

A black and white photograph of two hands clasped together, with a wide-brimmed hat in the background. The hands are positioned in the lower half of the frame, with one hand resting on top of the other. The hat is in the upper left quadrant, and its brim is visible. The background is dark and out of focus.

# HATUN WILLAKUY

ABBREVIATED VERSION OF THE FINAL REPORT  
OF THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

PERU



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*Hatun Willakuy*

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Peru

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## EDITORIAL

This text is an abbreviated version of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It was prepared by the Transfer Commission, which was appointed at the final meeting of the commissioners on August 31, 2003. Hatun Willakuy summarizes that principal ideas and findings of the Final Report. All of the events described and the assessments presented are documented in the complete report and its appendices. More detailed information can be found in the Final Report.

The Quechua phrase Hatun Willakuy can be translated into English as “great story.” We have chosen this title as a tribute to the main victims of the violence described in these pages, whose testimony helped us recount the events. In effect, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Final Report is a great story, an account of a tragedy whose worst aspects were largely ignored and, at the same time, a exemplary demonstration of the resistance of human dignity in Peru.

Lima, December 2003

## PREFACE

There are a number of difficult and painfully low points in Peruvian history. None, however, can compare with the shame and dishonor of the fragment of history that we recount in these pages. The final two decades of the 20th century are – to put it bluntly— a stain of horror and dishonor for the Peruvian state and society.

We were asked to investigate and make public the truth about the 20 years of political violence that began in Peru in 1980. Now that our work has concluded, we can report a fact that, while shocking, still does not fully convey what occurred. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, CVR) has concluded that the number of deaths in those two decades probably exceeds 69,000 Peruvian men and women who were killed or forcibly disappeared at the hands of subversive organizations or state agents. We were given the task of recording and gathering, one after another, year upon year, the names of Peruvians who are no longer with us. This number is too great to enable our nation to continue talking about errors or excesses committed by the people who directly participated in these crimes. It is also too overwhelming for authorities or citizens to plead ignorance as their defense. This report exposes a double scandal: assassinations, disappearances and mass torture on the one hand, and on the other the apathy, ineptitude and indifference of those who could have stopped this human catastrophe but did not.

We have said that the numerical data are overwhelming, but inadequate. That is true. No number can express the asymmetries, responsibilities and methods of horror experienced by the Peruvian people. Nor can it illustrate the suffering that was indelibly inflicted on the victims. In the Final Report, we conclude the task that we were assigned, as well as an obligation that we voluntarily assumed: to publicly expose the tragedy as the work of human beings who inflicted suffering on other human beings.

Three out of every four victims were peasant men or women who spoke Quechua as their native language. The victims, as Peruvians well know, form

part of a population that historically has been ignored by the state and urban society, which has enjoyed the benefits of our political community. The CVR has not uncovered evidence, as some sources have claimed, that this was an ethnic conflict. There are, however, grounds for stating that the death and destruction over those 20 years would not have been possible were it not for the profound disdain for the country's most dispossessed people demonstrated by both the members of the Communist Party of Peru – Shining Path (Partido Comunista del Perú - Sendero Luminoso, PCP-SL) and state agents. This disdain is woven into the fabric of Peruvians' daily lives.

The 17,000 testimonies freely given to the CVR have allowed us to reconstruct, even if only in rough form, the history of the victims. It is overwhelming to hear in these testimonies that racial insults and verbal abuse of the poor were like a refrain that preceded beatings, rapes, kidnappings of sons and daughters, or seeing a loved one shot point blank by a soldier or police officer. It is equally infuriating to hear the leaders of subversive organizations explain how it was strategically opportune to annihilate this or that peasant community as part of their war against the state.

While a great deal has been written about the persistent cultural, social and economic discrimination in Peru, state authorities and common citizens have done little to combat this stigma in our society. This report shows the country and the world that it is impossible to live with disdain, that this is a disease that represents very tangible harm. From this day forward, the names of thousands of people who died and disappeared are recounted in these pages so that we can remember them.

No one can hide behind the defects of our society or the events of our history to evade their responsibility. It is true – and this is one of the principal lessons of this report – that there exists a generalized crime, that of omission, which involves all of us who allowed things to happen during the years of violence without asking questions. We are the first to accept this. At the same time, however, there are concrete responsibilities that must be faced, and Peru, like any society that has lived through this kind of experience, must accept this and cannot allow impunity to reign. Impunity is incompatible with the dignity of a democratic nation.

The CVR has found numerous people responsible for crimes and human rights violations, and it will let the country know this through the pertinent channels, respecting the requirements and restrictions in Peruvian law for accusing someone of a crime. The CVR calls on and encourages Peruvian society to demand that the criminal justice system act immediately, without vengeance but energetically and unwaveringly.

Nevertheless, the Final Report goes far beyond assigning guilt for particular actions. We have found that the crimes committed against the Peruvian population were not, unfortunately, perpetrated by perverse subjects who acted outside the norms of their institutions. Our fieldwork, complemented by the testimonies we received and a meticulous review of documents, forces us to

categorically denounce the perpetration of massive crimes that were coordinated or planned by organizations or institutions that intervened directly in the conflict. We demonstrate in these pages how the destruction of villages and annihilation of people were part of the Shining Path's strategy. The enslavement of defenseless populations, systematic abuse, and use of assassination to instill fear were also part of the methodology of horror used by the group's members to attain an objective – power – that was more important to them than human life.

The primacy of strategic reasoning and the willingness to trample people's most elemental rights were like a death sentence for thousands of Peruvian citizens. We found this willingness rooted in the PCP-SL's doctrine, which is indistinguishable from the organization's nature during these 20 years. We have encountered this strategic reasoning in the statements made by the organization's representatives, who did not hide their willingness to inflict death and the most extreme forms of cruelty as tools for achieving their objectives. As a result of its inherently criminal and totalitarian characteristics, which scorn all humanitarian principles, the PCP-SL is an organization that has no place in the democratic and civilized nation that Peruvians want to build.

Faced with this challenge, the state and its agents had the duty to protect the population, which is its supreme goal, with the tools provided by the law. It is clear that the order that democratic peoples support and demand is not that of concentration camps, but that which ensures the right to life and dignity of all people. The people charged with defending order, however, did not understand this. In the course of our investigations, and based on the norms of international law that regulate the civilized life of nations, we have concluded that during certain periods and at certain times the armed forces were involved in systematic or widespread human rights abuses, and that there are grounds for the accusation of crimes against humanity, as well as violation of international humanitarian law.

As Peruvians, we are mortified to have to state this, but it is the truth and we have the obligation to make it known. For years, the forces of order forgot that human beings are the supreme end of order. Instead, they adopted a strategy of massive violation of the rights of Peruvians, including the right to life. Extrajudicial executions, forced disappearances, torture, massacres, sexual violence against women and other equally condemnable crimes confirm, because of their recurring nature and widespread occurrence, a pattern of human rights abuse that the Peruvian state and its agents must recognize as a step toward rectifying what happened.

So much death and so much suffering could not have occurred simply because institutions or organizations were blind to what was happening. For these crimes to have been committed, there had to have been a level of complicity or at least consent among those in command, who had the power to stop them. The political class that governed or had some level of power during this time has many things to explain to Peru. We have reconstructed this history and we are convinced that the situation would not have been so grave were it not for the indifference, passivity or simple ineptness of those who held the highest public

offices during this time. This report therefore assigns responsibility to the political class, which, we must remind them, has yet to fully assume its responsibility for the misfortune suffered by citizens whom it wanted, and may still want, to govern.

It is painful, but true: those who sought the votes of their fellow citizens of Peru for the honor of governing our state and our democracy, those who pledged to uphold the Constitution, readily ceded to the armed forces the powers bestowed on them by the nation. As a result, the institutions of our recently installed democracy came under the care of the military. This fed the notion that constitutional principles are noble but inadequate for governing a people who, in the end, were looked down upon to the point that their cries were ignored, replicating the practice that can be found throughout our history of relegating to oblivion to voice of those who are most humble.



In a country such as ours, combating this oblivion is a powerful form of carrying out justice. We are convinced that recovering the truth about the past – even a truth as harsh as the one we were charged with uncovering – is a way of drawing ourselves closer to the ideal of democracy that Peruvians proclaim with such vehemence, but practice with such inconsistency.

Peru was once again enthusiastically attempting to recover its lost democracy when the CVR began its work. For this enthusiasm to have meaning, we believe it is indispensable for us to remember that democracy was not lost of its own accord. Democracy was abandoned little by littler by those who did not know how to defend it. A democracy that is not stubbornly exercised on a daily basis loses the allegiance of citizens and falls by the wayside without a tear being shed for its demise. In the moral vacuum in which dictatorships thrive, reason is lost and concepts are inverted, depriving citizens of all ethical orientation. States of exception become the norm, massive abuses become simple excesses, imprisonment is the price of innocence and, finally, death is confused with peace.

Peru is again on the way to building a democracy. This is due to the efforts of those who dared not believe the official truth propagated by the dictatorial regime, those who were not afraid to call the dictatorship a dictatorship, to call corruption, corruption, and crime, crime. These upright acts, which were echoed by millions of Peruvians, demonstrated the efficacy of the truth. We must make a similar effort now. If the truth helped us unmask the ephemeral nature of an autocracy, it must now show its power and purify our republic. This purification is indispensable to achieve a society that is reconciled with itself, the truth and the rights of each and every one of its members. A society reconciled with its potential.

The Final Report speaks of shame and dishonor, but its pages also record acts of courage, selfless gestures and signs of dignity that show us that human beings are essentially magnanimous. The report tells of people who did not

renounce the authority and responsibility conferred upon them by their neighbors; who stood up to abandonment to defend their families, using their authority as a weapon; who were unjustly imprisoned; who assumed their responsibility to defend the nation without violating the law; who refused to be uprooted to defend life. They are found in the heart of our memory.

We present this story as a tribute to these men and women. We present it as a testament to those who are no longer with us and have been forgotten by the nation. The history recounted here is a history of our people, of who we were and who we must no longer be. This story is about what we need to do. This story begins today.

*Salomón Lerner Febres*  
President  
Truth and Reconciliation Commission

## PART ONE

### THE TRAGEDY AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT





## CHAPTER 1

### THE EVENTS: MAGNITUDE AND SCOPE OF THE CONFLICT

The internal armed conflict fought in Peru between 1980 and 2000 lasted longer, extended over more territory and had higher human and economic costs than any other conflict in the country's history since independence. Its death toll was vastly higher than those of the war of independence or the war with Chile – the principal armed conflicts fought by the country.

During its investigation, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (*Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación*, CVR) received testimonies that enabled it to identify by name 23,969 people who were either killed or disappeared during the internal armed conflict. Nevertheless, statistical calculations and estimates demonstrate that the number of victims in the conflict was 2.9 times greater than the recorded dead and disappeared. Using a methodology known as Multiple Systems Estimation, the CVR calculates that the number of Peruvians killed or disappeared in the internal armed conflict was probably closer to 69,000.<sup>1</sup>

Based on this statistical methodology, the CVR estimates that 26,259 people were killed or disappeared in the department of Ayacucho between 1980 and 2000 as a result of the internal armed conflict. If the proportion of victims calculated for Ayacucho, which is based on the population in 1993, were extended to the entire nation, the internal armed conflict would have taken the lives of 1.2 million people in all of Peru. This would have represented approximately 340,000 victims in Lima, equivalent to the total populations of the districts of San Isidro, Miraflores, San Borja and La Molina in 2000.

The statistics shed light on much more than just the intensity of the violence. They also demonstrate the ethnic-cultural inequalities that are still

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<sup>1</sup> The calculation of 69,280 victims has a 95-percent accuracy rate, with the lower calculation at 61,007 victims and the higher calculation 77,552 victims.

prevalent in our nation. The violence did not affect all Peruvians in the same way, but had an unequal impact on different geographic areas and social classes.

The immediate and fundamental cause of the internal armed conflict was the decision of the Communist Party of Peru — Shining Path (*Partido Comunista del Perú — Sendero Luminoso*, PCP-SL) to launch its «people's war» against the state. This decision was made at a time when Peruvian society was beginning a transition to democracy, which had broad support from the country's citizens, as well as the main political parties and civil society movements, after 12 years of military dictatorship.

Unlike other internal armed conflicts in Latin America, where state agents were responsible for the greatest loss of human life<sup>2</sup> — especially of unarmed civilians — in Peru it was the PCP-SL that caused the largest number of casualties, above all among the civilian population. According to the testimonies received, the PCP-SL was responsible for 54 percent of the victims reported to the CVR.<sup>3</sup> The group's strategy was based on the systematic and massive use of extreme violence and terror and a deliberate disregard for basic norms of war and principles of human rights.

Faced with the war unleashed by the PCP-SL, the state had the obligation to defend constitutional order and citizens within the framework of unconditional respect for the rule of law and basic human rights. Paradoxically, the country was governed by democratically elected civilian governments at peaks in the conflict, when the death toll was highest and when state agents committed the most human rights violations.

The state was incapable of stopping the growth of armed subversion, which expanded throughout most of the nation within a few years.<sup>4</sup> Civilian governments accepted the militarization of the conflict and, giving up their role, allowed the armed forces to take charge of the anti-subversive effort. While it was inevitable that the elected governments would declare states of emergency and use the military to combat subversion given the magnitude of the events, the CVR found that this was done without taking the necessary precautions to prevent violations of people's fundamental rights. Worse still, for long periods of time civilian authorities disregarded the accusations of human rights violations committed by the security forces in the areas hardest hit by the conflict. In addition, there are several cases in which authorities facilitated and guaranteed impunity for the people responsible for these violations. State agents (the armed forces and police), self-defense patrols and paramilitary groups were responsible for 37 percent of the deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR. Of these cases, members of the armed forces were responsible for 75

<sup>2</sup> For example, the cases of the military dictatorships in Argentina and Chile, or the internal conflicts in Central America (Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala).

<sup>3</sup> Along the same lines, it is important to mention that, with respect to the CVR's statistical estimate on the total number of victims, the PCP-SL was responsible for 46 percent of the deaths and disappearances.

<sup>4</sup> The CVR received testimonies about deaths and disappearances in the armed conflict from all departments except Moquegua and Madre de Dios. In Tacna (1) and Tumbes (4), the numbers of victims reported to the CVR were in single digits.

percent of the victims.

The response of the armed forces to the subversive threat was unprecedented in the military's conduct prior to 1980. During the 12-year dictatorship between 1968 and 1980, the Peruvian military committed relatively few gross human rights violations compared to the military dictatorships in other countries of the region, especially Chile and Argentina.

It should be noted that during the decades of violence there was relatively wide coverage of the events and the human rights violations that were being committed. This was due to the existence of a free press (there were specific areas and moments during the violence when the press was attacked), human rights groups and various investigations by the legislature and judiciary. Nevertheless, press reporting and investigations had little impact on the effective application of sanctions against those responsible for these actions.

The CVR has found, nevertheless, that there was a bias in the way information was collected and investigations carried out. The systematic documentation of accusations was inadequate, and there were insufficient efforts to document and identify victims of events attributed to subversive groups.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the investigations by the CVR determined that of the victims who had been identified,<sup>6</sup> less than 5 percent of the deaths or disappearances were attributed to the PCP-SL. Because of this, earlier projections by both official and private institutions underestimated the responsibility of this subversive organization in relation to the number of fatalities.

It is important to analyze the two decades of political violence as a process with different levels of intensity and geographic scope, and as one that mainly affected areas and social classes that did not have strong links to the country's political and economic power structures. The population in several areas remained under military control for long stretches even after the armed subversive threat had subsided. The distance from the decision-making centers of power, especially in a country that is extremely centralized in the capital, allowed for the «problem of violence» that affected the daily lives of thousands of Peruvians to be overlooked by the public and private sectors for several years.

The analysis of this period of violence must also consider certain elements of the country's history in the final decades of the 20th century. Among the different problems, it is important to highlight the severe economic crisis of the late 1980s and early 1990s, which led to a period of hyperinflation unparalleled in Peruvian history.<sup>7</sup> The country also experienced a deep political crisis that weakened political parties and paved the way for the rise of political outsiders, the so-called «independents.» A corollary to this political crisis was the coup of April 1992 and, years later, the president's decision to abandon office in the

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<sup>5</sup> This bias was due to the institutional definition of the organizations that documented violent actions, which were geared toward registering and investigating human rights violations committed by state agents.

<sup>6</sup> These include victims whose names and cases have been documented by institutions and systematically recorded in a database. See, for example, *La desaparición forzada de personas en el Perú 1980-1996*, Ombudsman's Report #55. Lima: Human Rights Ombudsman, 2001.

<sup>7</sup> The annual inflation rate in 1990 was 7,658 percent.

midst of one of the most serious corruption scandals in the nation's history. Another factor to consider is that during the decades of violence, Peru also faced two military conflicts, in 1981 and 1995, with neighboring Ecuador.

One element of utmost importance during this period was the expansion of drug trafficking, which coincided with the rise and spread of subversion, and the repression unleashed by state agents to control it. The spread of coca crops to feed the drug trade, particularly in the jungle regions, created areas where the state reduced its presence, while irregular armed groups linked to drug trafficking emerged. By the mid-1980s, the Upper Huallaga Valley had become one of the principal scenes of the internal conflict, and the Huallaga River was transformed into the largest common grave in the country. As a result, all the parties to the conflict in this zone were affected by drug trafficking and the accompanying corruption.

