputable; their ability to build alternate state structures is much more dubious.

The importance of the elite leadership was evident in all four insurgent groups; Sendero took this phenomena to an extreme. An interesting facet of elite leadership, the potential for a personality cult, became evident by the rapid implosions of Sendero Luminoso after the capture of Abimael Guzmán in September 1992. It is quite ironic that the idea of a cult of personality was condemned by Marx, realized in Stalin, and epitomized in Mao, with whom it reached "a truly unheard-of magnitude in China."[22] Perhaps it is not surprising that, as most scholars attest, Guzmán held almost absolute

sway over Sendero's doctrine and actions. There are numerous reports of dissent occurring within Sendero; virtually all of these culminated with Guzmán declaring the official party line, followed by punishment in some form or fashion for the dissenters.[23] The "Cult of Guzmán," as Guillermoprieto phrased it,[24] created an almost god-like reverence for Gonzalo among his followers as they demanded "the peasantry 'submit' not to God but to Presidente Gonzalo."[25] The Shining Path reverence to their leader was not so stark at the beginning of the war. Early on, Sendero militants would use phrases such as "Glory to Marxist — Leninist — Mao Tse-tung thought! Long live the Communist Party of Peru! Led by Comrade Gonzalo, we begin the armed struggle!"[26] As his influence over his organization grew, Sendero began referring to Guzmán's words as "Gonzalo Thought."[27] The religious overtones of Sendero's reverence grew as well; soon party couples began to marry "in the name of Chairman Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru."[28]

Intolerant of dissent from the beginning, Guzmán's stature virtually shut down independent thought within the party. Although the fanaticism of Sendero allowed the movement to weather the loss of key leaders such as occurred within the Metropolitan Committee in 1986, this absolute reliance on Guzmán became Sendero's greatest weakness. For some time before his capture, party adherents had begun using the slogan "Presidente Gonzalo*: garantía de triunfo.*"[29] It is easy to understand, then, how his capture in September of 1992 dealt a devastating blow to the morale of the organization.

A second aspect of successful marginal elites, according to Skocpol, is the ability (or perceived ability) of these insurgent leaders to create a viable alternative to the existing state. In order to succeed, the background and inclination of successful revolutionary leadership historically favored those adept at state-building and making "good their claims to state sovereignty" rather than "representatives of classes."[30] In this the Peruvian insurgent leadership had less than complete credibility. It is true that all of the insurgent leaders were involved in political movements, be it within APRA, the PCP, or their various offshoots. And all of the insurgent leaders were able to organize and form a group of adherents whom they were able to command in the performance of illegal acts — which as I demonstrate in Chapter 4, is more difficult than typically thought. But organizing non-state political or military organizations is considerably different than managing state (or state-like) functions. The dearth of state-building experience is clear among the Peruvian insurgent leadership. With the exception of Abimael Guzmán and Sendero Luminoso, none of the insurgent groups ever showed any particular ability to effectuate the replacement of civil or state functions on a meaningful level.

A final unfavorable indicator of potential revolutionary success for the Peruvian insurgencies was the lack of "organized revolutionary leaderships … from the marginal, educated elites" at "the fore" of the revolution.[31] To be sure, within the individual insurgent organizations there was a general organizational unity among the leadership. This certainly varied among the four groups. The Shining Path remained united under

the absolute control of Abimael Guzmán. Hinojosa describes this unique characteristic of Guzmán who, "even leaving aside his cult following … obtained an indisputable national presence that transcended party lines."[32] Polay's MRTA, on the other hand, intentionally lacked both a clear ideology and a centralized party in order to maximize its base of appeal and support. This created problems of unity within MRTA leadership, and significantly affected the insurgency's ability to act collectively.[33]

Regardless of internal organizational unity, in Peru the insurgencies were also seriously damaged by the fractures within the Peruvian left that directly impacted the attempted revolutions. In addition to the general division among the left documented in Chapter 2, none of the insurgencies was able to win anything close to a general consensus of support by the left. During the revolutions of 1965, for example, neither the MIR nor the ELN garnered any substantial extra-organizational support from the left. By 1963, the pro-Moscow PCP pursued "peaceful revolution from within the state rather than … armed rebellion."[34] Nonetheless, in June of 1965, the PCP indicated that it stood in solidarity with the armed insurgencies. The leadership of the PCP quickly realized, however, that retaliation by the Peruvian Armed Forces would be directed not only toward the guerrillas, but toward the entire political left. By August the PCP severely moderated its support for the insurgents by stating that the insurgencies had misinterpreted the conditions in Peru, and that a revolutionary situation did not yet exist. Issuing a statement, PCP leadership indicated moral support but formal disapproval of the armed uprisings, attempting to balance between appeasing the radicals within its ranks

and avoiding persecution by the armed forces.[35] The Maoist Bandera Roja (forerunner of Sendero Luminoso) also failed to support the uprisings, but for different reasons. The group issued a statement recognizing the attempted revolution and paying homage to De la Puente (who had been killed by the time the statement was made), but also spelling out the ideological differences between the pro-Beijing and pro-Moscow (*cum* pro-Cuba) divisions within Peruvian Communism. The ideological split was so severe that China instructed the Maoist groups to stay out of the fight.[36]

Those same divisions manifested themselves during the insurgencies of the 1980's. While the MIR and ELN were small enough that they did not consider each other as rivals, Sendero and MRTA viewed each other as such, with the legal left vying for relevancy as a third challenger. While MRTA never came close to eclipsing the dominance of the Shining Path, Sendero felt threatened enough by MRTA's rising popularity in Lima that it changed its tactics in the city. Direct conflict between Sendero and MRTA was also not uncommon; in some areas, such as the upper Huallaga valley, the two movements actually fought each other. Sendero refused to work with any other leftist groups, be they illegal or legal, referring to them as, among other things, "cretins."[37] From 1985 onward, the legal left was generally unified under the Izquierda Unida party framework. Shining Path did not enter into the legitimate political process, but rather spent much of its energy trying to disrupt elections. When organizations and individuals from the left attempted to oppose Sendero, the Shining Path "did not hesitate to use coercion, threats, and assassination."[38] By the early 1990's, the legal left viewed

the Shining Path as a significant enough threat that it began working with the Peruvian military towards Sendero's defeat.[39]

The Peruvian insurgent movements of the 1960's and 1980's unquestionably included leadership by marginal elites. The centrality of elite leadership was clear in all of the insurgencies, and was magnified in Guzmán's cult of personality. However, the marginal elites in the Peruvian insurgencies exhibited a general a lack of state-building experience and could not coalesce and solidify revolutionary support from both the civilian populace nor the Peruvian left. These deficiencies presented significant challenges to the insurgencies and call into question whether their organized marginal elite leadership was sufficient for its revolutionary role.

State Structure and Stability in "Revolutionary" Peru

It was not by accident that Shining Path chose 1980 to begin its people's war. During the Plenary Session of the Central Committee in March of 1980, Guzmán proclaimed Peru was in the midst of a "revolutionary situation" that provided favorable conditions for the launch of armed conflict.[40] The roots of this perception (and miscalculation) stem from numerous structural factors present at the time. First, for the twelve years prior to 1980, Peru had been ruled by a military dictatorship. Even prior to the military's 1968 coup, the military had been an ever-present threat to democratically elected administrations. Peru saw few transfers of power between two democratically elected presidents in the twentieth century; many elections had been interrupted by some form of military intervention. For most of the remainder, the military's silence was

nonetheless deafening. Furthermore, Peru had a shallow history of municipal elections — the first national municipal elections were held in 1963, but the 1968 coup prevented further elections until November 1980.[41] Twelve years of mismanagement by the military junta left Peru in the worst economic situation since World War II.[42] A politically dejected and subdued military prepared to relinquish power to the same democratically (re-)elected president they had overthrown twelve years earlier. Guzmán declared "the suffering of those from below from exploitation [is] tied to the inability of those from above to govern. … These two conditions exist … therefore" Peru is in "a revolutionary situation."[43]

The writings by and literature on all four Peruvian insurgencies is littered with references to their perception of the potential "revolutionary situation" that each group believed existed in Peru upon the initiation of their revolution. Lenin declared that "a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation." He then provided three "leading signs" of the same: a crisis of leadership or destabilization of political power, a significant increase in the misery of the "exploited classes," and an increasing restlessness in the masses. Lenin cautioned that "not every revolutionary situation leads to a revolution;" the ability of the "revolutionary class to effect" revolution and overthrow the government was, in his opinion, the decisive factor.[44] The Peruvian insurgents each thought that the time and place of their insurgency fit into their interpretation of a revolutionary situation. However, the reality was that state structural

stability, through the stabilizing factor of democracy, was increasing, not decreasing, at the initiation of each insurgency.

A great failure of the Peruvian insurgents in the twentieth century was their inability to understand the inherent stability and durability of the Peruvian state and of its armed forces. Skocpol characterizes a vulnerable state as one in which the government is non-representative and both state and military are failing prior to a major revolutionary uprising. By all accounts, the Peruvian state in both 1965 and 1980 was both democratically representative and politically strong. The first condition, representation, was manifest in the popular democracy of Peru. While by no means a perfect system, Peru's democratic process was generally fair, although repeated interventions by the military cast doubts over the total freedom of the process. Nonetheless, President Belaúnde enjoyed great popularity in the first few years of his presidency (i.e. 1963-1966), a fact that Béjar grudgingly acknowledges in his book. Democracy was expanding in Peru, which saw its first national municipal elections in 1963.

Not only was Peru a representative democracy, but the government of Peru was politically strong during the 1960's.[45] Both the MIR and the ELN drew much of their revolutionary inspiration from the example set by Guevara and Castro in Cuba. In his 1964 speech declaring revolution, Luís de la Puente argued that the revolutionary conditions in Peru were equal or superior to those found in Cuba.[46] It is hard to imagine how De la Puente drew such a conclusion. In the late 1950's, Cuba was under the control of a dictator, President Fulgencio Batista. He had taken power through a coup and his

regime was extremely unpopular, especially in the year before its fall. Batista became infamous for repressive policies; his unpopularity with the Cuban citizenry and even his own army gave the Cuban guerrillas a significant advantage. Most Cubans at the time considered the Batista administration an illegitimate and unconstitutional regime. In Peru under Belaúnde, by contrast, there was little protest to the legitimacy of the government. Belaúnde's initial reforms and populist platform gave him high popularity until he encountered significant legislative setbacks in early 1966. Despite the electoral interference exhibited by the military in the 1962 and '63 elections, even the opposition APRA party refused to make any negative claim regarding Belaúnde's electoral victory.[47] Clearly Peru of 1964 was structurally dissimilar to revolutionary Cuba.

Superficially the conditions of Peru in 1980 may have appeared similar enough to the failing centralized state and collapsing military establishment required in Skocpol's revolutionary theory. But Peru was not on the brink of failure. Despite its economic problems, the promise of democracy inspired hope in a large majority of Peruvians. The Constitutional Assembly of 1978, and the presidential elections of 1980 both saw between 70 and 90% voter turnout,[48] and Peruvian electoral participation in the 1980's was among the highest in Latin America.[49] As for the military, while it left power politically embarrassed, it was still a viable fighting force in 1980. Sendero's assessment of the structure and stability of the Peruvian government in 1980, then, was clearly off-base.

In 1990, and after ten years of fighting the insurgencies of Sendero and MRTA, the Peruvian government and military were nearing what some observers believed would be a state of collapse.[50] Peru's economy at this time was one of the worst in the world, and the average citizen's confidence in their government was abysmally low.[51] Yet formal and informal political participation by the populace, especially the urban populace and even among the lower-classes, remained high,[52] especially during the 1990 elections. Equally significant, throughout the entire insurgency of Sendero Luminoso (even into the 1990's), the military never moved to seize power from the democratically elected governments despite intentional prodding by Sendero.[53] It is clear that the the Shining Path and MRTA miscalculated the long-term staying power and legitimacy the electoral process imparted to the civilian government not only in the opening days of their campaigns, but also through three presidential administrations and a decade and a half of insurgency. Representational democracy proved to be highly resistant to revolutionary pressures despite political, economic, and military weakness.

It should come as no surprise, then, that Sendero and MRTA did not generate the popular uprising throughout the countryside they had predicted — and required. Nor were their misguided strategic assumptions conducive to success in Lima. Numerous surveys indicated a preference for democratically elected government in Lima. McClintock notes that this preference climbed from the already supermajority of 69% of respondents in 1982 to an incredible 88% in 1986. As late as 1986, few respondents preferred either a return to military dictatorship (3%) or a socialist revolution (6%).[54]

The insurgencies' attempts at revolution not only pushed against the dictums of Skocpol's prescription for revolutionary success, but also alienated the urban populace whose support they desperately needed.