### «Foreign towns within peru»

*So, my town was a town, I don't know ...  
a foreign town within Peru.<sup>8</sup>*

Phrases repeated in the thousands of testimonies recorded by the CVR shed light on the sense of exclusion and indifference experienced by the people and communities that were the principal victims of the internal armed conflict. Many of them felt that for the rest of the country, especially in the principal centers of economic and political power, what happened in their towns, homes and families was happening in «another country.»

For many years, the modern, urban Peru of Lima was indifferent to the regions hardest hit by the violence, which were the poorest and farthest removed from the capital. Even when the conflict began affecting the county's principal cities in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was difficult to reconcile the experience and memory of the violence in such different worlds. When television coverage began to focus attention on the tragedy, the emblematic images of the victims shown on the screen were not Quechua-speaking peasants, but urban Spanish speakers.

When shown on a map of Peru, the intensity of the violence appears like a dark stain that spreads throughout the highlands and jungle regions in the central part of the country. The greatest number of victims was recorded in these areas.<sup>9</sup>

The country's main cities, particularly those along the coast, were not at the center of the conflict, although actions perpetrated in those cities had a significant impact on public opinion. The massive loss of human life during the 20 years investigated by the CVR affected the nation's poorest regions.

As Figure 1 shows, the department of Ayacucho registered the highest

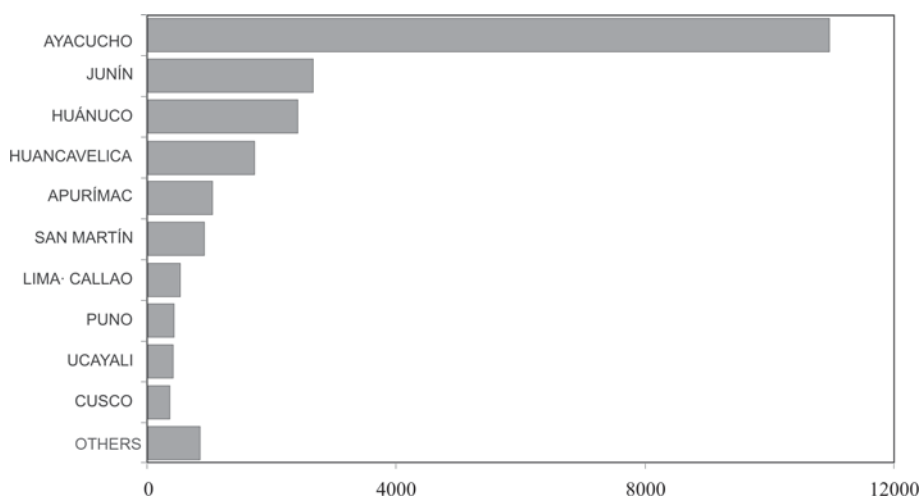
<sup>8</sup> CVR. Public hearings on cases in Ayacucho, April 8, 2002. Testimony of Primitivo Quispe.

<sup>9</sup> The fatalities include people who remained disappeared as a result of the armed conflict when the Final Report was finished.

number of deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR (more than 40 percent). Together with Ayacucho, the departments of Junín, Huánuco, Huancavelica, Apurímac and San Martín registered 85 percent of the victims recorded in the testimonies received by the CVR. According to statistics from the U.N. Development Program (UNDP), the people living in these departments in 2002 accounted for only 9 percent of the income of all Peruvian families (UNDP, 2002).

FIGURE 1

PERU 1980-2000: NUMBER OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR, ACCORDING TO DEPARTMENT WHERE EVENTS OCCURRED

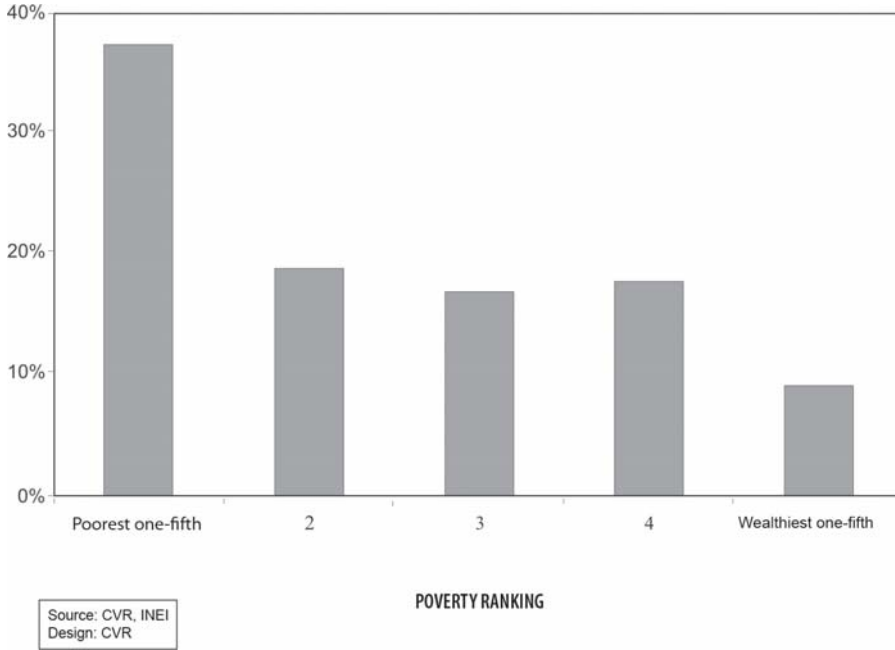


There was an obvious relationship between social exclusion and the intensity of the violence. It was not a coincidence that the four departments hardest hit by the internal armed conflict (Apurímac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Huánuco) are ranked by different studies (INEI, 1994a; UNDP, 20002) among the five poorest departments in the country. As Figure 2 shows, more than 35 percent of the fatalities were recorded in districts that, according to the 1993 census, were among the poorest 20 percent in the country, while less than 10 percent of the victims were in wealthiest 20 percent. This does not mean that poverty was the principal cause of the conflict, but it does show that when the violent process erupted, the poorest sectors were the most vulnerable and affected.

Social exclusion and poverty in Peru have the face of a rural peasant. It was precisely in rural areas and among poor people where the largest number of deaths and disappearances occurred, not only at the national level but also within the departments that were hardest hit by the internal armed conflict (see Figure 3). The percentage of deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR in rural zones is nearly three times the percentage of the national population

FIGURE 2

PERU 1980-2000: PERCENTAGE OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR, ACCORDING TO THE POVERTY RANKING OF THE DISTRICTS WHERE THE EVENTS OCCURRED (METHOD: NBI - 1993 CENSUS)



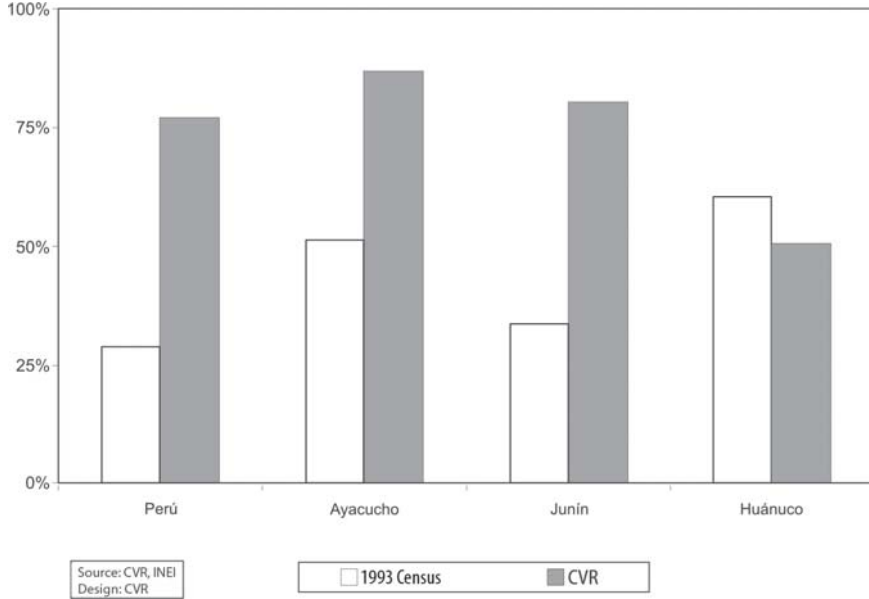
living in these zones, according to the 1993 Census. Similarly, 55 percent of the dead and disappeared worked in farming-related activities, nearly double the percentage of the economically active population nationwide employed in agriculture in 1993, which stood at 28 percent.

Nevertheless, the cultural differences between the victims and the rest of the country are even more dramatic. According to the 1993 census, while only one-fifth of the population spoke Quechua or another indigenous language, more than 75 percent of the dead and disappeared reported to the CVR spoke a language other than Spanish as their mother tongue. In the three hardest-hit departments, people who spoke Quechua or another indigenous language represented the highest number of fatalities reported to the CVR (see Figure 4). In addition, the victims reported to the CVR had educational levels below the national average. While close to 40 percent of the economically active population above age 15 did not have a high school education, according to the 1993 census, the number rose to 68 percent among the victims documented by the CVR.

The intensity of the violence was not distributed evenly during the internal armed conflict, and not all regions were affected at the same time.

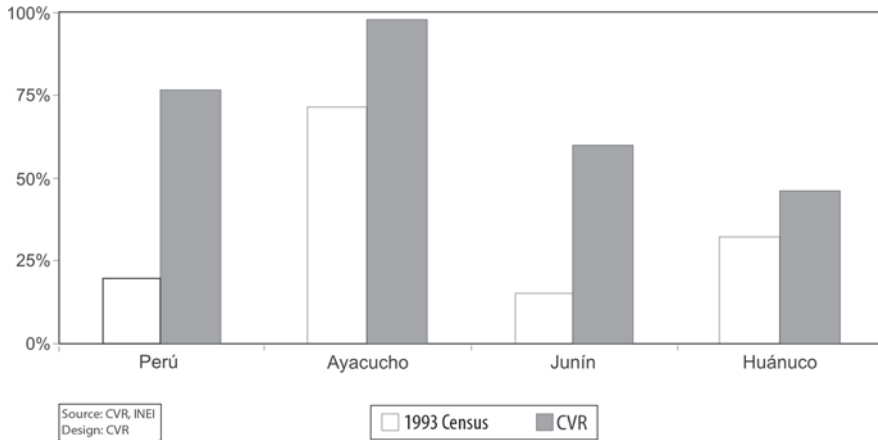
**FIGURE 3**

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES IN RURAL ZONES REPORTED TO THE CVR AND THE RURAL POPULATION RECORDED IN THE 1993 NATIONAL CENSUS IN RURAL ZONES, ACCORDING TO THE HARDEST HIT DEPARTMENTS



**FIGURE 4**

PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE WHO DID NOT SPEAK SPANISH AS A NATIVE LANGUAGE: COMPARISON BETWEEN DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR AND THE POPULATION OVER AGE 5 IN THE 1993 CENSUS, ACCORDING TO THE HARDEST HIT DEPARTMENTS



As Figure 5 shows, the levels of violence peaked in 1984 and 1989, marking different phases in the armed conflict. The 1984 peak was the most intense period and provoked the greatest number of deaths and disappearances recorded by the CVR (19 percent of the victims). This was part of the initial phase of the conflict and was concentrated primarily in the department of Ayacucho. There was a noticeable rise in the violence in 1983, following the government's decision in December 1982 to put the armed forces in charge of combating subversion. After a period of declining fatalities, which reached its low point in 1986, the levels of violence began to increase again until they peaked for a second time in 1989. The levels of violence would remain relatively high until 1992, when Abimael Guzmán Reinoso was arrested and the PCP-SL's central committee disbanded. While the levels of violence in this second phase were not as high as in 1984, the conflict expanded over a wider area of the nation.

FIGURE 5

PERU 1980-2000: NUMBER OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES  
REPORTED TO THE CVR, ACCORDING TO YEAR

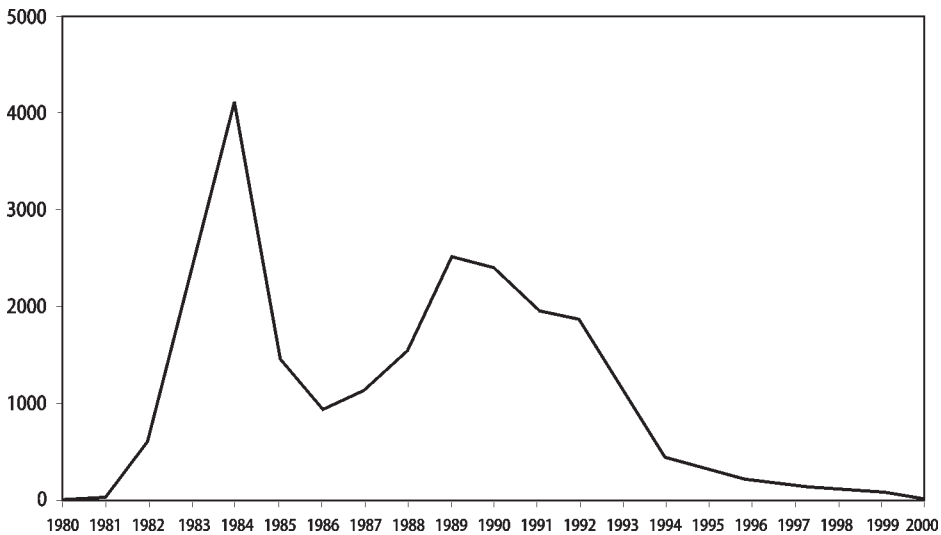


Figure 6 compares the intensity of the violence with the expansion of the conflict to different geographic areas.<sup>10</sup> This shows that after the decline in violence between 1985 and 1986, not only did the number of deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR begin to increase, but so did the geographic area where the violent acts were committed. As can be seen, 1984 was the year with the highest number of victims, while more areas were affected by the internal armed conflict between 1989 and 1992.

<sup>10</sup> The indicators used are the number of deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR for intensity of the violence (left vertical axis) and the number of districts where violent acts left behind victims (right vertical axis).



FIGURE 6

PERU 1980-2000: NUMBER OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR AND NUMBER OF DISTRICTS WHERE THE EVENTS OCCURRED, BY YEAR

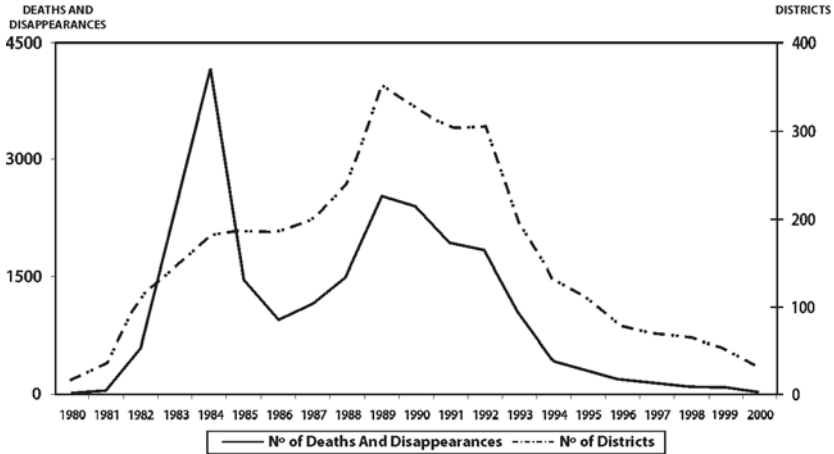
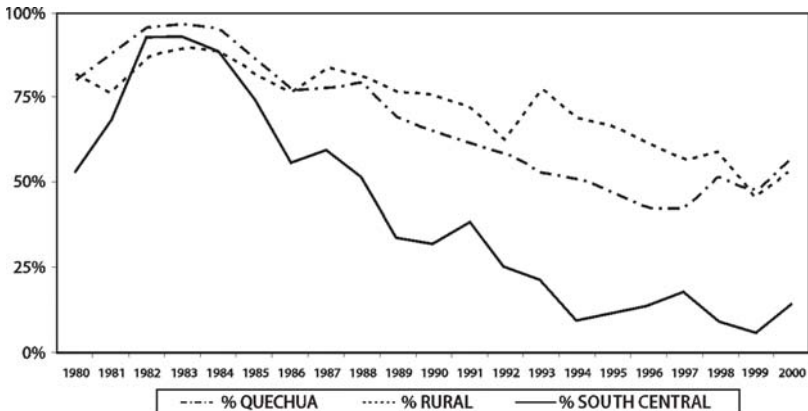


Figure 7 shows that as the importance of the south-central region (formed by the department of Ayacucho and neighboring provinces in the departments of Huancavelica and Apurímac) began to decline, so did the number of victims in rural areas and those whose native language was Quechua. This demonstrates that the conflict involved not only different geographic areas, but also complex social situations. It is important to note, however, that at the times when the conflict was most intense, the absolute majority of victims lived in rural areas and spoke a native language.

FIGURE 7

PERU 1980-2000: PERCENTAGE OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR BY INDICATORS, ACCORDING TO THE YEAR EVENTS OCCURRED

Indicators: quechua as native language (% quechua); events in rural zones (% rural); events in south-central region (% south-central)



As was stated earlier, approximately 69,000 people were killed in the internal armed conflict, according to the CVR's calculations. While these calculations may seem unlikely to a considerable sector of Peruvian society, the country needs to accept the truth that the Peru that is rural, Andean, Quechua, Asháninka, peasant, poor and with little formal education bled for years without the rest of nation paying attention to the true dimension of the tragedy of this «foreign land within Peru.»