Stability of the Peruvian Armed Forces

Military capability and stability is perhaps as crucial a factor in state stability as that of the political system itself. This is especially true in states such as Peru, where the military has had, at times, an explicit constitutional duty to "guarantee the Constitution and laws of the Republic and to maintain public order."[55] While this mandate from the 1933 constitution was significantly changed to limit the military's ability to intercede extra-politically in times of crisis, their role as protectors of the state from internal and external threats was generally accepted as fact. The capabilities of the Peruvian armed forces in the 1960's and 1980's differed significantly, contributing to the swift defeat of the MIR and ELN and the partial success of Sendero Luminoso and MRTA.

The insurgents of 1960's insisted on viewing the Peruvian structural situation through a Cuban lens. In revolutionary Cuba, Castro had created an extensive rural insurgent network two years prior to landing in the *Granma*. The Cuban military, on the other hand, was undertrained, led by a highly corrupt officer corps, and preferred to remain close to their barracks. Once the campaign in the *Sierra Maestra* was underway, Castro's guerrillas conducted the equivalent of civic action programs among the peasantry, due in large part to Che Guevara. The Cuban revolutionaries planted crops, constructed and operated factories, and even built a simple hydroelectric dam.

Furthermore, they provided law and order in the areas they controlled.[56] Quite a different situation existed in Peru. While De la Puente's MIR did attempt to create similar networks in the Peruvian highlands, they did not put sufficient effort into the endeavor nor have much luck.[57]

Instead, in 1965, the organization most prepared for guerrilla warfare was the Peruvian military. International observers proclaimed Peru's military as one of the most capable in Latin America at the time.[58] They had one of the more highly developed officer education programs on the continent, and received significant Military Assistance Program (MAP) funds from the United States, second only to Brazil.[59] Throughout Peru's history, its armed forces and military officers had a tendency to interfere with national politics. In the 1950's, the Army developed in its officer corps a very liberal view of military power — one that saw the military not only as the state protector from foreign and domestic threats, but also as an agent of development and modernization. Much of this liberalized attitude came from the Centro de Altos Estudios Militares (CAEM), an educational and professional development institute attended by senior military officers prior to their advancement to general officer. Seventy percent of CAEM's 10-month curriculum consisted of non-military topics ranging from social, political, and economic issues, with only 30 percent of the coursework involving military topics. The CAEM curricula linked national security with domestic social and economic development, and influenced multiple generations of Peruvian general officers from 1950 onward.[60]

The Peruvian officer corps did not limit its liberal ideas to the schoolhouse. The Army in particular had daily contact with the peasantry of the Andes not only in the form of the indigenous conscripts that populated the rank and file, but also with the communities adjacent to remote military bases. Unrest in the 1950's and the land invasions of the early 1960's convinced Army leadership of the importance and necessity for military intervention into national development. With the cooperation of their American advisors under the Alliance for Progress and MAP, the Peruvian Army developed and conducted numerous civic action programs. Some of the progressive projects the military undertook included literacy and vocational training for their indigenous conscripts, a floating medical clinic on the Amazon River, penetration roads and airstrips into the sierra by their Corps of Engineers, and assistance to locals with modernizing agricultural methods. Through their brief term in control of the nation between 1962 and 1963, the military also became positively associated with the popular social and economic policy of agrarian reform.[61]

The military did not only focus on civil assistance. Alarmed by the revolution in Cuba and recognizing the growing threat of insurgency within their own country, the Peruvian Armed Forces trained in counterinsurgency warfare. Numerous Peruvian officers attended military schools in the United States, including the Army Special Forces school at Fort Bragg, NC. The CIA even brought Special Forces trainers to Peru and created a counterinsurgency school in the jungle. Beyond tactics, senior military officers wrote Peruvian counterinsurgency doctrine which they taught to their officers.

Operationally, the military created an extensive intelligence network in the Peruvian *sierra*, using their FBI and CIA-trained agents to monitor and track MIR and ELN guerrillas in the years and months before the insurgency. By the time the two revolutions appeared in 1965, the Peruvian military was as ready as any in Latin America to deal with the situation.[62]

A lot can change in a decade and a half. While the Peruvian military of the 1960's enjoyed training and equipment from the United States, this relationship was cut during the military *junta* of the 1970's.[63] Peru's once-vaunted military slowly withered. The 1980's found the armed forces at odds with, and mired in, the political system. Unprepared for the forcefulness of the insurgencies of Sendero and MRTA, they lacked counterinsurgency training, equipment, and, significantly, a coherent strategy to counter the threat. While still fairly powerful militarily at the beginning of the 1980's, as the decade progressed, Peru's economic and political troubles eroded much of the military's power.

The armed forces began the decade with a retreat from politics, handing over control of the nation to elected civil authorities after twelve years of rule. The military's disappointing performance was a harsh dose of reality for the idealistic officers who so optimistically took charge in 1968. The failure of so many of their progressive policies, coupled with the resurgence of left-wing insurgencies in Shining Path and MRTA, created a rightward shift in the ideologies of the military. One of the effects of this rightward shift was a renewed distrust of the left by the military. This became especially true of

military sentiment towards APRA and President García after the 1985 election, and this sentiment was reciprocated by *Apristas*, further fueling the flames.[64] The García and Fujimori years were populated with rumors of military coups, prosecutions of military officers for coup conspiracies, and concern by the people that the military would once again try to take charge of the nation,[65] despite President García's attempt to enlist the support of the armed forces. His success at engaging the military leaders was looked upon unfavorably by junior officers; the rivalry between the military and APRA was resurrected within the ranks.[66]

But tensions between the military and the civilian government were not limited to the García administration. From the beginning, the Belaúnde administration was naturally wary of the armed force, not just out of historical animosity but also from a distaste for the military's style of politics.[67] The administration also harbored some distrust of the military concerning Sendero's insurgency. After all, the military knew about Sendero's preparations for revolution prior to turning over power, but took no action to intercept the group when they were more vulnerable.[68] Upon leaving the presidency, the military administration reportedly took all of their intelligence files with them, leaving the Belaúnde administration with nothing to build on.[69] Belaúnde's distrust resulted in the president refusing to allow the armed forces to play any counterinsurgency role against Sendero's insurgency until December 1982, and in his diminishing the capabilities of the armed forces' intelligence service.[70]

National political involvement did more harm than good for the armed forces; poor diplomatic relations with the U.S. also impeded their development. In the early days of the *junta*, the military leaders asked to purchase arms from the U.S., which declined the request. With French and Israeli equipment too expensive for Peru's budget, the Soviets were the only major power with both reasonably priced equipment and a willingness to deal with Peru. The *junta* established ties with, and received training and equipment from, the Soviet Union.[71] There is rich irony in this relationship, given Soviet support for the insurgencies of 1965. Nevertheless, from a military perspective, the combination of a third (after the French and American) set of training and equipment imposed more doctrinal and logistical confusion on the armed forces.[72] This relationship with the Soviets lasted well into the 1980's, as did the Peruvian propensity for purchasing military equipment from various sources, especially France.[73] Fifteen years later, Belaúnde faced similar stonewalling from Washington, forcing him to purchase equipment from France.[74] This soured relations between the two countries and limited Peru's ability to import counterinsurgency training and equipment for its armed forces. The U.S. became concerned over the growing Peruvian insurgent threat in the mid-1980's and offered help multiple times, but was declined by the García administration. Not until Fujimori took office did U.S. support for Peruvian counterinsurgency reach noticeable levels.

The Peruvian armed forces in the early 1908's received equipment and were sufficiently funded as evidenced by the Belaúnde administration's purchase of French Mirage fighter aircraft, Soviet Hind helicopters, numerous automatic rifles and night

vision equipment, and other acquisitions.[75] But apart from this material support, what the Peruvian military needed was counterinsurgency strategy. The Sinchis, for example, were a Peruvian counterinsurgency police unit who had received training from U.S. Special Forces in the 1960's — training that was directed at countering a Cuban-style guerrilla warfare model. After the severing of U.S.-Peruvian military training, the Sinchis continued to propagate, and distort, the training they had received. In the early 1980's they were deployed against Sendero Luminoso, and eagerly and aggressively employed their outdated and distorted version of counterinsurgency on the populace of Ayacucho. While they had little effect against the insurgency, they earned quite a reputation among the local populace by their brutality.[76] The army fared no better. Stuck with stagnant U.S. tactics from the 1960's[77] (which the Americans had long since abandoned), they turned to another source of tactical knowledge in an attempt to find a solution to their insurgency problem.

While it is debatable whether the U.S. in the early 1980's had such a highly successful strategy, U.S. military advisors doubtless could have provided better options than those Soviet-inspired tactucs used by the Peruvian military early in the 1980's. Gorriti claims that despite Shining Path accusations of heavy Soviet support for Peru's military, the training and equipping of Peruvian military and police "did not produce a single change in the war's course."[78] In terms of positive change, this is probably true. But unlike their American counterparts who were analyzing lessons learned from a mixed-success (militarily) counterinsurgency experience in Vietnam, in the early 1980's

the Soviets were embroiled in their own third-world unconventional war in Afghanistan. There are significant similarities between the Soviet and Peruvian approach to counterinsurgency in the early years of both conflicts. The Soviet counterinsurgency strategy in Afghanistan was based upon "intimidation and genocide, reprisals, subversion, and military forays."[79] The Peruvian Army clearly used two of the three — the diminished capacity of military intelligence services described previously hampered their effectiveness until the early 1990's.

Peru did not have a counterinsurgency strategy for much of the 1980's. The Belaúnde administration, unprepared for the large-scale threat posed by Sendero, initial gave the military almost unlimited latitude in its counterinsurgency operations.[80] The armed forces, also without a cohesive strategy and doctrine, appears to have allowed its regional commanders to devise their own methods. These methods often took on a decidedly Soviet-esque flavor in their harshness, but the administration overlooked the growing number of human rights abuses. While Sendero used targeted violence, especially in the first few years of their insurgency, the military applied a "color-blind" approach, associating indigenous heritage with insurgent sympathies: "when they saw dark skin, they fired."[81] Ironically, when some military leaders tried to implement civic-action style tactics and move away from heavy-handed repression, the Belaúnde administration stifled these efforts.[82] The heavy-handedness continued into the García administration with, it appears, some encouragement from the president himself. A 1986 Lima prison riot caused a nationwide scandal and resulted in the trial and punishment of

several military leaders; the military spread word after the incident that the President gave the order to kill the prisoners.[83] The military's tactics between 1983 and 1985 were so harsh they frequently caused more devastation than those of Sendero during the same timeframe; not until the late 1980's did the military move away from genocidal and repressive tactics.[84]

The Peruvian military was woefully unprepared for the insurgencies at the beginning of the 1980's, but it was still a viable fighting force which Sendero did not dare confront openly. In 1980, Peru had the third largest army on the continent, with the second highest number of soldiers per capita.[85] The Belaúnde administration, perhaps in an effort to appease the military, purchased the significant amounts of arms and equipment mentioned previously. Despite the use of heavy-handed tactics that caused undesired secondary effects, the military campaigns of 1983-1984 significantly weakened Sendero's operational abilities.[86] By 1990, however, much of this military power had eroded. The military faced declining budgets, limited supplies, and declining salaries, all of which precipitated a sharp drop in morale.[87] Corruption was rampant within the officer corps; leaders were often paid by drug traffickers to "not see" activity near their bases.[88] The situation became so bad that by 1989 the commander of the Peruvian Navy made the mere survival of the institution the mission for that year.[89] These weaknesses were compensated, at least partially, by the García and Fujimori administrations in other areas. In the darkest days for the military, the civilian government leveraged other state intelligence services, particularly the national intelligence service (*Servicio de*

Inteligencia Nacional or SIN), and garnered external support from the CIA.[90] Additionally, the government enabled the self-defense committees, empowering the peasantry and encouraging a grass-roots counter-revolution against Sendero. Finally, under the direction of Vladimir Montesinos, the Peruvian military began to improve their counterinsurgency operations.[91]

Structurally, the Peruvian Armed Forces never reached the extent of organizational failure required for state collapse. The military remained powerful through most of Peru's two periods of insurgency. While undoubtedly military power dipped significantly by the early 1990's, it was still a functional organization whose failings were, in some ways, compensated by other elements of Peruvian state services.

The Urban/Rural Divide

One of the ideas common to all of the Peruvian insurgent groups was the primacy of revolution through the peasantry, stemming from the ideologies of Mariátegui, Guevara, and Mao. The idea of agrarian-based revolution in Peru fits well with Skocpol's observation that successful revolutions pit peasants against semi-feudalistic landholders. In both the 1960's and 1980's, Peruvian insurgents claimed that their nation remained a "semi-feudal" country and promoted "agrarian revolution."[92] Sendero, in particular, continued to claim that Peru was a semi-feudal state well throughout the 1980's. Guzmán claimed that Peru's peasantry composed over sixty percent of the population[93]; this figure may have been accurate as late as 1940, closer to the time of Mariátegui, but was certainly not true for the 1980's.[94] The assumption that Peru was an agrarian state during

the revolutionary periods was clearly inaccurate both in economic and demographic terms.