These are the Peruvians who are no longer part of our nation, Peruvians who may have been invisible, but who were real: the Quispes, Huamáns,<sup>11</sup> Mamanis, Taypes, Yupanquis, Condoris, Tintimaris and Metzozoquiaris. Although they are too often excluded and removed from other Peruvians, they demand to be treated with respect and justice:

Señores, chaymi ñuqa munani kachun respeto, kachunyá manchakuy, masque imayrikulla kaptiykupas, wakcha pobri kaptiykupas, campesino totalmente ñuqañaykuchu kaniku, huk real llapas killapi ganaq, mana ni pipas kanikuchu. Señores, chayta ya justiciyata mañakuykiku. [Sirs, I want there to be respect. I want there to be fear of God. We are only humble people, orphans and poor, peasants earning just a few coins a month. We may be no one, sirs, but this is the justice we seek.]<sup>12</sup>

## THE LEGAL DIMENSION OF THE EVENTS

### DETERMINATION OF EVENTS

The analysis of the information gathered by the CVR not only illustrates how the armed actors in the conflict targeted the country's least protected and historically most marginalized population, but also helps observers understand and demonstrates the scope of the criminal conduct practiced by the various actors in a generalized and systematic manner during certain periods and in certain areas. The CVR offers the country a global vision of the events that allows us to see the legal consequences of what happened and identify those who may be responsible for it.

In its legal examination of the events, the CVR took into account a body of irrevocable human rights recognized by the international community. These are imperative norms of international law in general, included in international human rights law, international humanitarian law or international criminal law. This body of irrevocable rights is derived from and based on the dignity of the human being.

In accordance with the Fourth Final Provision and Article 3 of the Peruvian Constitution, in place since 1993, this body of irrevocable rights

<sup>11</sup> Quispe and Huamán were the two most common last names among the victims registered in the CVR's database.

<sup>12</sup> CVR. Public hearings in Huanta, Ayacucho, April 11, 2002. Testimony of Ms. Sabina Valencia.

determines how the contents and scope of all the rights recognized in the Constitution must be interpreted, and is part of the set of specific fundamental rights that are recognized at the constitutional level in our legal system.

Peru has ratified the principal universal and regional treaties that today form the body of international human rights law at the international and inter-American levels.

The existing body of human rights legislation has specific implications for Peru. First, according to the principles of international law, no state can invoke provisions of national law as justification for failing to comply with a treaty or the imperative norms of general international law (*jus cogens*). Second, human rights treaties differ from other treaties on a central point: the goal is «the protection of the fundamental rights of human beings» (I.A.C.H.R., OC—2/82, N° 29). Third, human rights violations perpetrated by a state are not an internal issue or the exclusive competence of the state involved.

Besides the general implications already mentioned, every state has other specific obligations under international human rights law. These are the obligations to respect and guarantee – ensure that they are respected – the rights and liberties recognized by human rights and humanitarian treaties in general. As a consequence of the obligation to guarantee the rights in these treaties, the state must «prevent, investigate and sanction all violations of recognized rights, and ensure, when possible, the re-establishment of the violated right and offer reparation for the harm produced by the violation of a fundamental human right.» In this case, the state should take legal action against anyone, whether a public official or a private individual, who is responsible for the violation, with no exceptions.

There have been legal debates about whether agents who are not employed by the state violate human rights. Jurisprudence indicates that the conduct of non-state agents is regulated by the norms of international humanitarian law, as only states have the prerogative to sign and ratify international treaties.

The CVR believes that this debate is not, and should never be, relegated exclusively to the legal sphere. The objection, which is based on the contents of the instruments and competencies of the different legal bodies, has no value in the social sphere. In other words, it does not create meaningful rules for people who are concerned not about problems related to the competencies of these bodies, but about the ethical criteria that should be used to judge terrorist actions. We cannot expect to solve an ethical problem with a legal argument.

The CVR maintains that terrorist actions cannot be classified as violations of international human rights instruments because these instruments based on treaties and therefore refer only to the responsibility of states. Nor can they be judged by international courts specializing in these areas, because these courts are not competent to judge terrorist crimes. This, however, does not mean that terrorist crimes cannot be classified as human rights violations.

International humanitarian law (IHL), in its contemporary form, covers what were originally two branches of the so-called rights of war. These are the

Hague Convention and the Geneva Convention. The first concerns the rules that apply during hostilities; the second outlines the humanitarian rules that apply to the various parties to a conflict regarding people who are not directly involved in the hostilities, prisoners who have surrendered or are no longer in combat, and non-military targets.

Peru has ratified the main international treaties that currently form the core of IHL, specifically the four Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and the two Additional Protocols of June 8, 1977.

According to the jurisprudence of the International Court of Justice and, more recently, the International Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, both of which confirmed the judgment of the International Nuremberg Tribunal (1945-1946), war crimes and serious violations of IHL, as well as those included in Article 3 Common, are sanctioned by the imperative norms of international law, which are obligatory for states and individuals without exception.

The rights and prohibitions in Article 3 Common, which covers all types of internal armed conflict, are obligatory for state and non-state agents at all times and in all places. In addition, the norms of IHL do not justify or authorize the use of terrorist actions or methods, or the organization of armed groups that commit actions of this nature. Nor do they justify, in any case or under any circumstance, the death or injury that these groups may provoke.

Two important clarifications are necessary here. The first refers to the «automatic application» of Article 3 Common and, in general, the norms that govern any kind of armed conflict. As the International Committee of the Red Cross has stated, an explicit declaration of war is not a necessary prerequisite for their application.

The second clarification is that the application of IHL during an internal armed conflict does not affect the national or international legal status of the insurgent or armed groups or their members.<sup>13</sup>

Following this argument, the CVR believes that the concurrent application of international human rights law and international humanitarian law is essential for classifying certain acts as crimes and human rights violations.

An armed force or armed group is morally disqualified if, by the way it fights, it commits terrorist actions or any other crime against humanity. If it resorts to such actions, it is stating that its goal is not to end the conflict, but to exterminate the enemy. In addition, armed subversion has no moral justification in states that guarantee the basic freedom of citizens, because it destroys the existing public arenas that, within the framework of respect for human rights, allow for non-violent strategies to bring about rationally acceptable changes.

The International Criminal Court Statute, adopted by the international community in Rome (1998) at the end of the U.N. Diplomatic Conference of Plenipotentiaries, took effect for the signatory parties, including Peru, on July 1, 2002. The statute cannot be applied retroactively.

<sup>13</sup> The last paragraph of Article 3 Common of the Geneva Conventions states: "The application of preceding provisions shall not affect the legal status of the Parties to the conflict."

While the International Criminal Court cannot judge events that occurred before its statute took effect, it is vitally important for the international community. To a great extent, its definitions of different international crimes codify common international norms, thus contributing to greater legal precision in the case of crimes against humanity.

The Rome Statute also reaffirms the jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia regarding the classification of certain transgressions of international humanitarian law, such as war crimes, committed during internal armed conflicts.

While not attempting to invoke the competency of the International Criminal Court in relation to the events that took place in Peru or directly apply its mandate to these events, the CVR will use definitions supplied by the Rome Statute, because they facilitate a better understanding of the context of certain international crimes.

#### **Fundamental rights of the person cannot be derogated even during armed conflicts**

Since World War II, the international community has been establishing, with increasing clarity, imperative norms of international law that hold that fundamental rights cannot be derogated even in the course of an international war or during an internal armed conflict.

These norms are even more precise in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR) and the American Convention on Human Rights (ACHR). In the case of war, public danger or other emergency, the CCPR (Article 4) states that «no derogation of articles [...] may be made under this provision,» and the ACHR (Article 27) states that «the foregoing provision does not authorize any suspension of the following articles [...]» States are also banned from suspending judicial guarantees (habeas corpus and civil rights protection), which are indispensable for the protection of rights that cannot be derogated.

Recognition by the international community of a body of intangible fundamental rights of all human beings that cannot be derogated at any time or in any place is a relatively recent historical event of the utmost importance to all peoples of the world. These norms are grounded in the convictions that arose from the horrors of past centuries, the common belief that they are inherent to all human beings and that all human beings are equal, which means that these norms cannot be waived, cannot be derogated and are intangible. States of exception or emergency, therefore, are not and cannot be accepted as an empire of arbitrary action where anything is permitted, not as the negation of the rule of law but as a special form of it.

#### **Invalidity of amnesty and other procedural obstacles with respect to crimes and human rights violations**

The Inter-American Court of Human Rights has expressly declared that amnesty laws, which are meant to ensure impunity for violations of international law

and grave human rights abuses, are incompatible with the American Convention on Human Rights because they «lack legal effects.»<sup>14</sup> This position was further defined through a judgment handed down by the court.

The court's judges unanimously ruled that «the decision in the judgment on the merits in the Barrios Altos Case has generic effects.»<sup>15</sup> In compliance with the Inter-American Court's decision, Peruvian courts have continued or started criminal proceedings against the presumed authors of the crimes committed in Barrios Altos, as well as against people implicated in other cases who benefited from the amnesty laws.

The judgment of the Inter-American Court opened a new chapter in the fight against impunity and is consistent with earlier jurisprudence and consultative opinions issued by the court. The doctrine established by the court is based on the principle of international law, according to which obligations imposed by international law must be fulfilled in good faith and internal law cannot be invoked as a reason for non-compliance with international law.

The Inter-American Court's decision to reject amnesty laws follows a trend in international law that considers the prescription of criminal prosecution on the grounds that the statute of limitations has expired to be incompatible with the state's obligations. In the Barrios Altos case, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights declared that «all amnesty provisions, provisions on prescription and the establishment of measures designed to eliminate responsibility are inadmissible, because they are intended to prevent the investigation and punishment of those responsible for serious human rights violations.»<sup>16</sup> According to international law governing human rights, the state cannot use norms that the state itself has passed to avoid its international obligations to investigate, try and sentence parties responsible for serious human rights violations.

The corollary to the important limitations imposed on the sovereignty of states by the universal declaration of the rights of people after World War II – including the proscription of *jus ad bellum* and the protection of the fundamental rights of all human beings at all times and in all places – is the recognition within international law of the limits of the state's sovereign power in these areas.

There should be a uniform interpretation of the diverse constitutional articles that could pose a conflict – personal option, right to justice, obligation of the state to guarantee full respect of human rights, power to grant amnesties. The approach to constitutional provisions determines, as the Constitutional Tribunal has affirmed, that the power to grant amnesties is not absolute, but has specific limitation: the defense of the person, with respect for human dignity and full protection of human rights.

<sup>14</sup> Inter-American Court of Human Rights, judgment of the Barrios Altos Case (Chumbipuma Aguirre et al vs. Peru), of March 14, 2001. Paragraph 51, No. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Inter-American Court of Human Rights, Interpretation of the Judgment on the Merits of the Barrios Altos Case (Chumbipuma Aguirre et al vs. Peru), of September 3, 2001. Section VII, Number 2.

Faced with a situation in which illicit actions caused tens of thousands of deaths, the CVR had to determine whether these were isolated acts that were unavoidable in the context of the internal armed conflict, or the result of a systematic or generalized practice on the part of state and non-state agents.

The systems for protecting human rights pay special attention to «situations that reveal constant and systematic violations of human rights» (United Nations, 1967) or «a generalized pattern of human rights violations» (OAS, 1965).

In the case of Peru, the human rights branches of the United Nations and the Organization of American States have stated that torture and forced disappearances during the period being analyzed were not isolated acts, but were part of a systematic practice. Besides the references to torture and forced disappearances, the CVR believes that certain terrorist actions also constitute systematic practices and are not isolated acts or actions that are difficult to avoid in an internal armed conflict.

By virtue of its mandate, the CVR had to examine crimes — understood as a synonym for violations of the Peruvian Criminal Code— committed by terrorist groups. This was a unique element of the Peruvian case, in that agents with no links to the state were responsible for thousands of human rights violations that could also be classified as a systematic or widespread practice.

The criminal offenses committed by terrorist groups involved in the internal armed conflict must be considered in light of the standards of international criminal law and in accordance with the norms of international humanitarian law.

Crimes against humanity refer to actions against a person's life and physical integrity, torture and other actions against individual freedom. To meet this definition, they must be committed against the civilian population systematically or repeatedly during times of peace or within the context of an armed conflict.

The term *systematic*, according to international jurisprudence and the International Law Commission, is defined as a «plan or policy» that «could result in the repeated or continuous commission of inhumane acts.»<sup>17</sup>

The term «widespread» characterizes the conduct, not the agent; that is, the widespread commission of an act in no way implies that all individual

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<sup>17</sup> International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, sentence against Dusko Tadic, May 7, 1997, paragraph 648. Also see the International Law Commission's "Draft Code of Offenses Against the Peace and Security of Mankind," 1996, paragraphs 94 and 95. Along these same lines, see the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, which declared: "The concept of 'widespread' may be defined as massive, frequent, large scale action, carried out collectively with considerable seriousness and directed against a multiplicity of victims. The concept of 'systematic' may be defined as thoroughly organized and following a regular pattern on the basis of a common policy involving substantial public or private resources. There is no requirement that this policy must be adopted formally as the policy of a state. There must however be some kind of preconceived plan or policy." Case of Jean-Paul Akayesu, ICTR-96-4, September 2, 1998.

agents are implicated in it. The term widespread, according to the sources cited, «requires that the inhumane acts be committed on a large scale meaning that the acts are directed against a multiplicity of victims. This requirement excludes an isolated inhumane act perpetrated by someone acting on his or her own and directed against a single victim.»<sup>18</sup>



The CVR is convinced that the crimes and human rights violations committed by subversive organizations and state security forces were far from being simple excesses, that is, isolated mistakes and errant behavior that strayed from the typical conduct of the armed actors. On the contrary, these violations reflected deliberate courses of action. The internal armed conflict was especially onerous because of the application of war strategies that often assumed it was necessary to commit acts that constituted serious infractions of international humanitarian law, crimes against humanity, and violations of Peru's legal and constitutional norms.

The PCP-SL's ideology led it to apply extremely violent and brutal tactics that were carried out not only with complete disregard for elemental humanitarian values, but without considering the situation of the country. The organization refused to change essential elements of its strategy, believing that an increasingly widespread and intensive conflict would favor its cause.

State agents considered democracy and respect for human rights to be obstacles instead of a legitimate course of action in the fight against subversion. The abdication of civilian power allowed the weight, design and implementation of the anti-subversive strategy to fall into the hands of the armed forces, which were guaranteed diverse forms of impunity. Impunity was institutionalized through a general amnesty after democracy was lost.

Nevertheless, the political cost of practices such as extrajudicial executions and forced disappearances, as well as the need for greater efficiency in combating subversion, led the security forces to review their strategies. While this changed the pattern of existing human rights violations, it still left serious unresolved problems in terms of legal and prison issues.

The CVR has identified patterns of crimes and human rights violations that were committed by subversive organizations and the anti-subversive forces as part of their respective strategies. The crimes and violations found and documented include the following: forced disappearances, extrajudicial executions, assassinations and massacres, inhumane and degrading treatment, sexual violence against women, violation of due process, kidnappings and hostage-takings, violence against children, and violation of collective rights.

<sup>18</sup> International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, sentence against Dusko Tadic, May 7, 1997, paragraph 648. Also see the International Law Commission's "Draft Code of Offense Against the Peace and Security of Mankind," 1996, paragraphs 94 and 95. In this sense, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, stated that "The concept of 'widespread' may be defined as massive, frequent, large scale action, carried out collectively with considerable seriousness and directed against a multiplicity of victims." Case of Jean-Paul Akayesu, ICTR-96-4, September 2, 1998.



The determination of responsibilities is necessary for justice to be served. Because justice has various dimensions, the CVR went beyond the strict limits of criminal responsibility in determining responsibility for crimes. The CVR did not have a jurisdictional function. Jurisdiction, by its nature, is exercised in function of stated law, which includes the determination of responsibilities as definitive and defining within the framework of international human rights standards. The CVR's mandate was restricted to providing information to enable the competent sectors to make the determination.

The CVR was established to identify, where possible, presumed responsibility for the crimes and human rights violations that it was charged with clarifying. To this end, it gathered evidence to declare the presumed responsibility of individuals for crimes or human rights violations. The elements stem from testimonies, various documents to which it had access, and research carried out in the course of its investigation.

In general terms, the CVR made all reasonable efforts to ensure that the people who were cited as presumably responsible for crimes were given the opportunity to present their version of the events. The CVR made certain that the person was heard or at least called to offer testimony. All of the people mentioned as presumably responsible for crimes were given the opportunity to offer their perspective on what happened through a document equivalent to the right of rebuttal.

The specific nature of the violence in Peru must be taken into account when assigning responsibilities. Unlike other truth commissions, the Peruvian commission had to deal with a considerable number of crimes committed by non-state agents, the PCP-SL and Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, MRTA). This posed various technical challenges that were resolved by the CVR based on the following:

- From the CVR's point of view, there is no difference between crimes and human rights violations, regardless of whether they were committed by state agents or non-state groups;
- The determination of responsibility in certain cases takes into consideration the chain of command and hierarchical structures that existed when the crimes were committed;
- Special mention must be made of the evaluation of crimes committed by paramilitaries and self-defense committees. The CVR considers the former to be part of a state apparatus, while in the latter case, the analysis was carried out on a case-by-case basis, verifying the relationship that existed between the self-defense committee and state authorities at the time the crime was committed.

It is important to highlight, as a summary of the *Final Report*, the following criteria relative to the cases presented by the CVR:

- The cases form part of a much broader and complex whole that is consistent with patterns of systematic and widespread crimes and human rights violations. As such, each of these events must be considered a crime against humanity in light of the International Criminal Court Statute.
- The forced disappearance of people, in particular, is an ongoing crime, which means that the case is governed by the law in effect at the time that the accusation is presented, not necessarily the one in effect when the crime was committed. It is neither legal nor moral to reduce disappearance to the category of simple kidnapping, even if the disappearance occurred before 1991.
- The courts must take into account not only aggravating circumstances contemplated in the Criminal Code, but also elements of international human rights law and international humanitarian law. In particular, judges and prosecutors must consider the provisions of the Rome Statute to systematically interpret the content of criminal actions, as well as the circumstances under which they were committed.

The CVR has defined the criteria for attributing responsibility by reasonable and proportionate use of the causal relationship between an individual and the act committed by that person. This was based on the determination of established patterns, as well as the presumed perpetrator's position in connection with the group or apparatus within which the act was committed. Similarly, the CVR used the most advanced and widely accepted criminal doctrine for determining when responsibility can be attributed to an individual. This was based on the provisions of the Rome Statute and the theory of dominion of events and the organized apparatus of power. The CVR suggests that the courts take into consideration Articles 25, 26, 27 and 28 of the Rome Statute, which provide the most complete and consistent approach to the question of who should be accused of committing a crime. This is complemented by the use and application of the theory of dominion of events in relation to the organized apparatus of power.

The majority of the events examined under the CVR's mandate fall within the category of complex crimes, in which the author and participants were part of an organization. In nearly all of these cases, the problem revolves around the responsibility of the leaders who, while not directly carrying out the action, participated to some degree (conceiving, planning, leading, ordering or preparing it). These are not new problems. Criminal doctrine has had to respond creatively when attempting to prosecute organized criminal behavior. It is relevant in these cases to study the organization and its structure or chain of command. To resolve these dilemmas, criminal doctrine has developed diverse approaches: intermediate authorship, joint authorship, collateral authorship, inducing authorship or necessary cooperation. The most common response in comparative jurisprudence is linked to intermediate authorship and joint authorship.

Application of the theory of dominion of events requires:

- That there be an organized power apparatus with a rigid hierarchical structure;
- Verification of the effective responsibility of intermediate authorship, which implies that this is a consistent dimension within the organization;
- Responsibility of the author, which is derived from the effective control of the person in charge;
- That the power apparatus not be linked to the juridical order, having opted instead for the criminal route.

The human rights violations committed by the Peruvian state generally occurred during democratically elected regimes that included periodic elections, freedom of expression and guarantee of constitutional rights. The application of the theory cannot be mechanical, nor can it alone be used to assign responsibility for grave human rights violations to those who were holding political power. Except for the period ushered in by the coup of April 5, 1992, the *Final Report* details the way in which consistent patterns of human rights violations were committed by state agents within a context of democracy. The combination of constitutional democracy and human rights violations requires a detailed analysis of the relationship between the specific violation and the chain of command. The patterns of human rights violations included in the *Final Report* correspond, in many cases, to the political-military commands or military commander in a zone or sub-zone placed under a state of emergency for reasons of national security. The *Final Report* and other sources describe repeatedly how the rule of law and constitutional guarantees were suspended in the emergency zones. It is fair to assume that on many occasions these regional or local structures acted outside the Constitution and in violation of the law.

Continuing along this line of reasoning, there are differences between the PCP-SL and MRTA, as well as between these organizations and state agents. The PCP-SL was an organized power apparatus that was outside the law. Its objective was to destroy the state that upheld the law. In no way can it be considered a guerrilla group that was fighting a totalitarian regime in a war of national liberation. Moreover, its actions contributed to the organization's illegality, even if the political motivations behind these actions are recognized. Jurisdictional bodies, therefore, must take into account the theory of dominion of events to determine the criminal responsibility of the Shining Path's leaders.<sup>19</sup> There are differences and similarities between the MRTA and PCP-SL. The differences are mainly related to the strategic basis of their actions, the actions themselves and the consequences they produced. The theory of dominion of event, therefore, can be applied more readily to the kidnappings carried out by the organization than to other actions. In these cases, as has been stated, there

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<sup>19</sup> Responsibility falls to the head of the PCP-SL, the Central Committee and Regional Committees, such as the Metropolitan Lima Committee.

are elements to affirm that the MRTA's central leadership directly planned, conceived and organized these crimes.

The assigning of responsibility to self-defense committees covers the material events, as well as the leaders of these organizations. Depending on the specific case, this responsibility may also extend to the military leaders in the zone in question when there is evidence of the effective subordination of these committees to military authorities.

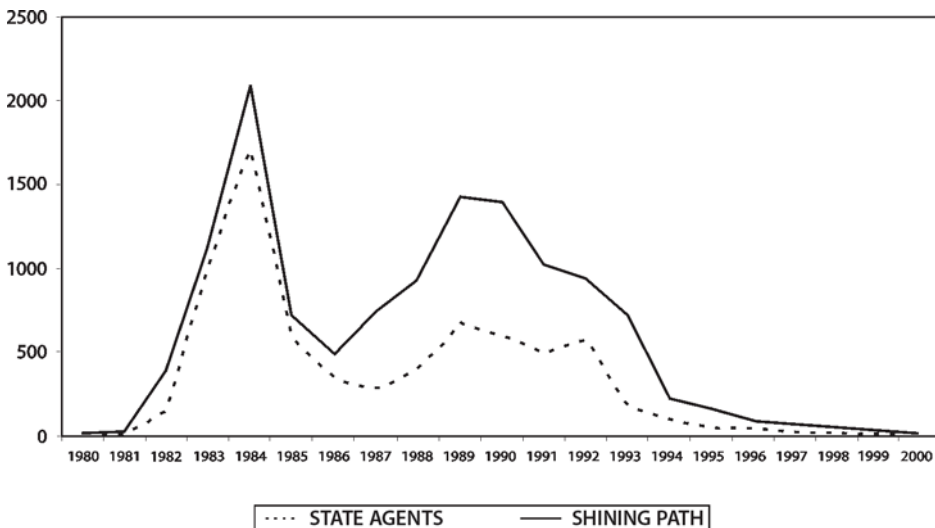
### THE MAGNITUDE AND COMPLEXITY OF CRIMES AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

An examination of the crimes and human rights violations covered under the CVR's mandate raises questions about the reasons behind these events. Underlying these actions were ideologies, political will and strategies, some of which were aimed at achieving the acquiescence or submission of the civilian population at any cost.

To understand the unprecedented magnitude of the conflict, it is useful to analyze the strategies chosen by the actors and their consequences. Understanding these strategies, however, does not allow a moral excuse or a legal explanation of any sort for the crimes committed. Likewise, the different proportionate participation in the number of fatalities (see Figure 8) cannot attenuate the moral and political responsibility of the various agents who inflicted harm on the civilian population.

FIGURE 8

PERU 1980-2000: NUMBER OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR, ACCORDING TO THE PARTIES RESPONSIBLE, BY YEAR EVENTS OCCURRED



In the case of the party that initiated the conflict, the Communist Party of Peru – Shining Path developed a strategy that consciously incorporated terror as a method for reaching its objectives and explicitly rejected the rules of international law. The Shining Path's ideology, encapsulated in so-called «Gonzalo Thought,» was based on an extreme version of Manichaeism that considered all institutions or social groups outside its control to be absolute enemies, thereby turning them into valid military targets. Authorities, civil society leaders, businesspeople, religious men and women, and political leaders at any level of the electoral spectrum were considered legitimate targets of the organization's violent actions.

The PCP-SL's rhetoric unequivocally stated that human rights were an ideological construction of the existing social order and, as such, were of no value in guiding the organization's actions. The PCP-SL rejected the idea that individuals had rights as human beings and stated that all humanitarian considerations were secondary to the need of the oppressed sectors, which they claimed to represent, to take power.

The principal strategic objective of the Shining Path's actions was the total destruction of existing political structures and the creation of institutions under its direct control through which it would exercise total control over state powers. The strategy foresaw efforts by the armed forces to re-establish order – the military violently destroyed many of the PCP-SL's original base committees – and anticipated a bloody and prolonged confrontation to determine supremacy.

With the objective of totally and radically destroying local power, whether state or traditional, and constructing «people's support bases,» the PCP-SL opted for a policy of selective assassinations and, in order to repress all resistance, a policy of disproportionate retaliation. Assassinations were seen as a «way of fighting,» indistinguishable from other tactics normally used in internal armed conflicts, such as sabotage, armed propaganda and ambushes of small and isolated military units.

Similarly, the PCP-SL opted to quickly form armed units in those areas where it managed to replace local authorities. To accomplish this, the organization did not hesitate to use forced recruitment, including that of minors. This form of violence, which explains the large number of kidnappings and forced disappearances attributed to the PCP-SL, generated a series of collateral violations such as sexual violence, slavery, torture, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment.

Nevertheless, the armed units organized by the PCP-SL were not aimed at defending the «people's support bases» they created, because the organization's strategy was based on provoking disproportionate repression by security forces that would result in massive damage. The strategy assumed that the population would reject the security forces, and that this rejection would translate into support for the PCP-SL's cause.

When it was necessary to maintain the population's logistical support

for important military units, the PCP-SL opted for a policy of forced displacement and slavery that kept the civilian population (which it called «the masses») on the move to escape the state's presence, with no regard for the inhumane conditions to which people were subjected in these improvised camps.

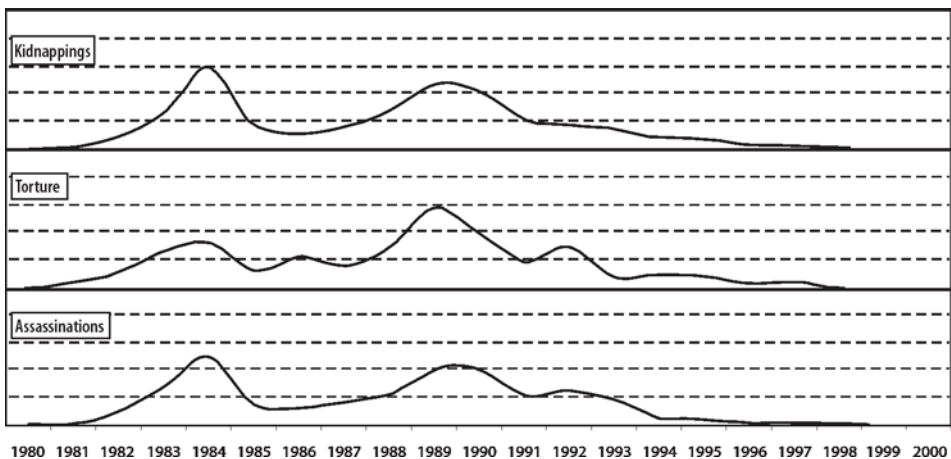
The differences between the PCP-SL's military strategy and that normally followed by other insurgent groups in Latin America explains its propensity to carry out extremely brutal actions and permanently employ violence as a way of setting an example. Even when the PCP-SL carried out actions generally used by other armed groups in internal conflicts, it did so with calculated cruelty to create a generalized sense of fear that would supposedly benefit its goal of provoking a disproportionate response from its demoralized enemy.

Provocation was a constant in the PCP-SL's tactics. For it to be effective, however, «Gonzalo Thought» elevated to the category of scientific truth the concept that the population had to pay a «blood quota» in order to achieve the Shining Path's triumph. This meant that militants had to be willing to sacrifice their own lives even if this did not result in a military advantage and only ended in their own destruction.

The PCP-SL's strategy remained unchanged throughout the conflict, varying only quantitatively when the organization expanded to new zones or increased the intensity of its actions, such as during «armed strikes.» Situations that raised questions about the strategy's effectiveness, because of resistance from the local population or actions by the state, led not to a review of the strategy, but to increased violence. This can be seen in the response to communities that rejected the PCP-SL's political ideas. Unable to accept that they had not won over the population, the PCP-SL called for massive confrontations between its armed columns and self-defense groups, which it saw as «feudal vassals» rather than what they really were, a desperate response from people who had decided to assume the state's role and defend themselves.

## FIGURE 9

PERU 1980-2000: METHODS USED BY THE PCP-SL IN ITS SUBVERSIVE STRATEGY.  
Percentage distribution of cases, by year



(each dotted line represents 6% of the cases reported to the cvr.)

Figure 9 shows the distribution over the years of the principal cases of crimes and human rights violations committed by the PCP-SL that were reported to the CVR. The graph shows two major cycles of violence unleashed by the subversive organization. The first, between 1982 and 1985, was the most intense. Nearly one-third of the assassinations committed by the PCP-SL that were reported to the CVR occurred during these years. This first cycle of intense violence in the internal armed conflict was mainly concentrated in the department of Ayacucho and was linked to three processes:

- The PCP-SL's attempt to impose its model for social and state structures on the Ayacucho countryside through its «people's committees»;
- The increasing resistance (especially after 1983) of the peasant population in Ayacucho to the PCP-SL's totalitarian ideas;
- The intervention of the armed forces in the internal armed conflict and the subversive organization's strategy of provoking the military into committing violent and indiscriminate acts of repression.

The violent repression by the security forces, which resulted in a large number of innocent victims in Ayacucho, dealt a serious blow to the PCP-SL's political and military apparatus. The subversive organization retreated from the battlefield – a strategy that was planned in anticipation of a violent reaction from the state – and began penetrating other social and geographic areas outside Ayacucho. Between 1985 and 1987, the PCP-SL attempted to create «people's committees» and spread its war to the central, northeastern and southern Andes, as well as to urban areas, by trying to link up with coca growers in the Huallaga Valley and peasant communities in Apurímac, Huancavelica and Junín. It also intensified its political work among radical university groups, particularly in the cities of Huancayo and Lima.

Another cycle of intense violence was unleashed in these new areas beginning in 1988. The magnitude of the crimes and human rights violations committed by the subversive organization during this period was sparked by causes similar to those of the first cycle. Nevertheless, this time resistance from the population, authorities and civil society leaders came much earlier and was much stronger, which can be seen in the successful resistance by peasant communities in Puno and the spread of rural peasant patrols and self-defense committees. At the same time, the state and the security forces designed a new anti-subversive strategy that reinforced intelligence gathering, called for much more selective attacks and involved the peasant population in the anti-subversive fight.

As Figure 9 shows, the distribution of the principal crimes committed by the PCP-SL and reported to the CVR follows an extremely synchronized pattern. This organization used assassination and torture on a massive scale as part of its methods in the «armed struggle,» and employed kidnapping to forcibly recruit followers. These methods created fear among the population

and were part of a terrorist strategy. At the same time, the systematic and widespread use of these methods constituted grave crimes against humanity, which are condemned by Peruvian and international law.

As Table 1 shows, the correlation<sup>20</sup> among assassinations, torture and kidnappings committed by the PCP-SL between 1980 and 2000 is high and positive, which suggests that these practices were committed simultaneously and consistently over time.

TABLE 1

CORRELATION OF THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OVER THE YEARS OF ASSASSINATIONS, TORTURE AND KIDNAPPINGS PERPETRATED BY THE PCP-SL AND REPORTED TO THE CVR (Pearson's "r" coefficient)

|             | <i>Assassinations</i> | <i>Tortures</i> |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Tortures    | 0.90                  |                 |
| Kidnappings | 0.98                  | 0.89            |

Following a rationale that included assassinations, provocation, a gradual increase in the levels of violence and transformation of old community disputes into armed conflicts, the PCP-SL developed a strategy that was very costly in terms of human lives and unprecedented in the history of internal armed conflicts in Latin America. The high proportion of killings attributed to the PCP-SL (54 percent of the victims reported to the CVR) does not compare to the findings of other truth commissions in countries that experienced internal armed conflicts. In no other case was the percentage of victims attributed to insurgent groups greater than 5 percent of the total number of deaths.

According to the ideology and practices established by the PCP-SL's main leaders, the value of human life — of its enemies or its own combatants — was relative. Nevertheless, it is necessary to highlight what occurred when the principal leaders of the PCP-SL were arrested and faced with the same decisions they demanded of their followers. Abimael Guzmán and his closest followers, who had rejected all dialogue with constitutional governments during the 1980s, did not resist arrest and accepted a series of privileges from their captors, and began negotiations with a dictatorial regime in exchange for political concessions that translated into their strategic capitulation.

<sup>20</sup> This statistical correlation indicates the close association of the two variables, that is, the levels at which changes in one variable influence the other. Pearson's coefficient "r" is a way of measuring this association: the closer the coefficient is to the unit (+1 or -1) the greater the association between the two variables. A positive association that is close to the indicated unit indicates that the two variables directly influence one another. For example, kidnapping is closely linked to assassination. A negative association indicates the opposite relationship. For example, when the incidence of legal arrests is higher, the incidence of torture is lower.