Economically, Peru was not primarily an agrarian society in 1965, nor in 1980. Figures for 1961 show that the non-agricultural sectors (including manufacturing, government, and white-collar) accounted for over 52% of the labor force;[95] by 1965, non-agricultural sectors accounted for 77.5% of the GDP.[96] Peru's economy centered around its petroleum, fishing, and mining industries, and had, according to a 1959 UN Economic Commission for Latin America report, one of the most diverse range of exports in the world.[97] By 1965, there were few semi-feudalistic landholdings remaining in the Peruvian *sierra;* rather, corporate-owned landholdings and communal or individual farms had largely replaced the traditional *latifundios*.[98] The former did not facilitate radicalization in the manner of semi-feudal landholdings (I discuss this further in Chapter 4); the latter, of course, provides few similarities to a semi-feudalistic system.[99] These economic trends away from an agrarian economy continued throughout the 1960's and 1970's. In 1965, Peru's economy had relatively recently ceased to be agrarian, and thus one might excuse the miscalculations of De la Puente and Béjar. By 1980, only strong ideological blinders could have allowed Guzmán and Polay to argue the case of an agrarian state.

Demographically, Peru was a rapidly urbanizing country. By extrapolating data from the 1961 and 1972 censuses, it appears that in 1965, just over half the population of Peru lived in cities, with forty percent of all urban Peruvians living in Lima. This gave

Lima twenty-one percent of the entire population of the country.[100] In the 1960's, many peasants were migrating to the cities, causing the rural population to stagnate even as the urban population grew rapidly. Interestingly, even as Béjar and De la Puente tacitly acknowledged a role for urban areas in their revolutions, they did not initially place any significance on the exploitation of the cities for anything more than moral and financial support. Some insurgent groups (whose ties to the MIR and ELN were vague) attempted to conduct revolutionary activities in Lima and other cities during the 1965 guerrilla campaign; the Peruvian authorities quickly and easily dispatched these groups. Generally, the MIR and ELN viewed the cities in the Guevara model, as something to be addressed in the later stages of the insurgency once the guerrillas grew large enough to deal with them. However, during the Cuban revolution, urban insurgency played a much more crucial role than Guevara admitted to in *Guerrilla Warfare*.[101]

Unlike Peru, Cuba in the late 1950's was an agrarian society; sugar cane cultivation dominated the economy. And yet despite the higher importance of agriculture and peasantry in Cuba, the success of the Castro's revolution relied heavily on the urban underground revolutionary movement. First, urban areas provided an estimated sixty to eighty percent of guerrilla fighters for the revolution, many of whom the urban underground recruited. The underground also provided crucial supplies, weapons, finances, and information for the guerrillas in the *Sierra Maestra*. Second, the urban guerrilla movement carried out numerous actions against the Batista regime, and sustained the preponderance of casualties during the war. Finally, the urban movement

provided key manpower and support for the Castro's guerrillas during the final collapse of the Batista regime. The Peruvian guerrillas, on the other hand, never established a functional communication network with their backers in Lima and other urban centers. This was due in part to their poor planning, in part to the ideological blinders of the insurgents, and in part to the much harsher topography and daunting distances which differentiate the Peruvian highlands from the Cuban *Sierra Maestra*. Once the conflict started, the Peruvian Army surrounded the guerrillas, cutting off any support they had hoped to receive. Furthermore, the police were able to disable and disrupt the Peruvian insurgencies' meager support networks within the cities.[102] It is difficult to imagine how a revolution in an urbanized, non-agrarian society such as Peru could succeed without a strong urban component. The myth of rural insurgency through *focos* propagated by Guevara could not overcome the significant urban challenges of Peru in 1965 in the absence of a coherent urban strategy.

Peru in 1980 also bore little resemblance to the semi-feudal state envisioned by Guzmán. At the start of Sendero's *lucha armada,* Peru's peasantry did not resemble the restless agrarian mass of revolutionary China. The military junta in 1968 had undertaken an ambitious agricultural reform program that, while only partially successful, had unequivocally changed the landscape of the Peruvian countryside and essentially eliminated whatever vestiges of feudalism may have remained until their regime.[103] The majority of Peru's population — about sixty-five percent in 1981[104] — lived in Lima and other urban centers. What remained in the rural highlands consisted of "medium scale

farmers ... comparatively well-to-do kaiaks,[105] [and] vast numbers of semi-proletarianized minifundists" that dominated the economic landscape; "'feudal' landlords [were] conspicuous by their absence."[106] While the idea of agrarian revolution may have neatly fit into the insurgent ideologies, Peru's revolutionaries mistakenly placed their hopes on a peasantry that was not as large, socioeconomically significant, nor oppressed as those in countries that experienced successful revolutions. The greater challenge for the insurgents of the 1980's was not just the issue of urban revolution, but that of revolution within the unusually dense primate city of Lima.

THE PRIMACY OF LIMA

Skocpol's structural analysis focuses on the correlation between a structurally agrarian society and social revolution. She does not address the effects of urbanization, nor examine the issue of a primate urban area. However, it is worth studying the structural effects of urbanization, particularly of the primate urban area of Lima as it relates to Sendero Luminoso's urban campaign. As I mentioned in the previous section, the myth of the semi-feudal agrarian society bore no relation to the reality of the Peruvian situation during the Shining Path's revolution. In 1980, Lima was no longer the backwater capital of an agrarian state described by Mariátegui — it was a huge, and growing, primate city. According to Dietz, Lima grew from 591,000 in 1941 to 4.6 million in 1981, to over 6.5 million in 1993 and had a primacy index of 4.03:1.[107] Thus Lima's very size in 1981 defied any notion that Peru was an agrarian society. A student of the Mao's revolution, Guzmán should have easily understood the differences in

urbanization levels between modern Peru and both revolutionary China and pre-urbanized Peru. In 1952, just after the end of their civil war, the urban population of China was a mere 12.5% of the total populace[108]; the Lima of Mariátegui's day consisted of less than 10% of the total population of Peru. In 1981, Lima alone accounted for 27% of Peru's total population — 29% by 1993 — and over 40% of the nation's urban population.[109] Such a large disconnect between Guzmán's perception of total urbanization — 40%[110] — and the reality — 65-70% with almost 30% in Lima alone[111] — foreshadowed the significant difficulties that Sendero experienced in their campaign for Lima throughout the 1980's and 1990's. These difficulties were manifested in both structural and social terms. In this section I discuss the structural issues; in the next chapter I address the socio-political issues affiliated with urbanization.

Louis Wirth discusses the structural effect urbanization has on social structures. In his seminal piece on "Urbanization as a Way of Life," Wirth proposes that the urban setting affects individuals and groups significantly. He observes that city dwellers interact in "highly segmental roles" and "are associated with a greater number" of groups. This dynamic, Wirth claims, makes it difficult for any one group to dominate the attention of the individual.[112] Peru's capital of Lima is the most densely populated primate city in the Americas.[113] Not only is it the largest city in Peru, but as the capital, it also serves as the hub for all police and military activities. Its political importance, size, and density presented many difficulties for Sendero's Metropolitan Committee of Lima.

While Sendero Luminoso is generally thought of, and preferred to be known, as a rural insurgency, by necessity it conducted extensive urban operations, especially in Lima. To its credit, Shining Path appeared to grasp the importance of urban operations early in their campaign, and established a headquarters to control operations in Lima designated the Metropolitan Committee. Though urban operations were a part of Sendero's strategy from the outset, Shining Path "never ceased [to perceive the countryside] as the arena for the strategic accumulation of forces and the [revolution's] final resolution."[114] In 1980, members of the Central Committee became concerned that the supposed heresy of Albania's communist leader Enver Hoxha — that of emphasizing urban over rural operations — had infiltrated party strategy. While the exact nature of internal conflict is not clear, Guzmán apparently did feel that cities are a "necessary compliment" to actions in the countryside — a tempering of orthodox Maoism.[115] Nonetheless, this conflict led to a curtailment of Shining Path operations in Lima in the early 1980's.[116] The effect of this curtailment put Metropolitan Committee operations behind their rural counterparts. It is questionable whether Sendero truly understood the importance of urban operations; more evident is that Shining Path's Maoist ideology of rural revolution interfered with their willingness to resource an urban campaign.

Sendero's Central Committee adopted a cellular structure in their organization, an idea seen in other Latin American insurgencies. This initially translated well to urban operations; in Lima the Metropolitan Committee controlled all Shining Path urban operations. In addition to the standard revolutionary actions that all regional committees

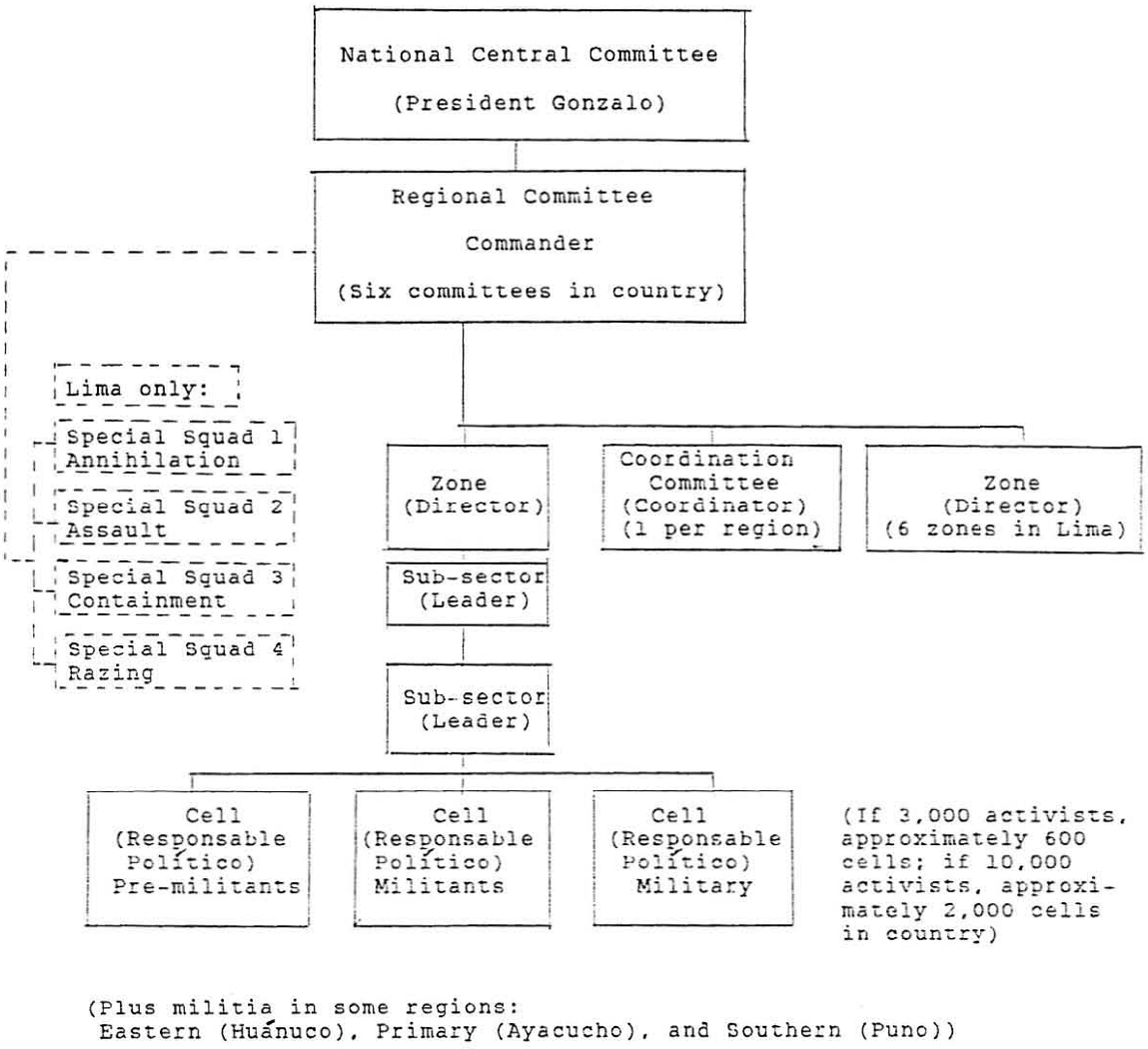

Figure 2: Sendero Luminoso Organizational Chart
(Source: Palmer, The Revolutionary Terrorism, 1990, p. 29)

supervised, the Metropolitan Committee controlled an additional set of "special squads" that conducted specific operations.[117] The Metropolitan Committee also had responsibilities for intelligence gathering, the protection of party leaders and structure, and carrying out sanctions against traitors.[118] Because of the cellular structure and tactical decentralization, operations within Lima (as in the rest of the country) were run

independently; while there was some coordination between cells, sectors, zones, or even regions, Sendero relied upon its decentralized structure to both make attacks harder to prevent and the organization much more difficult to disrupt. [119] This cellular structure worked well to counter the significant presence of state security services within Lima.

Like many third-world countries with primate cities, Peru's government was much more attentive both to the large voting constituency within Lima and to the literal and symbolic importance of security within Lima to the political and economic stability of the nation. Thus, insurgent activities in Lima created a much greater sense of concern and urgency on the part of both the citizenry and the government than Sendero actions in the sparsely-populated highlands. And while the state security services did not have the capability to respond to Sendero Luminoso in every remote corner of Peru, they were always capable of massing forces in and around the capital. In part, this meant that agents of the state could move virtually unhindered and in the open, while Sendero's operatives had to always work clandestinely. Cell members rarely knew other Sendero members outside of their immediate cell.[120] Members only knew each other by an alias (rosters with true identities were kept at the regional level).[121] In this way, no amount of coercion by state security services could convince a member to divulge what he or she did not know and expose large numbers of other members. However, as McCormick notes, the requirement for clandestine operations within the city stifles efficient and interactive communication.[122]

The requirement for decentralized operations limited Sendero's possibilities for unified effort and effective coordination.[123] Other problems were also brought about by the density and heterogeneity described by Wirth. The urban migrant communities had a low probability for radicalization using Handelman's analysis of peasant communities. He found that radicalization had more to do with the intrinsic condition of the populace than any action taken by an external revolutionary group,[124] and that radicalization increases linearly with solidarity and inversely with social development. In Lima the migrant communities had just the opposite characteristics: they were socially developed and, according to Dietz, the perceived neighborhood solidarity in the 1980's and 90's was low, dropping to less than 25% in 1990.[125] The high social development combined with low unity fit Handelman's model of a populace with low probability of radicalization.

In the countryside, Sendero controlled the populace through fear, intimidation, and the imposition of a strict social order. It tried to do the same among Limeños; however, "urban residents," says McCormick, "simply have more avenues of legitimate political expression available to them."[126] The social issues surrounding democracy that I discuss in the next chapter are magnified by the structural issues of urbanization, putting Wirth's theory to reality: urban organizations cannot easily dominate the total attention of the urban individual. Tactically, Sendero constructed a well-conceived urban campaign that could survive and operate fairly well within the constraints of the dense metropolis of Lima. Operationally and strategically, however, the campaign in Lima provided

underwhelming results because of the very constraints it had neutralized tactically. These constraints may well have been the downfall of Sendero as a whole.

In some ways, Sendero was a victim of its own success, especially in Lima. The relatively rapid progression of Sendero's revolution appears to have begun outpacing the strategic and operational-level planning abilities of Shining Path leadership. Despite Sendero's projection of confidence and tactical success in Lima, the security of its senior leaders became increasingly more difficult as state security services stepped up their pressure on those elements of Sendero in Lima. In the years before his 1992 arrest, Guzmán constantly had to move among safe houses as the state security services narrowly missed capturing him on multiple occasions.[127] By the time they proclaimed the advent of a "Strategic Equilibrium", the Shining Path leadership were living in an environment quite unfavorable to deliberate strategic and operational planning. The general lack of planning and doctrine in the later stages of their revolution are indicators of the organizational difficulties Sendero faced in their last chaotic months of dominance.

This highlights another problem for Sendero in Lima. The population density of the city created what J. Bowyer Bell termed "guerrilla overload": as an insurgent organization strengthens numerically, it reaches a saturation point whereby the loss of members is accelerated both from an increase in the number of members captured and a correlating increase in the number of new, and therefore inexperienced and vulnerable, members in the organization.[128] This limited Sendero's ability to assert its influence and move as rapidly as it wanted to within the city. The pressure by the state on Sendero

within Lima created debilitating effects beyond merely diminishing the effectiveness of its leaders. The movement of leadership into the city weakened the operational security of the organization as a whole. Police raids in 1990 and 1991 yeilded significant seizures of plans, schedules, and records that permitted state security services an ever-increasing series of successes in breaking apart Sendero.[129] The capture of key leaders and actionable intelligence finally resulted, in September of 1992, in the capture of Guzmán by the Peruvian Anti-Terrorism Police. In the face of an increasingly effective counterinsurgency campaign, the loss of Guzmán's leadership was more than Sendero could bear. In the months and years following Guzmán's capture, Sendero began to rapidly break apart as much from capitulation and desertion as from direct state intervention.

Conclusions

Peru was not structurally primed for revolution in 1965, nor in 1980. The marginal elites were present and ready to lead an insurrection, though their credentials and disunity made them poor candidates for revolutionary leadership. The state and military structures were neither weak nor failing. The state government in power was elected by generally free elections, something even Che understood as a major impediment to armed revolution.[130] While the economy of the *sierra* region was agrarian, Peru as a nation did not have a predominately agrarian economy. The country was also experiencing large-scale rural to urban migrations, especially to Lima. Not only did any actions by the rural peasantry have ever diminishing economic influence within Peru, but also that their

sociopolitical influence as a rural mass, borne by the strength of their numbers, decreased proportionally as well. The urbanization effect, particularly in Lima, created even more difficulties for the insurgents of the 1980's and hampered their attempts at popular mobilization.

The leaders of the Peruvian insurgencies argued that the conditions for revolution were ripe in 1965 and 1980. Clearly an unbiased evaluation of the structural conditions of Peru was not a part of their analysis. But while structural effects account for the stability of the state, but they do not explain why the peasantry or proletariat failed to become radicalized or mobilize. To answer this question, I will analyze the sociopolitical situation and its effect on the insurgencies.

NOTES-CHAPTER III

[1] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 24; De la Puente, "Peruvian Revolution," 214-215.

[2] Starn, "Maoism in the Andes," 408.

[3] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 12.

[4] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 16.

[5] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 18.

[6] There is, of course, criticism of Skocpol's focus on structural explanations of revolution. Sewell (among others) claims that "Skocpol … has a far too reified conception of social structure." Sewell places more emphasis on the ideologies than the state structure. I prefer a more balanced approach; I examine state structure (Chapter 3), social components (Chapter 4), and, to an extent, ideology (Chapter 5). See William H. Sewell Jr., "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," in *Social revolutions in the modern world*, ed. Theda Skocpol (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 170-173.

[7] Wendell Phillips quoted in Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 17.

[8] Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 17-18.

[9] Theda Skocpol, "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions," in *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*, ed. Jack A. Goldstone (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 79. Sanctioning machineries would be aid or assistance organizations, militias, etc.

[10] Theda Skocpol and Ellen Kay Trimberger, "Revolutions: A Structural Analysis," in *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*, ed. Jack A. Goldstone (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 62.

[11] Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 287; Skocpol, "France, Russia, China, 70.

[12] Skocpol and Trimberger, "Revolutions," 60-61.

[13] Vladimir Il′ich Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (Penguin Classics, 1992), 25.

[14] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 151.

[15] Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 164-168.

[16] Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 166.

[17] Castillo, *El secreto;* Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas.*

[18] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 38.

[19] Tom Marks, "Making Revolution with Shining Path," in *The Shining Path of Peru*, ed. David Scott Palmer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 195.

[20] Orin Starn, "Villagers at Arms: War and Counterrevolution in the Central-South Andes," in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 229.

[21] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 3.

[22] Alfred D. Low, *The Sino-Soviet Dispute* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1976), 72-74, 232, quote p. 74; Nikita Khrushchev, "The Cult of the Individual," given 25 February, 1956, reprinted in *The Guardian,* 26 April 2007, http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2007/apr/26/greatspeeches1.

[23] see Gorriti, "Stalin and Trotsky," 149-170.

[24] Guillermoprieto, "Letter from Lima," 68.

[25] Ponciano del Pino, "Family, Culture, and 'Revolution,'" in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 175.

[26] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru*, 35.

[27] Degregori, "Origins and Logic," 43.

[28] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 95.

[29] Taylor, "Counter-insurgency strategy," 51.

[30] Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 164-165.

[31] Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions*, 287.

[32] Iván Hinojosa, "On Poor Relations and the Nouveau Riche: Shining Path and the Radical Peruvian Left," in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 67-68.

[33] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 54-55.

[34] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 32.

[35] Gott, *Guerrilla Movements*, 381-385.

[36] Gott, *Guerrilla Movements*, 385-389; Gorriti, "Stalin and Trotsky," 155-156.

[37] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 293.

[38] Jo-Marie Burt, "The Case of Villa El Salvador," in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 274.

[39] Hinojosa, "Poor Relations," 62; McClintock, "Peru's Sendero Luminoso," 88, 95; José Luis Rénique, "Apogee and Crisis of a 'Third Path': Mariateguismo, 'People's War,' and Counterinsurgency in Puno, 1987-1994," in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 307-338, 327.

[40] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 7.

[41] Rex Hudson, "Local and Regional Government," in *Peru: A Country Study* (Library of Congress, 1993), http://countrystudies.us/peru/76.htm.

[42] Henry A. Dietz, *Urban Poverty, Political Participation, and the State: Lima, 1970-1990* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 52.

[43] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru*, 58.

[44] All Lenin quote this paragraph from Vladimir Il′ich Lenin and Leon Trotsky, *The Proletarian Revolution in Russia* (The Communist Press, 1918), 97-98.

[45] Hudson, "Government"; Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Daniel A Sharp, *U.S. Foreign Policy and Peru* (Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press, 1972).

[46] Campbell, "Historiography"; Béjar, *Perú 1965*.

[47] Paul Dosal, *Comandante Che: Guerrilla Soldier, Commander, and Strategist, 1956-1967* (University Park Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003)*;* Béjar, *Perú 1965;* Sharp, *Policy and Peru;* Masterson, *Militarism and Politics.*

[48] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*, 194-195.

[49] Cynthia McClintock, "Theories of Revolution and the Case of Peru," in *The Shining Path of Peru*, ed. David Scott Palmer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 232.

[50] Cynthia McClintock and Fabian Vallas, *The United States and Peru: Cooperation at a Cost* (New York: Routledge, 2003)*, 69.*

[51] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*, 199-200.

[52] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*, 180-185, 200.

[53] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 32.

[54] McClintock, "Peru's Sendero Luminoso," 88.

[55] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics*, 266.

[56] Dosal, *Comandante Che.*

[57] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics;* Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas*.

[58] Hudson, "Government"; Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Sharp, *Policy and Peru.*

[59] Loveman, *For La Patria, 152.*

[60] Sharp, *Policy and Peru,* 15-56; Loveman, *For La Patria*; Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 138-142,157-161,185-189.*

[61] Sharp, *Policy and Peru*; Loveman, *For La Patria*; Masterson, *Militarism and Politics;* "Military Assistance Data," n.d., Papers of John Wesley Jones, Box 21, LBJ Library [hereafter LBJ-JWJ-21].

[62] William Blum, *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2004), 172-174, Willard Foster Barber and C. Neale Ronning, *Internal Security and Military Power: Counterinsurgency and Civic Action in Latin America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1966); Loveman, *For La Patria;* Masterson, *Militarism and Politics;* Béjar, *Perú 1965*; Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas*.

[63] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 288.*

[64] Enrique Obando, "Civil-Military Relations in Peru, 1980-1996: How to Control and Coopt the Military (and the consequences of doing so)," in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 387, 389-390.

[65] Enrique Obando, "Civil-Military Relations," 391-394; Charles D. Kenney, *Fujimori's Coup and the Breakdown of Democracy in Latin America* (Notre Dame, Ind.; London: University of Notre Dame Press ; Eurospan, 2004), 33-38.

[66] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 390.

[67] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru, 37-38.*

[68] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 387; Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force, 209.*

[69] Kenney, *Fujimori's Coup, 24.*

[70] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 387, 388.

[71] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 288.*

[72] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 288;* Loveman, *For La Patria, 85-91.*

[73] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru, 212-213;*

[74] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 259, 270-271.*

[75] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 243, 270-271.*

[76] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru, 145-148.*

[77] Robert B. Davis, “Sendero Luminoso and Peru's Struggle for Survival,” *Military Review* 70, no. 1 (January 1990): 84.

[78] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru, 213.*

[79] J. Bruce Amstutz, *Afghanistan: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation* (DIANE Publishing, 1994), 144-146 (quote p. 144).

[80] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 388.

[81] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 143-144.

[82] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 388-389.

[83] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 390-391.

[84] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 141-142, 146-148.