The magnitude of the PCP-SL's crimes should not overshadow a review of the actions of the other armed group active during the period of the CVR's investigation, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru*, MRTA). The MRTA, which arose with the idea of becoming a kind of «armed branch» of social movements, followed an insurrectionist strategy comparable to that of other Latin American groups with which it had contact.

The MRTA's military strategy combined urban armed agitation with ambushes and the organization of armed military columns in the countryside. Because it never established links to the social movements it claimed to represent, however, the organization faced serious economic challenges that it attempted to resolve through tactics such as kidnapping. Kidnapping, which was also used by other armed groups in Latin American, was employed even though it is specifically banned by the international humanitarian law the MRTA claimed to respect.

Faced with slow growth, increasing levels of violence and militarization, the MRTA had little opportunity to develop its own armed strategy. It therefore began adopting tactics used by the PCP-SL, including the assassination of people with no military connection for the sole purpose of teaching the population a lesson. Victims of MRTA assassinations included a leader of the Asháninka indigenous people, for his alleged actions against MIR guerrillas in 1965; retired government employees with no links to the administration in power at the time; businesspeople; kidnapping victims; and people they considered «disreputable.» This conduct was echoed within the organization, and assassination became a way for the MRTA to resolve internal conflicts in the months before its principal leaders were arrested.

In addition, the MRTA's efforts to open fronts in rural areas inevitably led to confrontations with the PCP-SL that complicated the conflict even further, creating new risks for the civilian population and increasing the number of victims.

While the MRTA's responsibility for fatalities is proportionately low (1.5 percent of the deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR), the organization's armed activity undeniably increased the suffering of the Peruvian people, added to the number of human rights violations and further weakened democratic order and the social movement it claimed to defend.

#### CRIMES AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CAUSED BY THE STRATEGIES OF STATE AGENTS

The Peruvian state was not prepared to deal with the armed subversion launched by the PCP-SL. For a long time, authorities believed they were dealing with a guerrilla insurgency similar to that of 1965 or one that resembled other armed groups in Latin America. As a result, the initial police response was, above all, a reaction to the PCP-SL's attacks. The police forces' initial efforts did not have

time to mature or produce results before authorities decided to put the armed forces in charge of the anti-subversive fight. The immediate result of this decision, which was adopted without a comprehensive strategy for dealing with subversion on different fronts – ideologically, politically, economically and militarily – was the abdication of civilian authority in a broad swath of territory that was placed under a state of emergency, and a drastic worsening of the violence that increased the number of casualties to levels unparalleled during the remainder of the internal armed conflict.

The PCP-SL remained an unknown organization. There was little information about the sectors where it operated, who its militants were and where they came from, or the ideological differences that separated it from other groups. State agencies compensated for this lack of information by targeting entire populations as potential enemies because they lived in the area where the subversive group operated. People from Ayacucho, Quechua speakers, university students and left-wing politicians became suspects by association.

Similarly, the anti-subversive units were trained only in technical and military areas, with an emphasis on preparing the soldiers physically to operate in complex geographic areas. Their preparation was not seen as ideological and political training for troops that would have to win over the civilian population, avoiding abuses that might alienate it, but as indoctrination based on blind loyalty and a willingness to commit acts of cruelty.

The situation was complicated by racism within the armed forces, which replicated patterns that existed in the overall rural-urban relationship in Peru. Military officers generally came from urban areas, and the cultural and social differences between the officers and the population were immense and produced a general disdain for the people they were supposed to win over and defend. In many cases, instead of protecting the population of Ayacucho from the PCP-SL, the armed forces acted as though they were trying to protect Peru from that population.

Although the PCP-SL had taken up arms against a democratic regime, the civilian governments, with some notable exceptions, did not use the legitimacy of democracy to confront and defeat subversion ideologically. Instead, civilian leaders abdicated their authority in favor of a military response and failed to implement safeguards to protect the population. Appointing military commanders in the emergency zones as «political-military» authorities was equivalent to a decision by civilian leaders to organize the anti-subversive fight in such a way that only the military leaders were responsible for the «dirty work» that inevitably stemmed from conflict. Civilian authorities tended to ignore and silence accusations of abuses instead of assuming their responsibility for designing a truly democratic anti-subversive strategy.

The concept of a state of emergency lost its meaning, and this exceptional measure became a permanent fixture in various parts of the country, leading to the suspension of constitutional guarantees. The permanent nature of the state of emergency weakened Peruvian democracy and created a climate that permitted human rights abuses to occur.

That policy of indiscriminately giving control to the military was re-examined during the early months the administration of President Alan García Pérez, who took a critical view of the efforts of his predecessor, Fernando Belaúnde Terry. The most important developments came in 1985 and 1986, with the creation of the Peace Commission and a willingness to address the serious human rights abuses committed by the armed forces. That period ended after the prison massacres in June 1986, which reduced the possibilities of a democratic alternative to the anti-subversive strategy and played into the Shining Path's strategy of provocation and polarization. The conflict not only spread to other zones, but also grew increasingly complicated, reaching a point where the viability of the Peruvian state was in doubt and creating conditions for massive human rights violations and terrorist actions.

Congress attempted to reorient the state's anti-subversion actions, and there were congressional investigations into the accusations of human rights abuses. Unfortunately, these initiatives were carried out by a small minority in Congress and did not have a significant impact on the way in which civilian authorities assumed responsibility for the conflict.

The military and police forces did their own assessment and reoriented their strategy based on the recognition that the population was caught in the crossfire and that the state had to adopt measures to win over the population. The security forces reduced the number of indiscriminate actions and started to emphasize intelligence work and identify the social sectors where the PCP-SL was trying to win supporters. The state security apparatus, however, did not use legal methods to arrest or process suspects. It continued to carry out extrajudicial executions and forced disappearances, but more selectively.

A new change in strategy came after the arrest of the top PCP-SL leaders, the implementation of new laws to undermine the internal loyalty of subversive groups and the growing national and international focus on practices such as extrajudicial executions and forced disappearances. The most common human rights violations after this change included arbitrary arrest, violation of due process and the mass incarceration of innocent people who spent long years behind bars.

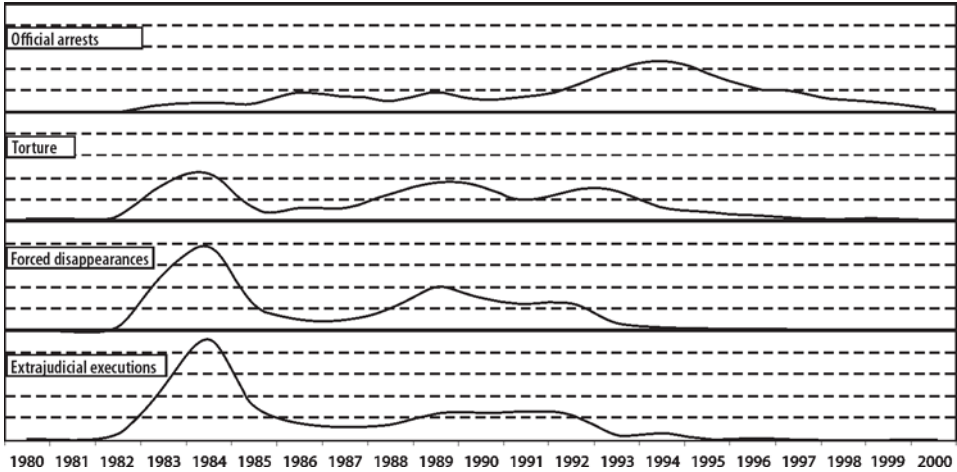
Figure 10 shows the methods applied by state agents during the different stages of the anti-subversive fight.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The data on extrajudicial executions, disappearances and torture were provided in testimonies analyzed by the CVR. The information on official arrests by security forces came from the following sources: data from 1983-1992 was provided by the National Anti-Terrorism Bureau (Communiqué 55-DIRCOTE-COMASE of March 13, 2003); data from 1993-2000 was provided by the National Registry of Detained and Sentenced Inmates from the Attorney General's Office (Communiqué 106-2003-MP-FN-RENADESPPLE).

FIGURE 10

PERU 1980-2000: METHODS USED BY STATE AGENTS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SUBVERSION.  
Percentage distribution of cases by year (each line represents 6% of the cases reported to the CVR)



A large percentage of the extrajudicial executions, forced disappearances and torture reported to the CVR were concentrated in the first stage of the conflict, between 1983 and 1984, when the armed forces were given control over internal order and anti-subversive efforts in the department of Ayacucho. This stage was characterized by a widespread and indiscriminate strategy of repression, especially in the rural areas of Ayacucho. During these years, the members of the security forces hit hard at certain segments of the population with the objective of eliminating potential PCP-SL militants. They eliminated suspects, assumed collaborators and, in many cases, these people's social and family networks in an effort to show peasants the high cost they would pay if they supported subversion. Some of these practices were widespread and constitute crimes against humanity and violations of international humanitarian law and Peru's laws and Constitution.

The intensity of the internal armed conflict subsided somewhat in 1985, reflected in a lower number of crimes and human rights abuses by state agents. Given the continued existence of subversion and its spread to other regions, between 1985 and 1989 state agents in charge of the anti-subversive strategy evaluated their actions and designed a new strategy aimed at combating armed subversion more directly. Greater emphasis was placed on gathering intelligence on subversive organizations, which led to more selective operations to eliminate presumed members of subversive organizations and an effort to actively involve organized peasant communities in self-defense committees to fight subversion.

Members of self-defense committees, who were not state agents but acted under the guidance of or acquiesced to state agents, produced a significant

number of human rights abuses. This was also true of paramilitary groups, particularly the «Rodrigo Franco» Command (*Comando Rodrigo Franco*).

As a result of the strategic changes made in the second phase, there was an absolute decrease in extrajudicial executions (compared to 1983-1985). Forced disappearances increased, however, particularly between 1989 and 1992. The change in strategy was also related to the new areas of conflict opened up by the subversive organizations, especially urban areas where operations to eliminate alleged subversives were more secretive and involved actions such as forced disappearance. This practice was also linked to torture as a way of obtaining information about the subversive organizations' plans and structures.

One of the high points of this stage was the arrest of the principal leaders of the subversive organizations, including the founder and leader of the PCP-SL, Abimael Guzmán Reinoso, who was caught in September 1992 thanks to intelligence work by the National Police. The arrest led to the Shining Path leader's strategic capitulation, the demoralization of many of his followers and the quantitative success of a program to disarm presumed subversives through a legal mechanism known as «repentance.»

The third phase in the anti-subversive effort was characterized by a substantial increase in the number of arrests of alleged subversives and a rapid decline in the number of extrajudicial executions and forced disappearances. There was, however, a notorious increase in the number of cases in which the detainees' right to due process was violated.

Information obtained through the arrests of the top subversive leaders, as well as that provided by members of these organizations who accepted the «repentance» laws enacted by former President Alberto Fujimori's administration, led to the arrest of thousands of people accused to belonging to the PCP-SL and MRTA.<sup>22</sup> Many of these detainees were processed without minimum respect for due process and insufficient evidence.

Numerous mistakes were made within the system created to try people accused of terrorism and treason during this time, eventually leading the state to establish a mechanism for pardons, which allowed hundreds of innocent people to be released from prison.<sup>23</sup> The Inter-American Court of Human Rights ruled that this system violated due process in Peru. In a January 2003 ruling, Peru's Constitutional Tribunal struck down as unconstitutional most of the «anti-terrorism legislation» passed under the Fujimori administration.

Throughout these three major strategic cycles, the security forces systematically used torture as an interrogation technique to obtain information from alleged subversives or as a form of punishment and intimidation. As Figure 10 shows, the pattern of torture during the period investigated by the CVR remained constant during the times when executions, then forced

<sup>22</sup> According to the Attorney General's Office, the years with the highest number of official arrests were 1993 (4,085 arrests) and 1994 (4,948 arrests).

<sup>23</sup> Between 1996 and 1999, the state pardoned 502 people who were unjustly imprisoned. This mechanism, however, did not cover all cases of innocent people in prison (Human Rights Ombudsman, 2000).

disappearances, and finally legal arrests were at their peak.

According to the results shown in Table 2, there is a significant correlation in the distribution of cases reported to the CVR involving extrajudicial executions, forced disappearances and torture committed by state agents between 1980 and 2000. Inversely, there is a weak correlation between arrests and executions and disappearances, as well as a weak correlation with cases of torture.

TABLE 2

CORRELATION OF THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OVER THE YEARS OF EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS, DISAPPEARANCES, TORTURE AND OFFICIAL ARRESTS PERPETRATED BY THE STATE AGENTS AND REPORTED TO THE CVR (Pearson's "r" coefficient)

|                         | <i>Extrajudicial<br/>executions</i> | <i>Torture</i> | <i>Disappearances</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Torture</i>          | 0.76                                |                |                       |
| <i>Disappearances</i>   | 0.96                                | 0.87           |                       |
| <i>Official arrests</i> | -0.17                               | 0.19           | -0.15                 |

The state security forces naturally had an advantage over the subversive organizations, as they had the rule of law at their disposal. The security forces, however, did not use these mechanisms and frequently considered them an obstacle to their actions. The CVR believes that if civilian authorities had not abdicated their responsibility, the state security forces would have been in a better position to adapt more rapidly to the strategic challenges of subversion without having to inflict so much harm on the civilian population. In addition, the impunity under which they operated only served to encourage the security forces to use strategies that included human rights abuses.

It is important to note that the judicial system did fulfill its obligation to apply the law to those responsible for committing human rights violations. In the vast majority of cases, the Supreme Court ceded jurisdiction over accusations of abuses to the military courts. This decision was based on the idea that crimes such as torture, forced disappearance and extrajudicial execution were «crimes committed in the line of duty.» Once in the military courts, these cases were usually dropped. In the handful of cases that were tried, the sentences were almost always lenient. The Fujimori administration even found a way to bypass the generally acquiescent judicial authorities by forcing an amnesty law through the Democratic Constituent Congress.

Under Fujimori, the abdication of civilian authority took on a different face, adhering to – or submitting to – the armed forces' strategic and political vision. The alliance between the Fujimori government and a sector of the armed forces closed all the doors for oversight and opened the way for widespread impunity for human rights abuses and rampant corruption.

The PCP-SL's military strategy, despite the fascination it held for its followers and the ideological mystification that attempted to portray it as a scientific advancement with universal validity, remained unchanged throughout the conflict. The PCP-SL did not respond to any sort of controls, because ideologically it did not recognize the concept of human rights even if that would have helped improve its public image.

The complexities of the strategic changes adopted by the state throughout the anti-subversive fight gave way to two mutually exclusive orientations, each associated with a certain pattern of human rights violations with different levels of severity:

- The first orientation resulted in the more frequent use of methods, such as extrajudicial execution or forced disappearance, that were aimed at physically eliminating people considered to be subversives, collaborators or sympathizers, and in many cases their social or family networks;
- The second orientation led to the arrest of presumed members of subversive groups and rapid summary proceedings that resulted in violations of due process.

The CVR attempted to verify statistical information related to these two orientations – the elimination of presumed subversives or their arrest – by analyzing<sup>24</sup> their correlation with cases of extrajudicial executions, forced disappearances, torture and arrests registered annually. This analysis revealed the principal components of the two orientations. Table 3 demonstrates the correlation of each variable (extrajudicial executions, forced disappearances, torture and legal arrests) with the two orientations (elimination or arrest of people accused of belonging to armed subversive groups).

TABLE 3

**ORIENTATIONS: ELIMINATION OR ARREST.**  
Influence of the variables in each orientation (Pearson's 'r')

| VARIABLES                | ELIMINATION | ARREST |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------|
| Extrajudicial executions | 0.96        | -0.12  |
| Disappearances           | 0.99        | -0.08  |
| Torture                  | 0.91        | 0.30   |
| Official arrests         | -0.08       | 0.99   |

Method of extraction: Principal components

As the table shows, the first orientation has a positive correlation with executions, forced disappearances and torture, while the second is particularly associated with arrests and, to a lesser degree, torture. This configuration of the

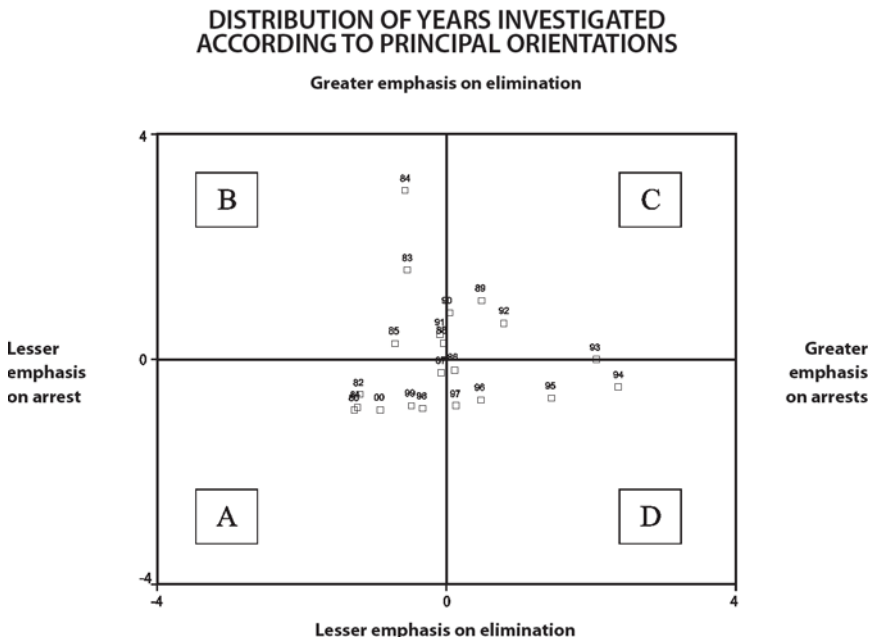
<sup>24</sup> This was done with a factorial analysis, which is designed to determine the general factors underlying the evolution of multiple variables.

principal components indicates that torture – although more frequent in the orientation geared toward eliminating opponents – was a common practice in both orientations and persisted despite the changes in strategy. The result is consistent with the accusations received by the CVR: practices such as extrajudicial execution and forced disappearance were related to a strategy designed to eliminate presumed subversives and were strongly linked to torture suffered by the victims before they were killed or disappeared. The orientation centered on the arrest of presumed subversives is not as closely linked to executions and disappearances, but does have a significant correlation with cases of torture.