[85] Loveman, *For La Patria, 201.*

[86] Del Pino, “Family,” 162.

[87] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 393; Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 243;* Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 209.

[88] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 400.

[89] Masterson, *Militarism and Politics, 243.*

[90] McClintock and Vallas, *United States and Peru, 71.*

[91] Enrique Obando, “Civil-Military Relations,” 379.

[92] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 20; Béjar, *Perú 1965*, 62.

[93] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 96.

[94] INEI, *Perfil del Perú,*19.

[95] Rosemary Thorp and Geoffrey Bertram, *Peru, 1890-1977* (Columbia University Press, 1978), 298.

[96] Edmund V. K. FitzGerald, *The Political Economy of Peru 1956-78: Economic Development and the Restructuring of Capital* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 101.

[97] David Chaplin, "Peru's Postponed Revolution," *World Politics* 20, no. 3 (April 1968): 397; Sharp, *Policy and Peru*.

[98] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 188-216.

[99] Béjar, *Perú 1965;* De la Puente, "Peruvian Revolution"; Sharp, *Policy and Peru;* Brass, "Peruvian Peasant Movement."

[100] Compiled from data found in INEI, *Perfil del Perú*, 19, 24.

[101] De la Puente, "Peruvian Revolution"; Béjar, *Perú 1965;* Ministerio de guerra, *Las guerrillas;* Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla Warfare*.

[102] Donald R. Dyer, "Urbanism in Cuba," *Geographical Review* 47, no. 2 (April 1957): 224-233; Josef Gugler, "The Urban Character of Contemporary Revolutions," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (SCID) 17, no. 2 (June 4, 1982): 60-73; Béjar, *Perú 1965.*

[103] McClintock, "Theories of Revolution," 230.

[104] INEI, *Perfil del Perú*, 19.

[105] The exact meaning of the word "kaiaks" is unclear, but appears to be an adoption of the Russian word "kulak." Given the context, it appears Taylor is describing the wealthy peasants who do not own land but who lease it then sublet it, hence giving them a social status close to that of small landowners.

[106] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 17.

[107] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*, 66. The primacy index the ration of the size of a primate city's in relation to the combined population of the next three largest cities.

[108] The International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), "Data-Urbanization in China," *Trends in Urbanization in China*, http://www.iiasa.ac.at/Research/LUC/ChinaFood/data/urban/urban_5.htm

[109] INEI, *Perfil del Perú*, 19, 24.

[110] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 96.

[111] INEI, *Perfil del Perú*, 19, 24.

[112] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *The American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (July 1938): 12, 16.

[113] "Demographia World Urban Areas & Population Projections," *Demographia: Demographics Development Impacts Market Research & Urban Policy*, April 2009, http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf.

[114] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru*, 67.

[115] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru*, 67; Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes, 12-13.*

[116] Gorriti, *Millenarian War in Peru*, 66-67.

[117] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 28.

[118] M. Smith, "Ate Vitarte," 132.

[119] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 67.

[120] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 67.

[121] Gabriela Tarazona-Sevillano, "The Organization of Shining Path," in *The Shining Path of Peru*, ed. David Scott Palmer (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 174.

[122] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 68.

[123] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 68.

[124] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 215.

[125] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*, 112-113.

[126] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 60.

[127] Guillermoprieto, "Letter from Lima," 71, 73.

[128] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 69.

[129] Sandra Woy-Hazleton, William A. Hazleton, and David Scott Palmer, "Shining Path and the Marxist Left," in *The Shining Path of Peru* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 214.

[130] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 51.

CHAPTER IV: SOCIOPOLITICAL EFFECTS ON THE INSURGENCIES

Samuel Huntington once predicted that "at some point, the slums of Rio and Lima ... like those of Harlem and Watts, are likely to be swept by social violence, as the children of the city demand the rewards of the city."[1] The idea of the impending radicalization of the proletariat meshes well with Marx's idea that the "proletariat alone is a revolutionary class … special and essential" in the industrial age.[2] Over forty years later, Huntington's 1968 prediction has yet to materialize in any meaningful way Latin America. By many indications, the urban poor, while not necessarily content with their situation, are by no means the "tinder for Castro's match."[3] To the contrary, the sociopolitical challenges presented the insurgent in both rural and urban operations are quite daunting, as the insurgencies in Peru have revealed.

Four insurgencies in two time periods over approximately fifteen years (of armed insurrection) produced at best a mediocre showing of popular mobilization. Though their ultimate goals and objectives differed slightly, the doctrine of each group centered on the idea that social revolution requires class-based mobilization and revolt. Each attempted, in its own way, to radicalize the Peruvian populace, believing this was necessary to achieve popular mobilization. Portes provides a useful definition of radicalization as the "active participation or sympathy for revolutionary movements committed to a total and rapid transformation of the existing societal structure."[4] Each group believed that their revolutionary movement, be it centered on *foco* theory, the "party," or even

"revolutionary example,"[5] would spark this radicalization, leading to widespread uprising within a peasantry already on the verge of rebellion. Once the peasantry began to revolt, so too, they thought, would the urban proletariat. At times, the insurgencies were able to successfully conduct attacks on government, civil, and military targets; in the 1980's, Sendero, and to a much more limited extent MRTA, gained enough power they could even act with a degree of impunity in some areas of Peru. But none of these groups realized any significant level of behavioral radicalization, nor did they attract a significant popular following or inspire the popular uprisings requisite for their revolutions to succeed.

The Peruvian insurgents made broad and idealistic assumptions regarding the favorability of the socio-political conditions that existed in Peru. In reality, these conditions were significantly weighted against the desired outcomes of the revolutions. The research and theories on peasant and proletariat radicalization and mobilization have some common themes. First, poor communities tend to be most vulnerable to radicalization and mobilization when they have a strong perception of alienation from the political process. This frequently occurs in rural communities transitioning from a traditional (and hence isolated) to a modern social system, and in communities that receive a significant amount of radical political indoctrination. Next, poor communities and the individuals within them generally act in their perceived self-interest; extra-legal activity is seen as a last resort and is not commonly synonymous with anti-state or revolutionary intent. This self-interest leads to a natural inclination toward stability and a

general aversion for activities that might create major sociopolitical disruption. Finally, poor communities possess a desire for self-determination, especially through the democratic process. These characteristics are not limited to poor communities or citizens, but research into mobilization and radicalization generally focuses on those who have been the focus of insurgents and revolutionaries throughout history. If "the strength of a democracy is … in the people,"[6] then the ability of a nation to resist insurgency must certainly be intertwined with the will of its individual citizens.

Peasant and Proletariat Mobilization Theories

Howard Handelman's study of peasant communities in the Peruvian highlands provides a "three-stage model of modernization and development" in the highlands, consisting of traditional, transitional, and integrated communities.[7] The probability of radical mobilization in a village bears a curvilinear relationship to the transitional state of the community.[8] In other words, both traditional and integrated communities have generally low probabilities of mobilization, while the probability for transitional communities is relatively higher (see Figure 3). In peasant communities, Handelman found that a high probability of radicalization was correlated with both advanced social development (such as education, social mobility, and contact with the outside world), and high levels of internal solidarity

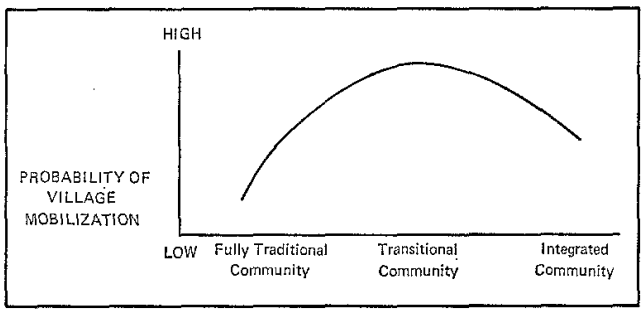

Figure 3: Modernization and Mobilization in Peasant Communities
(Source: Handelman, Struggle in the Andes, 192)

within a community. He refined this assessment by noting that even among transitional communities with both high levels of social development and solidarity, radicalization required a high perception of political alienation and perceived class conflict. This specific combination presented itself only in those regions such as Cuzco, Ayacucho, and Huancavelica, composed of primarily semi-feudal *haciendas.* In regions such as Junín and Pasco, located north of the Huancavelica region, the *latifundios* generally were corporate-owned, their employees were treated better than the workers on traditional *latifundios*, and the corporations did not dominate nearby towns. And while the Peruvian insurgents generally viewed radicalization as a necessary step towards mobilization, Handelman concluded that those who mobilized were not always radicalized. He found that mobilized peasants often did not share the same goals as the leftists who organized them. In many instances, the peasants who conducted land invasions did not want independence and revolution, merely land. The peasants would march "onto the land, carrying their ancient land titles and the Peruvian flag" — hardly an image revolutionary fervor.[9]

The peasantry of the Peruvian highlands was not an undifferentiated mass, nor was it unified. Handelman records differences between the small, predominately peasant landholdings of the northern *sierra,* the corporate landholdings of parts of the central *sierra* and the Peruvian coast, and the prevalent semi-feudal landholdings of the south-central *sierra*. In the instance of the northern highlands, the diversity created by small farms and multiple landholders created the secondary effect of a local capitalist economy

that provided opportunities for merit-based individual advancement. The corporate landholdings, while similar in some ways to the large olicarchy-owned *haciendas*, tended to pay their employees well, dampening resentment among the local populace. In areas with many non-corporate *haciendas,* as Tom Brass notes, there were still significant socioeconomic strata within the peasantry. The socioeconomic ladder ran from the rich peasant landholder and wealthy peasant tenants (who sub-let their land to others) at the top to landless laborers at the bottom, with poor tenants and sub-tenants making up the center. Hugo Blanco's FIR movement, for example, targeted the wealthier peasantry. Ironically, Blanco's mobilizations and land invasions created a dual power structure that naturally favored the wealthier peasantry. It was the poorer peasants who first requested intervention by the state against the FIR and rich peasants — clearly the opposite of the Peruvian left's vision of peasant-based mobilization.[10]

Research on the urban poor in Peru and elsewhere in Latin America shows similar trends. Many of the urban poor in Lima during 1964 were migrants from the *sierra* who lived in squatter settlements; many of these settlements were formed through illegal land invasions. In Handelman's study of squatter settlements in Santiago de Chile, he found that squatter mobilization centered around issues with direct impact on the community and quality of life.[11] Migrants mobilized by leftist organizations are generally "not fully radicalized in an ideological sense;" they tend to be more concerned with issues that directly affect their lives and less with lofty political and structural transformation.[12] In the aftermath of a land invasion, there is often a surge in "'demand-making'

organizations" to acquire such things as land title and public utilities; as these demands are met and the community becomes more established, participation and mobilization atrophy.[13] Handelman's study in Santiago again refutes the assumption that the majority of members in a mass movement necessarily share revolutionary ideals of leftist leaders. He did find that to some extent, communities in which radical organizers provided a significant amount of information had a tendency to become radicalized. However, Handelman also cites numerous empirical studies in agreement with his findings, indicating a degree of sociopolitical conservatism and an inclination to avoid violence inherent among the urban poor.[14]

The trend among academics of viewing both the urban and rural poor as conservative influences in their respective environments continues with the theories of Wayne Cornelius. He asserts that urban poor conservatism is rooted in the physical and social investment that urban migrants have in their communities, including property, income, living conditions, and even opportunity.[15] This has led migrants in urban settlements to display a low tolerance for risk, aside from the initial land invasion. Even with high levels of frustration among migrants stemming from economic difficulties or failed government policies, Cornelius posits that migrants will turn more often towards incumbent elites or authoritarian-populists than to the militant left.[16]

William Mangin's study of land invasions within Lima noted that the singular act of land invasion and subsequent defense is usually the extent of mobilization within communities, and is almost never anti-state.[17] These *pobladores* would arrive at an

invasion site with "the materials to build a straw house, all their belongings, and a Peruvian flag."[18] Rather, it appears that popular illegal activity among the urban poor is generally reserved for exceptional situations. In the case of land invasions, a significant lack of available housing in the rapidly-growing urban centers of Latin America forced migrants to take drastic measures. Once established, the invaders invest many years and relative fortunes in constructing their homes, which they view as an investment for the future of their family; it is not illogical, then, that these communities "display a prevailing orientation for law and order."[19] The residents of these communities become landholders, and as such are stakeholders in the system that has allowed the communities to exist. This tends to dampen any radical tendencies. Mangin asserts that the squatters are too busy for "a revolutionary 'let's rise and kill the oligarchy' approach," content to defend their property with an attitude of "don't let them take it away."[20]

Mobilization, especially extra-legal mobilization, is not the only avenue for peasants and the proletariat to effect change. A generally free and fair democracy also provides sociopolitical empowerment through formal and informal democratic participation. There is often a misconception that the urban poor routinely vote with the political left. Two separate articles, one by Henry Dietz and the other by Kenneth Roberts and Moisés Arce, study the voting behavior of the urban poor in Lima. In his study of Peruvian elections between 1963 and 1983, Dietz found that "the urban poor define their major goals as material."[21] He states that the risk of extra-legal activity, the perceived need of government assistance, and the poor's interest in the economy led to

non-violent political behavior by the lower-classes.[22] Throughout the period of his study, Dietz found that while the poor were not averse to voting with the political left, their vote was much more strongly correlated with perceived self-interest than any loyalty to leftist ideology per se. Roberts and Arce found similar results in their study of Peruvian elections from 1990-1995. Class divisions are not the primary factor driving voting behavior.[23] Instead, they found that the Peruvian poor voted for a non-leftist candidate, Alberto Fujimori, for pragmatic and clientelistic reasons.