A final step in this analysis is a diagram showing the distribution of actions to determine in which years or periods the two orientations peaked. Figure 11 shows the distribution of the years investigated by the CVR, reflecting the degree of emphasis by state agents on the elimination or arrest of alleged subversives.<sup>25</sup>

The intersecting axes form four quadrants encompassing the years investigated by the CVR. These quadrants represent the four kinds of strategies used in the anti-subversive fight.

FIGURE 11



<sup>25</sup> The values of each axis were calculated using the regression method. They represent standard values of the location of each case (practice employed each year) along the axes.



In a certain sense, quadrant A represents a lack of strategies, or periods in which state agents neither eliminated nor arrested alleged subversives because there was no clear strategy for dealing with armed subversion (1980, 1981 and 1982). This quadrant also includes the years in which the subversive threat declined considerably and the state did not carry out significant repressive actions (1998, 1999 and 2000).

Quadrant B represents the years when large numbers of alleged subversives were eliminated, but few arrests were made. During these years, the anti-subversive strategy implied grave human rights violations and state agents carried out actions aimed at eliminating presumed subversives, people considered collaborators or sympathizers, and their family and social networks. As the graph shows, the highest peak is in 1984, followed by 1983. According to information gathered by the CVR, the greatest number of deaths attributed to state agents was registered during these years.

Quadrant C represents a change in strategy. It shows a tendency to combine the physical elimination of people suspected of participating in subversion with an increase in the number of legal arrests. This strategy was most prevalent between 1989 and 1992.

Quadrant D represents periods during which legal arrests increased, which corresponded to a decrease in the number of cases of extrajudicial executions and forced disappearances reported to the CVR. The year with the highest peak is 1994, when the highest number of arrests was made. This result is consistent with the situation that occurred after the arrest and capitulation of Abimael Guzmán, which allowed the police to dismantle the PCP-SL's organization.

Years with levels at or near zero on each axis may represent points at which the strategies changed. It is important to highlight that the years 1986, 1987 and 1988 are located near the intersection of both axes. Those years represented intermediate periods in the internal armed conflict, when the country witnessed a relative decline in the intensity of the conflict before a resurgence with a new wave of human rights violations.

The quadrants in Figure 11 can also be read as a temporary «roadmap» followed by state agents in the anti-subversive effort. The sequence would be from Quadrant «A» to Quadrant «B,» followed by the intersection of the axes, then Quadrant «C,» Quadrant «D» and finally Quadrant «A» again. In other words, the roadmap moves from uncertainty to indiscriminate violence, followed by a transition to more selective forms of violence, another transition – this time represented by mass arrests – and finally a decline in all levels given the virtual end of PCP-SL activities.

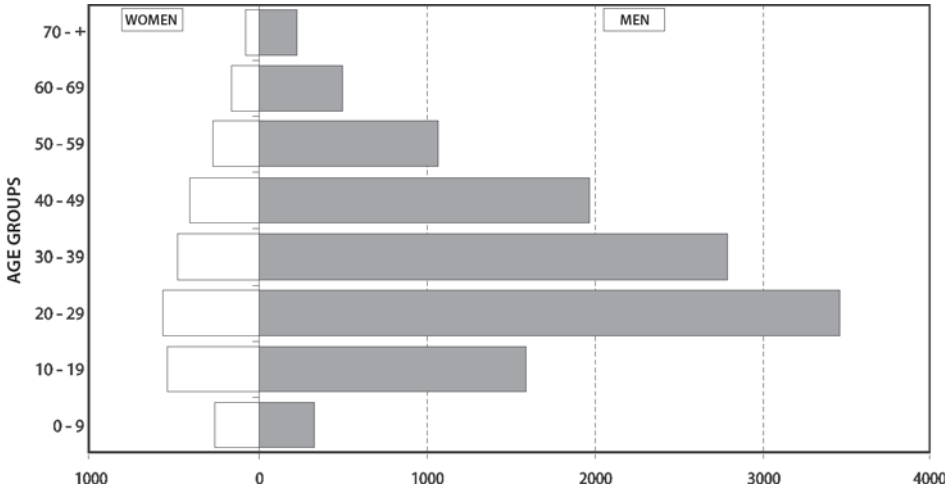
#### PROFILES OF THE VICTIMS

The testimonies received by the CVR indicate that the principal actors in the internal armed conflict employed a number of different practices to select their victims from certain populations.

As Figure 12 shows, the violence did not affect men and women in the same way and was not uniformly distributed among age groups. Men between ages 20 and 49 accounted for the majority of the deaths (more than 55 percent) reported to the CVR, while women accounted for 20 percent of the victims.

**FIGURE 12**

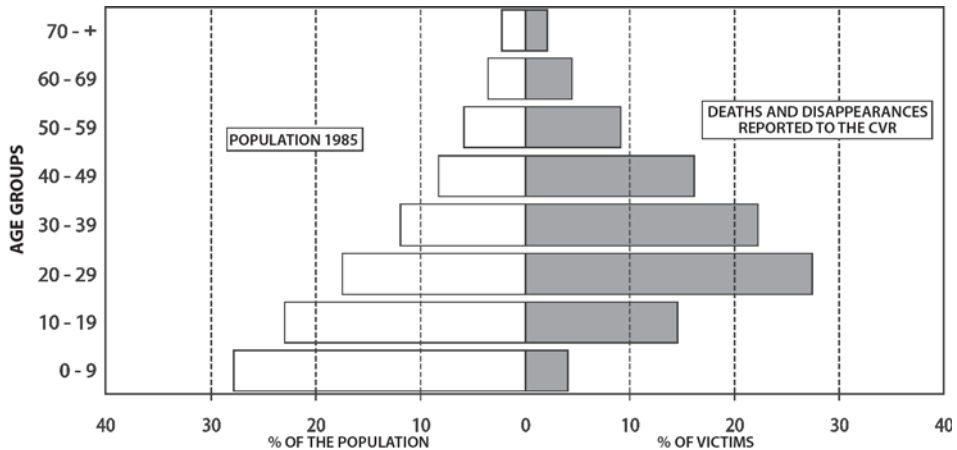
Peru 1980-2000: Number Of Deaths And Disappearances By Sex And Age Reported To The CVR



A comparison of the victims' ages to those of the estimated population on Peru in 1985 shows even more vividly the concentration of victims between ages 20 and 49 (see Figure 13).

**FIGURE 13**

Double Histogram: Relative Distribution, By Age Group, Of Deaths And Disappearances Between 1980 And 2000 Reported To The CVR And The Estimated Peruvian Population In 1985

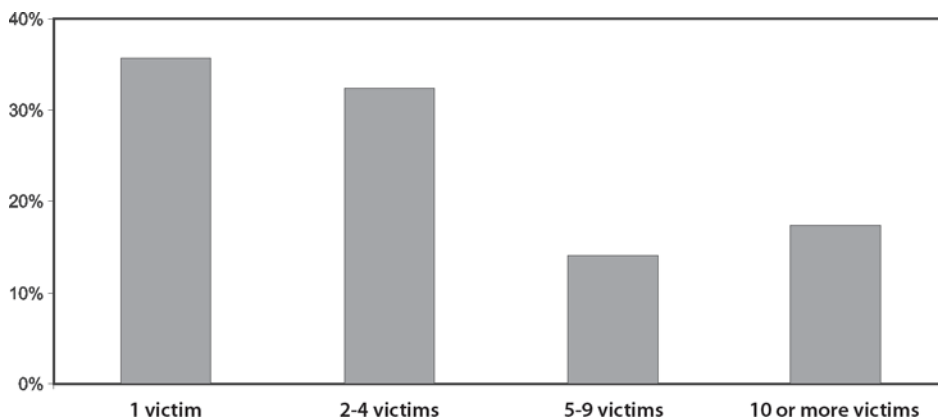


While the 20-to-49 age group represented 38 percent of the population,<sup>26</sup> 66 percent of the dead and disappeared reported to the CVR were in that age group. Considering that 75 percent of the victims over age 15 were married or living with a partner, the internal armed conflict principally affected men who were heads of households, the population that has the largest number of dependent children and that bears the principal economic and political responsibility in communities.

Another indicator is the number of individual executions or assassinations. When people are assassinated or executed in small groups, it generally means that the perpetrators have taken the time to identify specific victims. As Figure 14 shows, the majority of people assassinated or executed by the parties in the conflict (68 percent) were killed in operations or actions involving fewer than five victims. By comparison, in the case of the armed conflict in Guatemala, more than half of the people assassinated between 1969 and 1995, particularly in Maya communities, were killed in groups of more than 50 (Ball et al, 1999: 65-67). The level of indiscriminate violence in Guatemala led the Commission on Historical Clarification of Guatemala to classify as genocide the violence unleashed against the Maya by state agents.

**FIGURE 14**

Peru 1980-2000: Percentage Of People Assassinated Or Extrajudicially Executed Reported To The CVR, According To Size Of The Group In Which They Died



In Peru, the selection of victims reflected the importance placed on forced disappearance by state agents. Disappearance involves removing a specific person from his or her environment so as to cover up human rights abuses (arbitrary arrest, torture, sexual violence). Forced disappearances generally end in extrajudicial executions. The CVR has determined that between

<sup>26</sup> As a reference, the CVR used the age estimates projected by the INEI for the Peruvian population in 1985.

1980 and 2000, forced disappearances represented 61 percent of the deaths attributed to state agents.

Women and children killed in the internal armed conflict were generally the victims of indiscriminate violence, such as massacres or the razing of communities. As the number of people killed in an operation or incursion increases, so does the percentage of deaths of women and children under age 15. Women represent 14 percent of individual assassinations or executions, while children under age 15 represent 2 percent. When the target is a group of 10 or more people, however, the percentage of female victims rises to 31 percent and the percentage of minors to 21 percent.

It is important to remember that, as with other investigations of internal armed conflicts (Ball et al, 1999: 94-98), there is significant underreporting of minor victims, because only identifiable victims are registered. In cases of group assassinations, minor victims are generally underreported by witnesses because children are not as well known in the community as adults.

The way in which the principal actors in the internal armed conflict selected victims indicates that the victims matched a profile or had characteristics that would make them targets. The profile is closely linked to the actors' objectives and strategies.

As has been stated earlier, the CVR has concluded that the internal armed conflict was initiated by the PCP-SL's attempt to seize power through armed struggle by destroying the institutions of the Peruvian state and installing a totalitarian regime.

Within this strategy of taking power through armed struggle, the PCP-SL attacked people who, in its view, represented the «old state.» In practice, this meant that people who held positions of relative importance or had a certain level of social or political leadership in their communities were seen as potential enemies and therefore victims of the PCP-SL's actions.

One indicator of this strategy is that the second most important targets of the PCP-SL's violent actions, after peasants, were local authorities and civil society leaders in conflict zones. These targets included mayors, town council members, sub-prefects, governors, lieutenant governors, justices of the peace, civil society leaders, etc. According to testimonies received by the CVR, approximately 1,503 people, or 23 percent of the PCP-SL's victims reported to the CVR, were local authorities or civil society leaders.

The assassination of a large number of local authorities, the majority of whom were members of the political parties that formed the legal political system ushered in by the return to democracy in 1980, was a massive blow to political participation in the areas affected by the internal armed conflict. An entire generation of local political leaders was intentionally eliminated by the PCP-SL as part of its strategy to create a power vacuum that it would later fill with its own militants.

While the people who held political posts or leadership roles in their communities were the most visible targets of the PCP-SL's armed action, the mechanisms for selecting targets were more subtle and depended on the levels

of local power and social status that existed in the rural communities where the internal armed conflict unfolded.

According to the testimonies compiled by the CVR, 57 percent of the PCP-SL's victims were farmers. This percentage, however, does not reflect the nuances between relatively prosperous farmers and impoverished peasants, or between those with links to local or regional power networks (economic and political) and those who were completely excluded from the system. These nuances are difficult for urban Peruvians to perceive, because the massive economic, political and social differences between rural and urban Peru lead to a uniform conception that all rural areas are poor and precarious.

These subtle differences in the rural world of the Andes and the jungle are not understood or precisely measured in the socio-economic categories that are generally applied in quantitative studies. They depend, in large measure, on relative and specific social differences in each individual case, and it is difficult to find a standard that can be uniformly applied. Nevertheless, these relative differences are what created the conflicts in rural society that the PCP-SL tried to use to its advantage. The various in-depth studies carried out by the CVR demonstrate the importance of these factors in the PCP-SL's strategy and its methods for selecting the victims of its so-called «revolutionary armed actions.»

When applied to rural Peru, the stress on ideology in «Gonzalo Thought» determined that those sectors that had relatively greater connections to the market and political and institutional networks at the regional and national levels were «enemies of the proletariat and peasants» or «agents of the feudal and bureaucratic state» and therefore had to be destroyed. This occurred in the context of major transformations in rural Peruvian society that began in the second half of the 20th century, including the agrarian reform process undertaken in the 1970s, which profoundly changed the old divisions between masters and Indians, peasants and landowners, basically eliminating the rural oligarchy in the Peruvian countryside. «Gonzalo Thought» twisted the new state of social relationships in the countryside to fit into its ideological categories, thereby creating artificial targets for the armed actions of its militants.

The political work of marshalling support led the PCP-SL to recruit heavily among young people of peasant ancestry, principally in Ayacucho. Many of these young people had benefited from the expansion of high school and university education between 1960 and 1980, increasing their expectations of being able to climb the social ladder. Nevertheless, the scant economic opportunities in their communities turned these expectations into frustrations, making the radical social and political change offered by the PCP-SL attractive to many young residents of Ayacucho. The Shining Path also offered young people an important role in the new social order it planned for Peru. The PCP-SL used forced recruitment in communities where it was unable to attract young supporters.

By defining the conflict according to its own interpretations, the PCP-SL developed a profile of its victims in terms of its own armed actions as well as

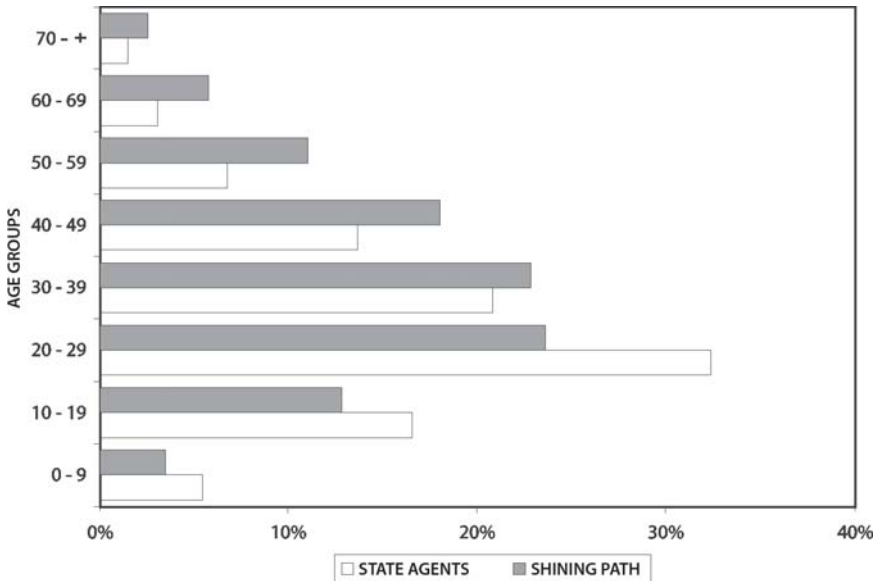
the reaction it hoped to provoke from the security forces. Because the internal armed conflict was unconventional and the PCP-SL militants mingled with local populations, the security forces selected their victims based on the general characteristics of those they believed had the greatest propensity for supporting subversion. This can be seen in the following testimony of a young university student who was detained on terrorism charges in 1991 and eventually pardoned:

[In the National Anti-Terrorism Bureau, DINCOTE] the police officers told me my profile was ideal for a member of the Shining Path: I was the son of people from Ayacucho, more or less spoke Quechua, studied at the UNMSM [San Marcos National University] and lived in Callao. [...] Finally, in Canto Grande [prison], when I was assigned to the Shining Path cellblock, they said to me, 'You are the son of Ayacuchans, you speak Quechua more or less, you study at San Marcos and you live in Callao. You fit the prototype, why don't you join us?'»<sup>27</sup>

Figure 15 shows the ages of the victims killed or disappeared by the principal actors in the conflict. The largest number under age 30 were victims of state agents, while the PCP-SL assassinated or disappeared more people over the age of 40.

FIGURE 15

Peru 1980-2000: Percentage Of Deaths And Disappearances  
By Age Group And Those Responsible As Reported To The CVR



<sup>27</sup> CVR. Testimony 100191.

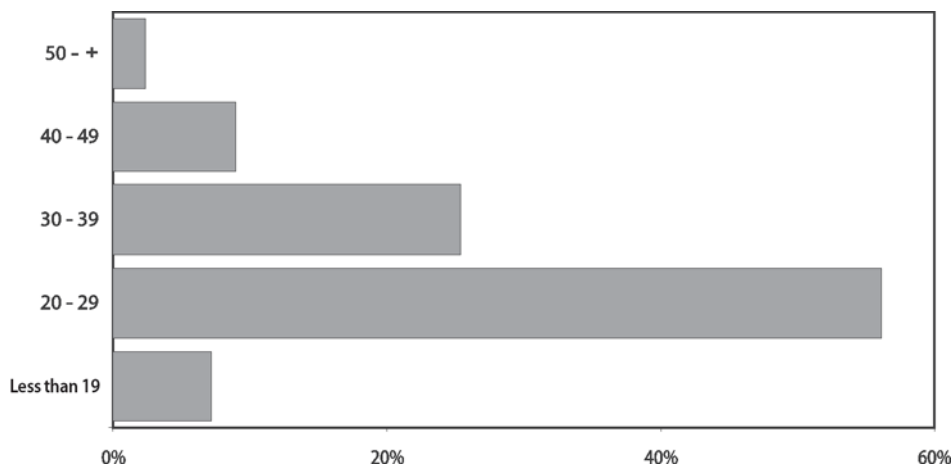
Taking into account the victims' age profile, it can be concluded that the internal armed conflict provoked by the PCP-SL was also a generational conflict, in which young people of rural descent, who were generally better educated than their parents, saw subversion as a way to violently remove older people from their positions of power and prestige in their communities. Of the victims between ages 20 and 29 reported to the CVR, the percentage of high-school-educated people killed or disappeared by state agents was higher than the percentage killed by the PCP-SL (35 percent vs. 22 percent).

A confirmation of this profile of the PCP-SL militant or sympathizer can also be seen in the socio-demographic characteristics of people serving sentences on terrorism charges in the country's prisons.

The CVR interviewed slightly more than 1,000 people serving prison sentences on terrorism charges. As Figure 16 shows, more than half were between ages 20 and 29 when they were arrested. In addition, 45 percent of those detained on terrorism charges who gave testimony to the CVR had some level of higher education.

FIGURE 16

Inmates Held On Terrorism Charges Who Gave Testimony To The CVR,  
Percentage By Age Group At Time Of Arrest



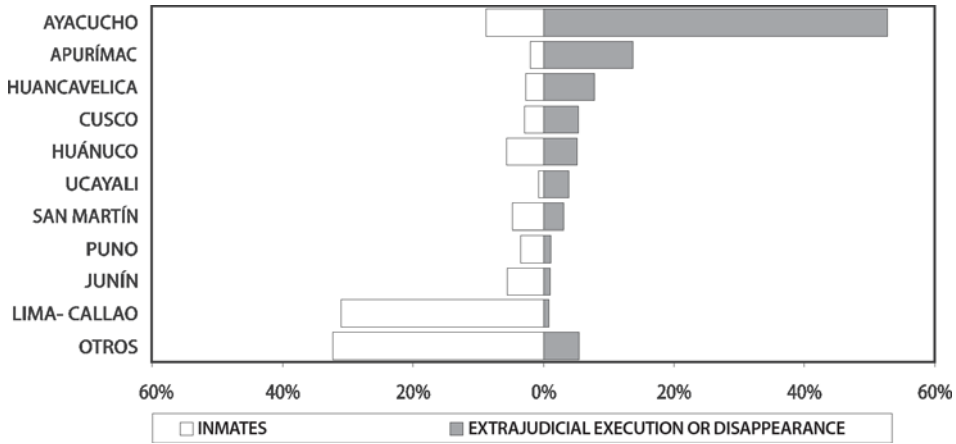
Beyond the similarities between the profiles of people killed or disappeared by state agents and those serving sentences on terrorism charges, it is evident that there was a widespread, systematic strategy of selecting targets based on general characteristics (age group, education level). This inevitably led to serious human rights abuses, because even if victims fit the profile, that did not mean they were Shining Path militants. And even if the victims were PCP-SL members, extrajudicial execution and forced disappearance are illegal under Peruvian law.

While it is clear that being a young adult and having a relatively high level of education were central elements of the profile used by state agents in the anti-subversive strategy, other variables are also associated with the repression.

As Figure 17 shows, the majority of the people killed or disappeared by state agents were born in the department of Ayacucho. Most of the people imprisoned on terrorism charges, however, were from Lima or other departments that were not as heavily affected by the internal armed conflict as Ayacucho.

**FIGURE 17**

Birth Department Of People Extrajudicially Executed Or Disappeared By State Agents Reported To The CVR And Inmates Serving Sentences On Terrorism Charges Who Gave Testimony To The CVR (Percentage By Department)



In addition, while more than 70 percent of the people who were executed or disappeared spoke Quechua or another indigenous language as their native tongue, only 24 percent of the people in prison on terrorism charges share this characteristic.

The probability that the state's anti-subversive action would conclude with a serious human rights abuse or the application of anti-terrorism legislation was not uniform for all social groups. The consequences were more serious and the mistakes more often irreversible in the more marginalized sectors of Peruvian society.

#### PERIODS OF THE INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT

To provide a more detailed explanation of the internal armed conflict, the CVR analyzed the intensity and scope of the violence in relation to the internal logic of the events and the strategies used by the actors directly implicated in the process, as well as the different positions adopted by representatives of political



and social sectors. That analysis recreated the context of the principal actions and decisions adopted and took into account the different options available to the principal actors at the time, in order to avoid interpreting past events in light of information that was unavailable when the events occurred.

The internal armed conflict can be organized into five definite periods that do not necessarily correspond to the terms of the governments that ran the country between May 1980 and November 2000.<sup>28</sup> There were not always substantial changes in strategy from one president to the next. In fact, the decisions about anti-subversive strategy adopted by one administration had consequences for the next.

In addition, as noted above, the principal actions and the majority of the events investigated by the CVR occurred in areas that were out of sight for most Peruvians and were not followed closely by the national media. Breaking down the period between 1980 and 2000 provides an interpretation of the conflict itself, the strategies employed by the principal actors, the victims and the consequences, taking into account the context in which the actions unfolded. By analyzing the process in this manner, the CVR attempted to move away from «official» versions of the violence, such as those created by the Shining Path to justify the «people's war» or those used during the first administration of Alberto Fujimori to launch a political attack against so-called «traditional parties.»

While any attempt to organize events involves some level of discretion in selecting the criteria used to define the different stages, the CVR has defined periods that show the events as part of a national process and reflect its own findings and research. Using this approach, the CVR has established the following periods:

- The start of armed violence (May 1980-December 1982), which began with the first act of violence committed by the PCP-SL in Chuschi, Cangallo, on May 17, 1980, and ran through December 29, 1982, when the president put the armed forces in charge of combating subversion in Ayacucho;
- The militarization of the conflict (January 1983-June 1986), which began with the installation of the political-military command headed by General Roberto Clemente Noel Moral in Ayacucho on January 1, 1983, and ran through the prison massacres on June 18-19, 1986;
- The nationwide spread of the violence (June 1986-March 1989), from the June 1986 prison massacres through March 27, 1989, the date of the attack by the PCP-SL and drug traffickers on the police station in Uchiza, in the department of San Martín;

<sup>28</sup> The process analyzed by the CVR covers the final months of the government of General Francisco Morales Bermúdez (May 17 to July 28, 1980) and the administrations of Fernando Belaúnde Terry (July 28, 1980, to July 28, 1985), Alan García Pérez (July 28, 1985, to July 28, 1990), and Alberto Fujimori Fujimori (July 28, 1990, to April 5, 1992; April 5, 1992, to July 28, 1995; July 28, 1995, to July 28, 2000; and July 28, 2000, to November 20, 2000).

- The extreme crisis, subversive offensive and state counteroffensive (March 1989-September 1992), which began immediately after the PCP-SL attack on the Uchiza police station and ended with the September 12, 1992, arrest in Lima of Abimael Guzmán and many of the PCP-SL's leaders by a special unit of the anti-terrorism police;
- The decline of subversive activity and the rise of authoritarianism and corruption (September 1992-November 2000), which began with the arrest of Abimael Guzmán and other PCP-SL leaders, and ended with Alberto Fujimori's decision to flee the country in November 2000.

#### THE FIRST PERIOD: THE START OF ARMED VIOLENCE (MAY 1980-DECEMBER 1982)

The internal armed conflict suffered by the country began with the PCP-SL's decision to declare war on the Peruvian state. The start of the Shining Path's armed struggle was marked by the symbolic action of publicly burning ballot boxes in the district of Chuschi (Cangallo, Ayacucho) on May 17, 1980, which coincided with the general elections. As a result of this action, the PCP-SL marginalized itself from the democratic process that began that day and launched a violent campaign with the goal of destroying the Peruvian state and subjecting Peruvian society to an authoritarian and totalitarian regime.

At first, the PCP-SL engaged in sporadic attacks against private and public property, as well as armed propaganda. The seriousness of its actions slowly increased until militants began carrying out systematic assassinations and attacks on local police forces. The goal was to provoke a violent reaction from the state to create an internal armed conflict.

The first Shining Path actions were seen as isolated events with little national impact. The reaction was a mix of concern and dismissal, which allowed the PCP-SL to grow in certain areas of the departments of Ayacucho and Huancavelica. In 1980 and 1981, public attention was focused on the transition to a civilian government after 12 years of military dictatorship and the new government's first steps. The PCP-SL's initial actions were viewed with suspicion by legal left-wing parties, with some of the groups believing that the attacks were actually actions by state agents to sabotage the left, as had happened in other Latin American countries.

While several radical left-wing groups had discussed the possibility of armed conflict, the phenomenon created by the PCP-SL caught state security forces off guard. In general, the security forces were expecting a repeat of the guerrilla actions that had occurred in 1965. The anti-subversive training they had received prepared them for that type of action or, at best, confrontation with armed groups similar to those active in other Latin American countries at the time. Intelligence work at the time was misguided because the security forces were unable to clearly define the nature of the enemy. The possibilities for avoiding the eventual course of events were limited because of the subversive organization's small size, its similarity to other radical left-wing groups advocating armed insurgency, and its limited military capacity before 1980.

Nevertheless, as in 2003, the debate over the supposed «lack of intelligence information» was important to those involved in the political transition at the start of the 1980s. Representatives of Popular Action (*Acción Popular*, AP), blamed the lack of preparation and inadequate intelligence about the new subversive threat on the outgoing military government headed by General Francisco Morales Bermúdez. In August 2002, Luis Percovich, interior minister in the AP government, stated:

What is most serious is that they not only avoided responsibility for having discovered and not combated this movement early on, but they refused to deal with it at the critical moment. They dismantled the Interior Ministry. I don't know if the armed forces kept any documentation. I think they did as a matter of esprit de corps, but the constitutional government found nothing when it arrived [...].<sup>29</sup>

Asked about those issues, Morales Bermúdez responded:

Some elements of the Shining Path, individuals with certain leanings, were detected, but at no time [in 1979 and 1980] was there intelligence information that told us «be careful, there's a problem here.» That never, ever happened, I swear on my life. [...] A system [of intelligence] had been established and the generals who served me were the commanding generals under Belaúnde, so how is it that the government did not have the intelligence to end this problem? It is impossible. I called Belaúnde, the commanders of the three military branches and the intelligence service, and they didn't have that information. What! All the intelligence services had the information, because they compared information.<sup>30</sup>

The PCP-SL could not have asked for better conditions for developing its plans and correcting its mistakes than those that existed in the first 30 months studied by the CVR. President Belaúnde's decision to have the police forces handle the first Shining Path actions was the reaction of a newly installed civilian government that could not turn to the military right away without looking weak and ceding the constitutional imperatives of a democratic regime.

The PCP-SL began its self-styled «people's war» against the state with a series of bombings of public institutions in different areas of the country, but with a special emphasis on Ayacucho. While burning the ballot boxes in Chuschi was seen as an isolated act, smaller attacks were carried out in other areas, such as Lima and La Oroya.

In the weeks after the May 17, 1980, attack, groups of Shining Path cadres tossed incendiary bombs at the tomb of General Juan Velasco and the municipal offices in San Martín de Porres. By July 28, when the government changed hands,

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<sup>29</sup> CVR. Interview with Luis Percovich, interior minister during the AP government. Lima, August 28, 2002.

<sup>30</sup> CVR. Interview with General Francisco Morales Bermúdez. Lima, October 3, 2002.

various propaganda actions and the theft of dynamite and weapons had been registered. During that time, the military government did not respond directly to the PCP-SL. There was a partial blackout, due to the destruction of an electricity tower in Huancavelica, and a bombing at Popular Action's headquarters in Pasco on the day Fernando Belaúnde was sworn in as president. In general, the media rarely covered the PCP-SL's initial propaganda actions, which seemed irrelevant compared to the important debates related to the transfer of power from a military to a civilian regime.

The incoming president found a country that was radically different from the one he had governed during his first term (1963-68), and he had to deal with entirely new political and social actors. The AP government did not have to deal with a right-wing APRA-UNO congressional coalition like the one Belaunde had faced during his first administration, but with a left-wing bloc that was unprecedented in its radical positions and size. In the social sphere, the administration was faced for the first time with strong union organizations, such as Unified Union of Education Workers of Peru (*Sindicato Unitario de Trabajadores en la Educación del Perú*, SUTEP), the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (*Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú*, CGTP), the Peasant Confederation of Peru (*Confederación Campesina del Perú*, CCP) and the Mining Federation (*Federación Minera*), which had gained unprecedented strength through their struggles against the military government and maintained close links to left-wing sectors in Congress and the opposition media.

The AP government, like the majority of the country's actors, did not understand the challenge that the PCP-SL and its «people's war» posed to the state. For several years, the issue did not occupy an important spot on the state agenda. It was seen as a criminal matter that would be dealt with by neutralizing the «terrorist criminals.» At the time, however, factors unrelated to the internal war were affecting the police's performance. The principal problems were widespread corruption caused by drug trafficking and internal tensions among the different police divisions (Civil Guard, Republican Guard, and Investigative Police of Peru), which were fueled by the individual identity cultivated by each branch. Throughout its five years in office, the AP administration insisted on linking the PCP-SL with the legal left, refusing to release militants of the United Left (*Izquierda Unida*, IU) who were jailed on terrorism charges.

The PCP-SL, meanwhile, used all available political opportunities to continue building its organization without any significant alterations to its original plans. The state and Peruvian society responded in ways that were unrelated to the subversive threat. Some sectors refused to separate the PCP-SL from the legal left, while left-wing sectors saw the «dirty war» as an inevitable response of the state. The Investigative Police of Peru arrested several hundred members of the PCP-SL, almost all of them in urban areas. In rural areas, however, progress was nearly impossible given the small number of officers and the precariousness of rural police stations. The PCP-SL's presence was never limited to only a few provinces in Ayacucho. From the start of the conflict, the organization placed a great deal of emphasis on Lima. In the words of Abimael

Guzmán:

We saw it like this. We had been pondering the work in Lima. Is Lima important? It is important. The reason: «Ayacucho is the cradle, Lima is the catapult.» The party, for various reasons, will make the leap to Lima in a few years. When we focus on Lima, we will find a large city with people from different provinces from throughout the country. Working there means working in the entire nation, which is why it becomes the catapult. But it cannot be a city conquered at the start, but during the final phase.<sup>31</sup>

The principal opposition force in the political system, the American Progressive Revolutionary Alliance (*Alianza Progresiva Revolucionaria Americana*, APRA), also known as the Peruvian APRA Party (*Partido Aprista Peruano*, PAP), also underestimated the importance of the rise and development of the Shining Path «people's war.» Between 1980 and 1985, APRA lawmakers harshly criticized AP's policy, but proposed no alternatives to the administration's anti-subversive strategy. Aware of the traditional rivalry between APRA and the military, the party's leaders operated with discretion to avoid any confrontation with the armed forces.

Two events associated with the PCP-SL gave the conflict a new dimension. In March 1982, in an attack unparalleled at the time and planned by the PCP-SL Central Committee, a Shining Path unit raided the prison in Huamanga, releasing militants held there. PCP-SL cadres were able to escape because of an inadequate police response and the fact that soldiers stationed in the city were unable to act without direct orders from Lima. The prison break changed the way analysts viewed the Shining Path; they began viewing it as a much greater threat. For some Army generals, such as Sinesio Jarama, the situation took on a much more serious tone, and from his base in Huancayo, General Noel began gathering intelligence from the field. On the other side of the aisle, the radical left-wing militants who would go on to form the MRTA told the CVR that the prison raid convinced them that the conflict had changed and that there was no turning back.