The Rise (and Fall) of Radicalization

The ability for an insurgent movement to radicalize large segments of a population, even on a regional or local leve, is more difficult than it appears. For reasons mentioned in the previous section, peasants (and, I would argue, most citizens) have a tendency to resist radicalization. Additionally, radicalization is something that is clearly not a lifelong condition; rather, it is something that must be maintained and nurtured to maintain indefinitely. The insurgencies of 1965 learned this lesson the hard way. While the MIR did spend some time in pre-operational preparation, they focused their attention on military tasks such as constructing fortifications and conducting reconnaissance. Neither group invested sufficiently in propaganda focused on the peasantry local to their areas of operations. Likely, they believed that the mobilization whipped up by Hugo Blanco three years prior was lying dormant, waiting for direction from their movements. Gott describes the pathetic miscalculation in this way: "Hugo Blanco's peasants seized the

land, but had no guns to defend their gains. De la Puente's well-armed guerrillas had no peasants to defend."[24]

Twenty years later, the heirs of De la Puente's legacy — MRTA — faced similar problems. Polay's organization never controlled more than a small area in northern San Martín province in north-central Peru. In part this was due to the complete overshadowing of Sendero Luminoso, who were able to deny significant portions of rural Peru to MRTA, but simultaneously distracted Peruvian military attention away from the relatively insignificant problem posed by MRTA.[25] However, MRTA's failure to radicalize the population also came from their ideological basis: MRTA believed that the population was naturally radicalized and just needed prodding and focused its propaganda accordingly.[26] In the end, MRTA, like the MIR and ELN before it, failed to create any significant popular radicalization. Of the four Peruvian insurgencies, only Sendero was able to create any radicalized populations with any significance; yet their own strategy and tactics also caused them to lose control of the same.

More than the insurgents of 1965 or MRTA, Sendero Luminoso experienced significant gains and losses in the hearts and minds of Peruvian peasants. One of Sendero's stated conditions for success was popular support for the revolution manifested through active participation. Even as late as 1988, Guzmán believed that a general insurrection would take place, and that Sendero could capitalize on it.[27] Sendero believed that alienation would spawn mobilization; they used two primary approaches to create this alienation: indoctrination and targeted violence.

In the countryside, and particularly in Ayacucho and Andahuaylas, Sendero was able to radicalize significant segments of the population through indoctrination. These regions, as in most areas where Sendero gained significant sway over the population, were communities in transition. Handelman describes a transitional community as one in which has a modest level of contact with nearby villages; residents become class-conscious and gain an appreciation for their relative level of deprivation, creating alienation. He continues that as the transition to modernization progresses, this trend reverses: as literacy, travel, and commercialization increase, alienation and radicalization decrease.[28] It is doubtful Sendero understood this curvilinear relationship; nevertheless, they were likely drawn to, and found success in, these regions precisely because of the prevailing sentiment of alienation found there. They also likely discovered that they could sustain these feelings of alienation by controlling access to material and intellectual imports, thus maintaining the communities in a state of perpetual transition.

Guzmán and his followers undoubtedly learned from the failures of the insurgencies of the 1960‘s. One lesson they likely learned was the necessity for deliberate and detailed planning and organization-building. Beginning in the 1970’s, Guzmán and Sendero worked to gain control over the youth of the region by creating primary schools in the peasant villages and staffing them with teachers who were Shining Path adherents.[29] *Senderistas* would then take over the governmental and leadership functions in these rural villages.[30] This campaign worked well in Ayacucho, at least initially. Election abstention and null and blank voting was significantly higher (around 50% for

abstention from the municipal elections, 20 points higher than the national average) in Ayacucho during the two election cycles of 1980. While interviewing peasants in the region in 1982, journalists reported overwhelming support for Sendero. The local police estimated that 80% of one town either worked for or supported Sendero.[31]

Certainly Sendero was more successful in areas with transitional communities such as those near Ayacucho, where Sendero controlled the majority of information to the peasantry. Ayacucho was one of the poorest regions in an already impoverished Peru.[32] The population already felt a sense of alienation, and "bitterness" over their exploitation from the not to distant feudal system and the extraordinary poverty left in its wake remained near the fore of collective memory.[33] Rural youth were particularly drawn to the movement; in areas with significant educational gaps between older and younger generations, the "adults believed that if educated youth said something, it had to have some truth to it."[34] The peasantry initially viewed the Shining Path with hope and took them into their homes, provided them food, and participated in "people's assemblies."[35] Shining path offered a "system of order" that contrasted the "arbitrary rule of the [existing civil] authorities,"[36] acting like a *patrón*, "hard and inflexible yet 'just.'"[37] Sendero used violence sparingly and for the benefit of the peasantry; their targets were usually wealthier peasants and local store owners.[38]

Around the end of 1982, just as it began to solidify control over the Ayacucho region, Sendero also began to experience problems with its civil programs and social control. The timing of this turn was not coincidental to the entry of the Peruvian Armed

Forces into the government's counterinsurgency campaign, but also began as Shining Path began to translate their rhetoric on community structure and expectations into concrete mandates. Shining Path promoted collective farming, something familiar to many of the peasants; however, in the Sendero version, collective farming required peasants to provide significant amounts to Shining Path leadership.[39] Sendero's economic controls, such as the planting quotas, were designed to return the peasantry to subsistence farming; even if peasants had enough to trade, Sendero shut down farmers' markets and prohibited trade with nearby towns.[40] The expressed objective of these policies was to encircle the towns and cities and cut them off, effectively strangling them.[41] However, this strategy had quite the opposite result. While the cities were not heavily dependent on trade and supplies with the peasantry in the immediate vicinity, the same was not true for those peasants.[42] Thus it was the peasants under Sendero control who bore the brunt of Sendero's strategy.

Sendero's reliance on young leadership and cultural insensitivity compounded its problems. The insurgency ignored traditional community authority by placing inexperienced, idealistic youth in charge of communities, angering the older generation. Further breaking family bonds, Sendero began pressing children into its service under threat of death. The peasant communities never really internalized Shining Path's ideals; the insurgents remained outsiders in almost all areas under their control.[43] Communities began to passively resist the Shining Path excesses; for many this included fleeing Sendero strongholds into the higher mountain areas or down to larger population centers

out of Shining Path control. Sendero responded by closing off these avenues of escape and began using increasingly harsh tactics to control the civilian populace. Sendero response to resistance commonly included the killing entire families or killing parents and conscripting their children.[44] As violence against and oppression of the peasantry by Sendero grew, agricultural production in the "self-sufficient economies" of Sendero strongholds declined.[45] Coupled with an intensifying Peruvian military counterinsurgency campaign, living conditions for the peasants caught in the middle declined significantly.

The lack of security for the radicalized peasantry under Sendero became, perhaps, the tipping point that moved the peasantry away from radicalization into passive and even active resistance to the Shining Path. When the Peruvian armed forces began to attack Sendero strongholds, the insurgents employed the Maoist strategy of "strategic retreat,"[46] avoiding open conflict with the military. The civilian populace that had believed it was living under Sendero protection suddenly found itself completely exposed to the military. Too often, especially at first, the peasantry became the target of an angry and vengeful military with little understanding or regard for their human rights. However, many peasants felt "sold out" by the false promised of security by Sendero, and in time the armed forces came to be viewed as "a 'lesser evil.'"[47] As the excesses and betrayals of Shining Path increased, it was not able to maintain its ideological hold over any large segment of peasantry in the central highlands.

Sendero also sought to alienate and thus radicalize the population, especially those over whom they could not exercise physical control, through violence. The violence that defined operations by Sendero Luminoso was not coincidental or gratuitous. "Violence," Guzmán quoted from Mao, "is a universal law … without revolutionary violence … an old order cannot be overthrown."[48] Some observers have accused Sendero of using indiscriminate or senseless violence; this is not accurate. For Sendero, violence was a tool used for a multitude of purposes, the primary purpose being to create a sense of alienation between the populace and the government. Sendero's strategy was such that it both caused and benefited from "apocalyptic decline."[49] Enshrined in Sendero's operational objectives, violence was meant to be targeted and deliberate in order to magnify the separation between the classes and incite mutual resentment and contempt. Some of Sendero's objectives in the use of violence were to destroy the establishment, instill fear, promote discipline, punish wrongdoing, and invite government backlash and reprisals upon the populace.[50]

The Shining Path was surprisingly effective with their use of violence. Perhaps their greatest success was to goad the Peruvian military into committing numerous massacres and human rights violations. According to the final report of the Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), between 61,007 and 77,552 people died as a result of the armed conflict in Peru between 1980 and 2000.[51] Sendero Luminoso was found responsible for 46% of these deaths, the state (Army, police, etc) 30%, with 24% caused by other actors, such as MRTA, *rondas campesinas,* or paramilitary groups. The

staggering level of violence and sheer number of fatalities did not have the desired effect for Sendero's strategy.

In the early years of the war, Sendero was able to dominate large segments of the rural populace, many of whom exhibited passive support or sympathy for the terrorist group. As the government ratcheted up counterinsurgency operations, the peasantry became caught in a crossfire between the military and Sendero; the terrorist group found it increasingly difficult to protect the occupants of the territory they controlled. At times, Sendero even orchestrated violence against the peasantry by their own hand or that of the government. Often, Shining Path militants would attack a military target, then escape past a village, inviting the military to punish the village for Sendero's actions and leaving the peasants feeling betrayed.[52] This tactic initially increased support for Shining Path; however, as the peasantry began to associate the violence with Sendero's authoritarian ideology, they began to withdraw their support.[53]

While Sendero's campaign of violence was successful in generating criticism of state impotence, the result became an increase for more state security, not a demand for state withdrawal. In the late 1980's, the armed forces began to temper their tactics, implementing more of a "non-genocidal authoritarian strategy," even as Sendero atrocities became more egregious to peasant sensibilities.[54] The government also sponsored civil defense *rondas campesinas*, giving the peasantry in many locations the ability to provide for their own defense. Arming and empowering the peasantry enabled the first real strategic victory by the state against Sendero, which became "trapped in a

kind of trench warfare against the peasants." [55] The sympathies of the peasantry shifted back towards the state.

While Sendero realized some initial successes alienating peasants in rural areas, it never gained much traction in Lima. Sendero's campaign of violence aimed at alienation came later to the city than the countryside. Between 1982 and 1983, Sendero operations in Lima increased, and the Metropolitan Committee appeared to transition from simple propaganda to armed actions against the socioeconomic system within the city. Still, most actions in the capital city remained "propaganda through action" or a combination of agitation and sabotage.[56] It was not until 1986 that Sendero began expanding its operations. In contrast, campaigns in Sendero strongholds such as Ayacucho had arguably achieved a "generalization of the guerrilla struggle" by 1982, and had long since begun their conquest and expansion of the movement's support base.[57]

Sendero attempted to invigorate its urban campaign in June 1986 with a coordinated prison uprising in three Lima prisons holding *Senderista* leadership. The government responded to the uprising by massacring most of the Sendero inmates; many were apparently summarily executed. The public outrage over this event may have provided Sendero with a major public relations coup at the expense of the García administration, but it also decimated the leadership of the Metropolitan Committee, which apparently had been running operations in Lima from within the prisons. Despite the loss of so many leaders, Shining Path within Lima did not collapse, nor did it halt its urban operations. Yet despite the Metropolitan Committee's phoenix-like revival, a close examination of

data show that Sendero operations in Lima fell significantly and did not return to pre-1986 levels for over two years.[58] By 1988, Sendero felt that it needed to give renewed attention to its operations in Lima; in a rare published interview in 1988, Guzmán acknowledged that Sendero's foothold in the cities was not as advanced as it was in the countryside.[59]

The greatest Sendero-initiated violence in Lima occurred after Shining Path adjusted its urban operations in 1988.[60] Shining Path began to increase its organizing within universities and left-wing community organizations and intensified its vigorous campaign against the political left. Assassinations, bombings, and armed strikes became familiar occurrences. By 1989, Peru's economy was on a downward spiral, Sendero had a firm hold on the countryside, and it appeared that they were becoming all too prevalent in Lima. A senior *Senderista* captured by security services in 1988 indicated that Shining Path leadership believed the Peruvian state would collapse within a few years. In May of 1991, the Shining Path Central Committee publicly echoed this sentiment by declaring that the revolution had passed from Strategic Defense and was entering Strategic Equilibrium.[61]

As the violence continued into the 1990's, Sendero began targeting popularly elected community leaders and even the general populace of the city. Observers began to view a failed state in Peru as a real possibility; ironically it was Sendero whose downfall was looming. Despite Sendero's activity within Lima, it never could achieve its stated conditions for success, namely obtaining popular support and moral agreement. In part,

this was due to an eventual disassociation of Shining Path by the political left, brought about by Sendero's violent campaign to bring the political left in line. A series of high-profile murders of popular leftist leaders in Lima, most prominently the brutal assassination of highly respected community leader María Elena Moyano in Villa El Salvador[62] as well as attacks on sectors of the working-class, created resentment among the populace. Sendero never lost popular support within Lima because it never gained it. Its violent actions aimed progress its tactical objectives with little progress towards operational or strategic goals. As state security services gained experience, capability, and competence, they began to dismantle Sendero's operations in Lima in the early 1990's, culminating in the capture of Guzmán and many senior leaders. Without a base of support, Sendero's actions in the city dwindled away and the metropolitan committee quickly faded into irrelevance.

The Conservative Influence of Self-Interest

The ominous specter of Sendero Luminoso overshadowed Peru from the 1980's well into the 1990's. By all accounts, even the most optimistic citizens had, at times, doubts as to the ability of the Peruvian state to withstand Shining Path's onslaught. But the passage of time brings perspective; despite all of the devastation wrought by Sendero on Peru, the insurgency never attracted widespread loyalty and certainly did not generate a popular mobilization. Guzman and his Shining Path comrades were not alone in this failure; the MIR, ELN, and MRTA all experienced similar results. Ironically, the non-revolution of Hugo Blanco's land invasions[63] achieved relatively greater mobilization and

more lasting results than the ill-fated attempts of the revolutionary movements. One strong explanatory variable for these results is self-interest.

The Peruvian insurgencies may have needed and expected the poor to revolt. Yet both in the *sierra* and the city, social conditions were not conducive for such high-risk behavior. The peasantry and proletariat possess an innate aversion to revolution because they, as individuals, tend to be risk averse, as demonstrated in the literature of Handelman and Cornelius. What's more, the actions of the poor generally reflect self-interested decision-making, seeking to maximize their own welfare as well as that of their families and, to a lesser extent, their communities. Conducting land invasions, both in the city or in the countryside, is a risk-filled proposition that the poor undertake only when they perceive a major risk by not taking action. In the city this occurs during significant housing shortages; in the countryside it occurs when peasants perceive (accurately or not) that a lack of land and of alternatives to working the land are present and insurmountable, and that they have no legal ability to change this.

It is important to remember that even when land invasions occur, both in the city and the countryside, they are usually not inherently anti-government. As mentioned previously, land invaders in both urban and rural settings frequently carried Peruvian flags as a sign that their activity was not an act of rebellion, even as they participated in decidedly illegal activity.[64] When the peasants near Cuzco who had participated in the mobilizations with Blanco were presented with the opportunity to expand their revolutionary activities through the operations of De la Puente and Béjar, they

overwhelmingly refused to take part. Gott and others argue that the lack of peasant support for the MIR and ELN can be directly attributed to the governmental land reforms under Belaúnde administration in the short time between Blanco's campaign and the revolution attempts.[65] This merely reinforces the idea that it is difficult to radicalize and mobilize the poor beyond what they deem necessary in their self-interest. The peasants of the Cuzco region and the migrants in Lima both made risk-benefit judgements regarding the utility of land invasions and the possibility of government oppression. In these cases, government oppression was decidedly minimal vis-á-vis the opportunity to acquire land. Clearly, the peasantry and proletariat were only willing to risk illegal action in extreme and limited circumstances.

The effects of self-interest can cut both ways. Sendero initially was able to leverage *poblador* risk aversion manifested through tolerance. On the legal left, more extreme members initially were willing to tolerate Sendero's operations in the city, viewing them as merely extreme and a bit misguided.[66] The moderate left did not support Shining Path; however, as they were unwilling to collaborate with the military or state, the most they could do was refuse to actively support the insurgency.[67] In the late 1980's, however, Sendero experienced frustration over a lack of popular and began "headhunting," sending a message to leftist leaders and commoners alike that "the party knew where they lived and could take reprisals."[68] Sendero conducted numerous brutal assassinations against popular left-wing organizations and leaders, the most glaring of which being the vicious murder of María Elena Moyano of Villa El Salvador. This strategy had the opposite effect

than intended: lower-class communities began to reassess the threat of Sendero's violence — suddenly it was not any more dangerous to oppose Sendero than it was to provide tepid, passive support.

In the latter years of the Sendero insurgency, the political left and migrant communities, especially trade unions and left-wing groups, provided both passive and active resistance to Sendero.[69] Members of the left began an often active resistance against the Shining Path, even organizing peace rallies in defiance of Sendero's violence.[70] Sendero's position among the working class was poor enough to cause Guzmán to admit, in his 1988 interview, that Shining Path had not recruited large numbers of the urban proletariat.[71] While not every left-wing organization resisted Sendero Luminoso, the two largest trade unions in Lima actively did so, expelling members with ties to Shining Path.[72] By the 1990's, the legal left felt strongly enough about the threat Sendero posed that many members began to work with the Peruvian military.[73] While Sendero was initially able to use self-interest to prevent active resistance in many areas, neither it nor the other insurgencies were able to mobilize large portions of the peasantry to undertake dangerous and illegal anti-government uprisings. Inciting the peasantry into revolution is a major undertaking — a much harder process than the insurgents in Peru understood.

Self-Determination Expressed Through Democracy

The peasantry and proletariat of Peru not only resisted radicalization and focused on activities in their self-interest, they also were, generally speaking, well-engaged in the

political process. The political system in a democracy provides many choices for individuals and can, in several ways, provide a telling picture of the influence wielded by an insurgency and the level of radicalization of a populace. There are many combinations and permutations of response to an election; I mention but some of the most basic here. In Peru, voting is required by law; thus, a large-scale refusal to vote (boycotting the election) or a failure to properly register a vote (with spoiled or blank ballots) may indicate a rejection of state authority or at least a significant level of fear of participation by the voting population. Voting for incumbent candidates or those who support the status quo likely indicates a level of confidence in the current system, if not approval. Voting for alternate candidates (voting against the party in office) indicates a level of confidence in the system even while voicing dissatisfaction with the party in power. Finally, voluntarily engaging in the political process outside of the legally-mandated voting structure (i.e., the informal democratic process) indicates not only confidence but also personal investment in the system. Thus, the democratic process became one of the most significant manifestations of *poblador* resistance to the insurgencies of Sendero Luminoso and MRTA. This resistance took place through both formal and informal democratic participation within the migrant communities of Lima.

Democracy has a long and convoluted history in Peru. During the twentieth century alone, five different constitutions and eleven coups d'état have marked the tumultuous political landscape of national politics. Guzmán calculated that 1980 was a time of weakness for the state. As the Army stepped down from power, Guzmán correctly

estimated that the incoming civilian administration would be hesitant to deploy the military to engage his forces. Similarly, he correctly guessed that the newly elected regime would be struggling to establish legitimacy and would not be able to react quickly or decisively to revolutionary operations. What he failed to account for was the underlying desire for democratic participation by the Peruvian people. Ironically, the period from 1980-1992 consisted of the longest period of constitutional rule uninterrupted by a coup in almost half a century. For the first time in the lifetime of most Peruvians, three free and fair elections marked the transfer of power between three democratically elected presidents, and a generation of young Peruvians — those who reached legal voting age after 1965 — could participate in the democratic process for the first time in their lives.

Formal participation in all of the elections between 1978 and 1996 was relatively high. Palmer noted that during the 1986 municipal elections, there was an inverse correlation between high levels of Shining Path violence and a vote for the political left.[74] The national elections of 1990, in particular, were a significant blow to the credibility of Sendero, whose explicit objective was to disrupt the process. An even stronger anti-insurgency sentiment manifested itself in the 1990 presidential elections. Not only was voter turnout high as the nation elected a centrist president, but the bulk of Fujimori's support came from voters in the lower socioeconomic tiers.[75] At the height of Sendero's violent campaign against Peruvian elections, the urban poor risked Shining Path retribution — in the form of chopping off the purple-stained finger of those caught voting

— to make their voices heard.[76] The high turnout and election of a centrist, third-party candidate in 1990 was viewed by many as a repudiation of Sendero's methods and goals.[77] Sendero's strategy in Lima was an unequivocal failure as evidenced both by the absence of any semblance of urban uprising, and by the continuing strength of popular participation in the democratic process.

Beyond mere participation, voting patterns of the proletariat provided another indication of Sendero's lack of popular support. In 1980, Peru elected Fernando Belaúnde, a conservative; in 1984, Alan García, a leftist; in both 1990 and 1995, Alberto Fujimori, a centrist. In each of these cases, the winning candidate received a majority of the *poblador* vote. Municipal elections in 1980, 1983, 1986, 1989, and 1992 showed considerable vote-switching, especially among the lower socioeconomic sectors.[78] While this was not a direct refutation of the insurgencies *per se*, it clearly shows that lower-class loyalty was to perceived self-interest rather than the ideological left, political or otherwise.

Finally, the informal political process provided yet another powerful example of both the lower-classes willingness to participate beyond simple voting, and their faith in the democratic process as preferable to revolution. Because voting is mandatory, there is a valid argument that Peruvians voted in large numbers during the 1980's and 1990's to avoid punishment.[79] This argument diminishes significantly in light of the informal, purely voluntary democratic participation of the lower-classes. The significant levels of informal participation by *pobladores* in Lima during the 1980's and 90's, as documented

by Dietz,[80] demonstrated their perception that time and energy spent on informal political activity was a worthwhile investment towards improving their quality of life. Even as confidence in the state dropped significantly during the economic and security crises of the late 1980's, polls showed that 80% of the proletariat preferred democracy over military rule.[81]

Conclusions

Each of the insurgencies believed, based on their ideology, that the peasantry and urban proletariat would mobilize against the established state; in practice, none of the four groups ever came close to effecting popular mobilization or radicalization. On the contrary, the peasants in the Andes and the migrant communities of Lima's *barriadas* showed significant resistance to the attempts at radicalizing the population by insurgents. Of the four groups, Sendero Luminoso was able to effect the most radicalization; still, in some areas under their control, they inspired sympathy, but only limited participation, for their goals of social revolution. Sendero was not able to maintain its sway over these communities, however, and even evoked popular counter-radicalization by a majority of the nation. Their attempts to alienate the citizens from the state instead alienated the people from Sendero.

At the heart of the matter is a natural inclination for individuals to work in their own self-interest and prefer self-determination. Individuals generally work toward what they perceive to be their own self-interest. Contrary to the doctrinal foundations of the insurgents, who held that the peasantry and proletariat have a natural inclination to revolt

against the oppressive capitalistic system, the peasantry and proletariat felt no such natural compulsion, merely desiring to acquire a reasonably decent quality of life for themselves and their families. Any alternatives were processed through a risk-reward analysis. At times this produced benign support for the insurgents; more often — and over long periods of time — the analysis favored working within existing state structures. In particular, formal as well as informal democratic processes provided an avenue for individuals to exercise self-determination. The choices made by the peasantry and proletariat indicate a preference to vote in a manner which best served their self-interest; this was not necessarily in alignment with the desires of the political left and other self-proclaimed representatives of the poor.

The strength of a democracy truly is rooted in the its citizens. In Peru, the insurgencies were not able to convince the people that revolution would server their best interests, both in the idealized end-state presented and the risks required in its achievement. Without popular support through radicalization and mobilization against the state, even the most deliberately planned insurgency ended in defeat.

NOTES-CHAPTER IV

[1] Samuel Huntington, *Political order in changing societies,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968),278, 283.

[2] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*, ed. Jack A. Goldstone (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 28.

[3] Henry A. Dietz, "Political Participation in the Barriadas: An Extension and Reexamination," *Comparative Political Studies* 18, no. 3 (October 1, 1985): 326.

[4] Alejandro Portes, "Leftist Radicalism in Chile: A Test of Three Hypotheses," *Comparative Politics* 2, no. 2 (January 1970): 251.

[5] Ideas from the ideologies of the MIR and ELN, Sendero, and MRTA respectively

[6] From the remarks of President George H. W. Bush, State of the Union speech, 29 Jan. 1991.

[7] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 190-191. This model relates communities to their connection to the greater society. Isolated communities have little outside contact and this contact is filtered by the landowners. Handelman noted that by the 1960s, this type of community was virtually non-existent in Peru. Transitional communities have some travel and trade with nearby communities and are becoming conscious of their inferior social and economic position. Integrated communities have high literacy, frequent travel and economic development, and import goods from outside the community.

[8] Handelman does not use Portes' definition of "radicalization;" what he calls "radicalization" often does not contain the element of desire for revolutionary societal transformation. His use of the term indicates a willingness to conduct a range of contentious activities from legal (such as protests) to illegal or extra-legal (such as land invasions) in furtherance of community interests.

[9] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes, 199, 203-208, 235-237* (quote, p. 236).

[10] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes;* Brass, "Peruvian Peasant Movement."

[11] Howard Handelman, "The Political Mobilization of Urban Squatter Settlements. Santiago's Recent Experience and Its Implications for Urban Research," *Latin American Research Review* 10, no. 2 (Summer 1975): 42.

[12] Handelman, "Urban Squatter Settlements," 62.

[13] Handelman, "Urban Squatter Settlements," 56.

[14] Handelman, "Urban Squatter Settlements," 43, 62, 23.

[15] Wayne A. Cornelius, "The Cityward Movement: Some Political Implications," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 30, no. 4 (August 1972): 30-31.

[16] Cornelius, "Cityward Movement," 30-31, 41.

[17] William Mangin, "Latin American Squatter Settlements: A Problem and a Solution," *Latin American Research Review* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1967): 83.

[18] Mangin, "Squatter Settlements," 69.

[19] Mangin, “Squatter Settlements,” 72.

[20] Mangin, “Squatter Settlements,” 83.

[21] Dietz, “Political Participation,” 325.

[22] Dietz, “Political Participation,” 324-325.

[23] Kenneth M. Roberts and Moisés Arce, “Neoliberalism and Lower-Class Voting Behavior in Peru,” *Comparative Political Studies* 31, no. 2 (April 1, 1998): 221.

[24] Gott, *Guerrilla Movements*, 313.

[25] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 40-43.

[26] McCormick, *Sharp Dressed Men*, 15-16, 40-43.

[27] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 43.

[28] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes*, 185-186,191.

[29] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 6-7.

[30] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 24-25.

[31] McClintock, “Peru's Sendero Luminoso,” 62-63.

[32] McClintock, “Peru's Sendero Luminoso,” 68.

[33] Ronald H Berg, “Sendero Luminoso and the Peasantry of Andahuaylas,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 28, no. 4 (Winter /87 1986): 171.

[34] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 131.

[35] Del Pino, “Family,” 170.

[36] Del Pino, “Family,” 161.

[37] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 131.

[38] McClintock, “Peru's Sendero Luminoso,” 78-79.

[39] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 133.

[40] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 133; Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 293.

[41] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 197; Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla warfare*, 293.

[42] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 133.

[43] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 134, 142.

[44] Del Pino, “Family,” 171-178.

[45] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 197.

[46] Taylor, Guerrilla War, 17

[47] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 141

[48] Starn, “Maoism in the Andes,” 409.

[49] Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 196-197.

[50] “the generalization of violence” from Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 25; Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force*, 196.

[51] Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación (CVR), “Anexo 2: Estimación del total de víctimas,” *Informe Final*, http://www.cverdad.org.pe/ifinal/pdf/Tomo%20-%20ANEXOS/ANEXO%202.pdf.

[52] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 141.

[53] McClintock, “Peru's Sendero Luminoso,” 65.

[54] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 164-169 (quote p. 169)

[55] DeGregori, “Harvesting Storms,” 146.

[56] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 26; M. Smith, “Ate Vitarte,” 131.

[57] Taylor, *Maoism in the Andes*, 29-30.

[58] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 27-29.

[59] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 43.

[60] McCormick, *From the Sierra*, 20.

[61] Taylor, “Counter-insurgency strategy,” 51-52.

[62] María Elena Moyano was assassinated by a Shining Path hit squad in February of 1992 in broad daylight in front of a crowd of witnesses. She was shot multiple times and her body was then blown up with dynamite.

[63] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes, 237.*

[64] Handelman, *Struggle in the Andes, 225-237;* Mangin, “Squatter Settlements,” 69.

[65] Gott, *Guerrilla Movements, 312.*

[66] Burt, “Villa El Salvador,” 282.

[67] Burt, “Villa El Salvador,” 282.

[68] M. Smith, “Ate Vitarte,” 136.

[69] Tarazona-Sevillano, “Organization of Shining Path, 185

[70] M. Smith, “Ate Vitarte,” 145.

[71] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 41.

[72] Tarazona-Sevillano, “Organization of Shining Path,” 185; Strong, *Deadliest Revolutionary Force, 205.*

[73] Rénique, “Apogee and Crisis,” 327.

[74] Palmer, *The Revolutionary Terrorism,* 1990, 54.

[75] Tarazona-Sevillano, "Organization of Shining Path," 186; Roberts and Arce, "Neoliberalism," 228.

[76] Guillermoprieto, "Letter from Lima," 64.

[77] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*, 135.

[78] Dietz, "Political Participation"; Dietz, *Urban Poverty*; Roberts and Arce, "Neoliberalism."

[79] A counter-argument is that punishments for not voting were not strictly enforced by the state; on the other hand, voting could incur the wrath of Sendero and result in the loss of a finger, or worse.

[80] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*.

[81] Dietz, *Urban Poverty*, 186-187.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

Social revolutions, according to Skocpol, differ from other types of conflicts in that they simultaneously combine a coincidence of structural change with class upheaval a coincidence of social and political transformation.[1] Marx promoted the inevitability of proletarian rule; Lenin espoused the inevitability of proletarian revolution. In practice, however, successful social revolution is not a common occurrence. The successful revolutionary must overcome not only the structural power of the state but also the social resistance of the populace.

The insurgencies of Peru began their operations at something of a disadvantage because of the disunity among the political left. From the early days of the two main leftist parties (APRA and the PCP), the Peruvian left has struggled to find consensus on goals, methods, and leadership. Compounding their difficulties, the MIR, ELN, and to an extent MRTA based their organizational framework around the Cubanist model of revolution. Unfortunately for the revolutionaries, this model has only worked once. Additionally, MRTA faced the challenge of revolutionary competition; relatively small and insignificant, MRTA constantly struggled to be seen, heard, and relevant amid the revolutionary din of Sendero's campaign. Shining Path, on the other hand, arguably had the best strategy of the four. Based on a Maoist revolutionary model, Sendero's strategy was well suited to the type of campaign all four insurgencies promoted: peasant-based rural revolution.

The only problem with rural revolution is that it usually is best applied in a rural setting. Peru, however, was an urban-centric nation. Beyond that, other conditions common to successful social revolutions were either missing from or distorted within the Peruvian insurgencies. The insurgencies were led by marginal elites, but these leaders were far better at speech-crafting than state-making. Further, the elite leaders could not consolidate support from a fractured Peruvian left behind their movement; some leaders could not even create unity internally within their organizations.

In addition to the organizational difficulties of the revolutions, they also faced a serious challenge in the level of urbanization of Peru. Peru in the 1960's was a nation whose economy had only recently become primarily non-agrarian; by the 1980's, however, any notion of an agrarian economy was completely baseless. More than the national level of urbanization, Peru also possessed an incredibly dense primate capital city. The complexities of creating and implementing a successful urban guerrilla strategy were compounded in and by Lima. This was more difficult because of the ideologies used by the insurgents. The group MRTA based their strategy on a Cuban model of revolution which, in its exported form provided little guidance for urban operations. Sendero was attempting to maintain doctrinal loyalty to Maoism, which downplayed the importance of cities.

Finally, the insurgencies also had to deal with state structure and power. In states where social revolutions were successful, the state and military were beginning to fail apart from and prior to revolution. Yet in Peru, state and military structures were

generally strong through most of the revolutionary periods. The exception was a time during the late 1980's and early 1990's when Peru's state and military were grappling with economic and political difficulties in addition to combatting two violent revolutions. It is possible to argue that state structures were not actually failing, merely struggling. State services were not suspended and military operations continued. But in reality, this moment shows a weakness in the structural-theory approach to analyzing the Peruvian revolutions. It indicates that state stability is not, according to the marxist view, "basically organized coercion."[2] On the contrary, state power is as much about sociopolitical consensus as it is about structural coercive mechanisms.

Perhaps the greatest shortcoming of the insurgencies in Peru was their failure to inspire popular radicalization and mobilization. All four insurgencies acknowledged the requirement for such social uprising to occur, but all four also assumed this upheaval would spawn naturally from a ready and willing peasantry and proletariat. Contrary to insurgent doctrines, the populace clearly had no natural urge to revolt. Rather, only through extreme effort and control could one insurgency, Sendero Luminoso, affect radicalization and minor mobilization from a small portion of the nation; additionally, these gains were unsustainable over time. By in large, Sendero's campaign to alienate the populace from the government did not inspire significant radicalization or mobilization even as it inspired, initially, some alienation. And continued campaigning by Shining Path then began to have an opposite effect, turning the populace against the insurgents.

The reaction of the populace to the insurgencies, especially to Sendero, could be characterized as one based on self-interest. Peasants and urban migrants tend to be risk-averse. Generally, they will conduct illegal action only when they feel as if they have no other realistic choice, only collectively, and with limited goals and objectives. Revolutionary social mobilization, while possible, is quite improbable without extremely onerous sociopolitical conditions. In Peru, extra-legal land invasions showed the extent to which the peasantry and urban proletariat were willing to take risk outside of the existing system. Beyond that, these same individuals and communities proved quite willing not only to live within the existing system but to enforce it. Disruption to the status-quo was viewed as a risk; the response by the peasantry and proletariat was generally whatever they viewed as providing the best results with minimal risk. Frequently this was passivity or non-commitment; when Sendero increasingly raised the risk of passivity, the peasantry and proletariat chose passive and active resistance.

One of the ways that the populace could both engage in self-determination and, at times, resist insurgencies was to participate in the formal democratic process. This was especially true in the 1980's and 1990's. The trends of lower-class voting patterns indicated a clear preference for self-interest regardless of a candidate's party or ideological affiliation. Further, involvement in the informal democratic process demonstrated a perception of active investment in the existing state among the voting poor.

The sociopolitical trends in Peru ran contrary to the ideological perceptions of the insurgents. Combined with a generally strong state structure and less-than-ideal insurgent leadership, the failures of the 1960's and 1980's revolutionary attempts are not particularly surprising. The structural and sociopolitical characteristics of the functioning democracy in Peru clearly were not conducive to popular mobilization and successful social revolution.

Both Luís de la Puente and Héctor Béjar believed that their guerrilla *focos* could instigate a revolution in Peru. This concept originates from the first page of Che Guevara's book, where he claims that "it is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them."[3] Evident by their words and deeds, it is clear the MIR and ELN leaders were not as familiar with the second page of Guevara's book, where he cautioned that "the guerrilla outbreak cannot be promoted" where there is a popularly elected democratic government.[4]

In this study, I examine how one nation resisted multiple revolutionary attempts from four different groups with similar (Communist) ideologies. It would be interesting to extrapolate the concepts in this study to an array of revolutions, both successful and failed, examining the same variables to see if similar conclusions are warranted. Furthermore, from a policy perspective, it would be useful to examine whether the structural and sociopolitical resistance to insurgency is exclusive to democratic situations. Anecdotally, it would appear that authoritarian regimes are also able to suppress insurgencies, although it may be for different reasons. Similarly, established and strong

democracies appear to have much less experience with domestic insurgency. Thus a study on whether transitioning democracies, those whose democratic processes are either new or frequently revert to non-democratic means (such as military coups), are more susceptible to insurgencies and whether they are better able to resist them in proportion to their level of democratization. This, then, might answer whether external actors (states, international governmental organizations, and the like) could promote democracy as a form of counterinsurgency strategy.

Nevertheless, the lesson found in the Peruvian insurgencies is that absent favorable structural and sociopolitical conditions, proponents of social revolution are at an extreme disadvantage. These elements were not present in Peru during the attempted revolutions of the 1960's and 1980's, nor could they be created by the insurgencies. Lacking the necessary conditions for revolution, the insurgencies could not radicalize the populace nor inspire popular mobilization. It may provide little consolation to the tens of thousands who died as a result of the violence, but the revolutions of the Peruvian insurgencies were likely to fail even before they began.

NOTES-CHAPTER V

[1] Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, 4.

[2] Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, 26.

[3] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla Warfare,* 50.

[4] Guevara, Loveman, and Davies, *Guerrilla Warfare,* 50.

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