Hours after the attack and the escape of the PCP-SL inmates, a group of officers from the Republican Guard, the police unit in charge of prison security at the time, went to the hospital in Huamanga and, in retaliation, executed three Shining Path militants who were recovering from unrelated injuries. The combination of actions, the prison attack and the assassination of hospitalized PCP-SL militants, gave the PCP-SL its first media victory. Even while it was condemned, the organization was presented in the media as both a guerrilla force and the victim of undeniable police brutality.

The PCP-SL capitalized on the abuses committed by police officers stationed in Ayacucho in a unique case that occurred several months later. In September, Edith Lagos (one of the Shining Path militants freed during the prison raid) was killed in a shootout with police. Her death sparked massive

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<sup>31</sup> CVR. Interview.

demonstrations in Huamanga, including a Mass celebrated by the bishop of Ayacucho. Her funeral ended with a huge burial procession that included Shining Path symbols. In death, Edith Lagos became one of the best-known PCP-SL figures. While she was not an important leader in the organization, her image as the young rebel (she was 19 at the time of her death) put a face on the unknown PCP-SL. The image was such that a congress of APRA youth in Ayacucho adopted her name and Armando Villanueva del Campo, one of APRA's historic leaders, was strongly criticized in the press in the late 1980s for allegedly having visited her tomb in Huamanga.

Human rights abuses were a subject of national political debate from the initial stage of the conflict. One of the first discussions was motivated by a protest from Catholic bishops who denounced the police for torturing Edmundo Cox Beuzeville after his arrest on July 6, 1981, in Cusco. Cox, a PCP-SL militant, was the nephew of a prominent Catholic bishop. The administration reacted harshly to the bishops' criticism, wanting to know why the church had not taken such a strong stand on abuses committed during the military government. Two issues became clear after the Cox incident. First, members of the Shining Path attempted to maintain the organization's clandestine nature by denying at all costs that they were members (this was the «golden rule»), while using the democratic institutions they did not believe in as a way of defending their human rights and tarnishing the image of the security forces. Second, the government saw accusations of human rights abuses as an opposition ploy and therefore not a problem that needed to be addressed.

The police forces demonstrated throughout 1982 that they were incapable of controlling the spread of the PCP-SL in rural zones like Ayacucho. At the same time, they were able to improve their poor public image. This translated into constant pressure on the government to deal more forcefully with the Shining Path's provocations. On December 27, 1982, President Belaúnde gave the PCP-SL 72 hours to lay down its weapons. The PCP-SL did not comply, so on December 30 the government handed control of the Ayacucho emergency zone to the armed forces. Army General Roberto C. Noel Moral, who had been prefect of Lima in 1979 and head of the Army Intelligence Service for two years, took on the role of political-military commander in the zone. Noel recalled the task he was given in the following terms:

In the National Defense Council, the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff told the president of the republic that his orders had been followed [as] «Supreme Head of the Armed Forces, Supreme Head of the Republic, President of the Nation, [following] Article 118 of the Constitution.» The general in charge of the Joint Chiefs of Staff told the president that to ensure that nothing got in the way of the plans, he had asked the commander general of the 2nd Infantry Division to make a presentation to the council, so I made a presentation to the council. At 5 p.m., the president decided to end the event and he told me, «General, your plans are approved, but you will act with the support of the police forces.» So I said to the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, «What's going on?» No one said anything, so I took the microphone and I said, «Mr. President, excuse me, I

want to ask a question, because you have changed the mission. Am I or am I not going to fight?» President Belaúnde told me, «General, you go into combat with all your energy and all the support of the constitutional government.» «Thank you.»<sup>32</sup>

At the time, the PCP-SL's violence was aimed at representatives and supporters of the «old order» in the initial areas of the armed conflict, principally the departments of Ayacucho and Apurímac.

#### SECOND PERIOD: MILITARIZATION OF THE CONFLICT (JANUARY 1983-JUNE 1986)

The conflict took a new turn with the direct participation of the armed forces in the fight against the PCP-SL. In several areas of the country, the military would remain in charge for more than 15 years. This change meant a «militarization of the conflict.» At no other time in the 20th century had the country witnessed the creation of political-military commands to lead the state's response to subversion. At the same time, the PCP-SL created what it called the «people's guerrilla army,» carrying out guerrilla attacks on police stations and ambushing military patrols, while never abandoning its terrorist tactics, such as selective assassinations and bombings.

The murder of eight journalists in Uchuraccay four weeks after the armed forces were put in charge of the fight against the PCP-SL led to a turning point in the conflict as the national media published graphic images of the violence that had gripped the highlands of Ayacucho and neighboring departments. In the following months, as the unconventional armed tactics became more prominent, the number of victims and human rights violations grew exponentially. This period was marked by the largest number of victims registered in the conflict.

When the armed forces were put in charge of combating subversion, they lacked an adequate understanding of the Shining Path and its strategy. They saw the organization as part of a larger communist conspiracy attacking the country. According to this logic, all left-wing militants were equally responsible for the PCP-SL's actions and there were no differences based on international political divisions. For example, 20 years after the conflict, Noel stated during an interview with the CVR that the military had spoiled a supposed Shining Path attack on July 26, 1983, that was planned to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada Fort in Cuba by rebel forces.<sup>33</sup> That kind of action would be unthinkable for a Maoist organization like the PCP-SL, which would never celebrate that anniversary, as it did not consider the Cuban experience a revolutionary process.

Noel had serious disputes with the media, particularly after the events in Uchuraccay. He claimed that the media was tacitly encouraging subversive

<sup>32</sup> CVR. Interview. March 18, 2003.

<sup>33</sup> Fidel Castro's attack on the Moncada Fort in 1953 was one of the historic moments of the Cuban Revolution.

activity when it questioned the armed forces' actions.

Noel's successor, Army General Adrián Huamán Centeno, was relieved of duty in August 1984, the year in which the largest number of victims was registered during the 20-year period studied by the CVR. The decision to replace Huamán, however, was due not to the increased violence, but to his criticism of the government, which he claimed was not offering enough support for the anti-subversive campaign. Huamán, a Quechua speaker of peasant descent, took over the political-military command and immediately focused on improving social conditions in peasant communities as a way of stopping subversion. The political opposition seconded his criticism that civilian authorities had not adequately addressed the needs of peasant communities. In an interview with the CVR, one former government official, Luis Percovich Roca, explained the decision to relieve Huamán: «He [Huamán] wanted to bypass civilian authority [...]. He wanted to run things according to his own criteria. He gave the impression that he did not agree with what the civilian government was doing. It reached the point where he was making comments aimed at undermining the civilian government.»

This phase of the militarization produced massive human rights abuses attributed to the security forces, such as the massacre in Socos (Sinchis of the former Civil Guard, November 1983), Pucayacu (Navy, August 1984), Putis (Army, December 1984) and Accomarca (Army, August 1985). The PCP-SL also committed some of its worst atrocities during this period, such as the massacres in Lucanamarca and Huancasancos (April 1983).

The MRTA formally launched its armed actions in 1984, presenting itself as part of the Peruvian left and explicitly distancing itself from the Shining Path (its militants wore uniforms, lived in guerrilla camps, took credit for actions, etc.). This organization, first formed in 1982 by the merger of two left-wing parties, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left-The Militant (*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria-El Militante*, MIR-EM) and the Marxist-Leninist Socialist Revolutionary Party (*Partido Socialista Revolucionario - Marxista Leninista*, PSR-ML), took two years to prepare for its armed struggle.

The official line on the internal war changed with the election of President Alan García. For the first time, the government criticized the human rights abuses being committed by the armed forces and created a Peace Commission to address the problem of violence. The administration attempted to change the purely military approach to fighting subversion. The most difficult point came with the decision to relieve the head of the second military region, Division General Sinesio Jarama, and the political-military commander in Ayacucho, Wilfredo Mori, after the events in Accomarca. Despite his criticism of the anti-subversion efforts, García did not strike down Legislative Decree 24150, signed by Belaúnde in June 1985, which regulated (and increased) the powers of the political-military commanders, who had previously operated without any constitutional support. García defined his government's position in the following terms:

We had two stages in the analysis of the Shining Path. The first was a very



vague analysis during the government of Fernando Belaúnde. Without knowing what it was or the scope of what was to come, we viewed it from sociological standpoint, as having been stimulated and motivated by misery. Naturally, we were a bit tolerant with this explanation. And perhaps we were a bit paternalistic in the sense that we said that they were «poor people who have been abandoned for so many centuries and are reacting this way so that the centralized, white society will understand and offer a solution.» As of July 28, it wasn't that we changed perspectives or attitudes, but we now had the job of administering. We had to deal with calls from the people to stop the blackouts in Lima, to stop the killing, to stop all the bad news in the newspapers.»<sup>34</sup>

The García administration's main idea was to defeat subversion by taking away possible peasant support through development policies for the peasantry and areas of extreme poverty. The APRA government was overly optimistic that the country's economic growth during the first two years of its administration had stopped the PCP-SL, because of the decline in armed actions in 1985 and 1986. The party also assumed that its «grassroots» appeal would reduce the PCP-SL's possibilities for expansion. That policy may have seemed successful at the start, given the Shining Path's decision to pull back after the military offensive in 1983 and 1984, and the unilateral ceasefire declared by the MRTA when APRA took power.

The relationship between the government and the armed forces was tense at first, but the situation gradually changed when accusations of human rights abuses did not provoke a reaction within the administration. That was evident during an uprising at Lima's Lurigancho prison in October 1985. The APRA government assumed no responsibility in the case. The final moment in this stage was the massacre of inmates in several prisons (June 18-19, 1986), which had an impact on all the actors in the conflict and brought to Lima firsthand images of massacres that until then had seemed far removed from the capital. In practical terms, the prison massacre ended the APRA government's attempt to develop its own internal security strategy.

#### THE NATIONWIDE SPREAD OF VIOLENCE (JUNE 1986 - MARCH 1989)

The militarization prompted by the escalation in the PCP-SL's action, the armed forces' participation in the anti-subversive fight and the MRTA's entrance into the conflict created a new context in which the armed actors developed their own strategies in the field. Beginning in 1986, however, it was clear that the armed conflict was no longer limited to the departments where actions had been carried out initially, but had spread nationwide.

In the wake of the prison massacre, the PCP-SL gradually increased its offensive, expanding to new fronts outside of Ayacucho, such as Puno, Junín and the Huallaga Valley. At the time, the organization claimed to have entered

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<sup>34</sup> CVR. Interview. May 7, 2003.

a new stage, which it called «developing the guerrilla war and conquering support bases» in rural areas to expand its «people's war.» In urban areas, principally Lima, the Shining Path developed a strategy based on the selective assassination of authorities to instill terror and weaken the state. An extremely important attack was staged against Domingo García Rada, president of the National Elections Board, while preparations for a possible presidential runoff in 1985 were still under way. The PCP-SL began targeting members of the ruling party. One example, also in Lima, was the assassination of Rodrigo Franco in 1987. According to the PCP-SL's logic, Franco was killed to impede the consolidation of the «bureaucratic model of APRA fascism.»

The MRTA suspended its cease-fire with the García government and opened a new guerrilla front in the San Martín department in 1987, staging actions to attract the greatest publicity. The MRTA move came only three months after the administration's attempt to nationalize the country's banks, which had produced a major backlash against the government. TV coverage of the MRTA campaign was enormous, taking advantage of the widespread media opposition to the APRA government. MRTA leader Víctor Polay, who had been a close colleague of García's in APRA in the 1970s, became a well-known figure through the media. While the MRTA campaign grabbed headlines, however, it did not have much of a military impact and was quickly turned back by the army.

The PCP-SL held its first party congress in three separate sessions between February 1988 and June 1989. An interview with the PCP-SL's leader, Abimael Guzmán, was done at some point between these sessions and published in the weekly *El Diario*. In the interview, Guzmán offered the most complete explanation to date of his organization and its goals. The interview also helped dispel all rumors of his death, which had been announced periodically by authorities and the press over the years.

Discussions about the reorganization of the police forces began in 1985, sparking intense debate over an initial proposal to retire a large number of officers. While the decision to reform the police forces was not directly linked to the internal armed conflict, several of the changes were aimed at improving coordination of anti-subversive efforts. These changes included a merger of the general police command and regional commands, direct mediation of conflicts among the various police forces, reinforcement of the Interior Ministry's oversight capacities, and the unification of several specialized units into the Special Operations Bureau (*Dirección de Operaciones Especiales*, DOES). Despite these priorities, which included the creation of the Interior Ministry's General Intelligence Bureau, little attention was focused on the Anti-Terrorism Bureau (*Dirección contra el Terrorismo*, DIRCOTE), a unit that had gained experience, especially in Lima, since its creation in 1981 as part of the State Security Bureau within the Investigative Police.

While these discussions were under way, accusations surfaced in 1988 linking members of certain police units, such as the DOES Delta Group, to the paramilitary group that would unfortunately call itself the Rodrigo Franco Command (*Comando Rodrigo Franco*, CRF). This was the first time in the internal

war that attacks were attributed to a paramilitary group. The CRF was blamed for killing Manuel Febres Flores, the attorney for Osmán Morote, a PCP-SL leader arrested that year by DIRCOTE officers. Different sources tied the group and its actions to APRA and members of the police force under the control of Agustín Mantilla, the most powerful figure in the Interior Ministry during the five-year APRA government. The CVR believes that the Rodrigo Franco Command was not a centralized organization, but a loose-knit group that involved different actors who were not necessarily linked to each other, but who were tapped to carry out criminal activities.

In addition, there were a number of problems with the creation of the Defense Ministry in 1987. Despite efforts, the ministry was unable to exert control over the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The new ministry did not reduce the military branches' control over national defense issues.

A period of hyperinflation and generalized economic mismanagement caused the government to lose the political initiative, which was assumed by the right-wing opposition. This became particularly apparent after the failed attempt to nationalize the country's banking system. The administration also abandoned its attempts to control anti-subversive policy, leaving the armed forces free to dictate policy in the emergency zones. The government did, however, maintain a specialized police intelligence and investigative operation, especially in Lima and other cities, that resulted in important arrests, like that of Osmán Morote. The political situation grew more difficult with the spread of strikes and social protests.

The divisions within the United Left in 1989 ended the important electoral presence the left had maintained since 1978. These divisions seriously affected the parties in the left-wing alliance, leaving the most radical parties that did not support armed subversion without representation in the democratic system. While they were opposed to the Shining Path, those parties also refused to support the government's anti-subversive policies because they did not trust the armed forces.

The attack on the police base in Uchiza in March 1989 was one of the largest military operations undertaken by the PCP-SL, and was carried out with the cooperation of drug traffickers. The lack of a state response to assist the beleaguered police officers further weakened García's government and forced him to create a political-military command in the area. General Alberto Arciniega was put in charge, and he developed a new Army strategy aimed at isolating the PCP-SL from peasant communities.

EXTREME CRISIS, SUBVERSIVE OFFENSIVE, STATE COUNTEROFFENSIVE (MARCH 1989 - SEPTEMBER 1992)

One of Peru's most difficult years as an independent nation came in 1989. The economic crisis, almost unprecedented in the country's history, reached its worst

point, and the internal armed conflict grew increasingly violent. Another change in the internal war occurred in 1989, due principally to the decisions and actions of the two main forces.

During its first congress, the PCP-SL defined the need to reach «strategic equilibrium to shake the entire nation» as the new objective of the «people's war.» To do this, the subversive organization proposed concentrating the bulk of its offensive on urban areas, principally Lima. The Shining Path dramatically increased its attacks and terrorist actions, hardening its approach to the population in the highlands and jungle while mobilizing its urban bases for more violent, visible and frequent attacks in cities. This decision led to the second peak in the number of victims in the internal war.

At the same time, the armed forces began applying a new «comprehensive» strategy that resulted in a decrease in the overall number of human rights violations, but far more premeditated actions. This new strategy was detailed in Directive 017 of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the Interior Ministry (DVA 017 CCFUERZAS ARMADAS-PE-DI). The directive, which was signed in December 1989 by General Artemio Palomino Toledo, laid out two strategic decisions for military actions during the remainder of the conflict. First, the armed forces were reorganized into anti-subversion fronts, which were no longer divided by military regions but based on an analysis of PCP-SL actions. Second, on fronts where drug trafficking also existed, the mission was to separate subversion from drug trafficking and combat drug traffickers who supported subversion or received protection from subversives.

As part of that strategy, the decision was made to foment and support the formation of self-defense committees in the highland areas where the population had already begun to combat the PCP-SL. These changes defined the final stage of the conflict. The armed forces' strategy of focusing on the departments of Junín and Pasco as the «center of gravity» for anti-subversive operations pushed the conflict toward the Mantaro front beginning in 1989. This central zone was the scene of an intense application of the new strategy of «selective elimination,» particularly in 1990. That policy was applied to the PCP-SL's «people's committees,» as well as to cells in universities and urban shantytowns.

The MRTA, meanwhile, got caught in a downward spiral from which it would never emerge. In April 1989, one month after the Shining Path attack on the Uchiza police base, the MRTA decided to launch a major military operation in the central highlands. The plan was to take over a major city as a way of achieving a nationwide impact. The organization needed to demonstrate its strength because of the major blow it had suffered early in the year when its founder, Víctor Polay, was arrested in the city of Huancayo. In order to take Tarma, the city chosen for its military operation, the MRTA moved some of its best fighters to the central highlands. The operation failed, ending in a confrontation with the armed forces in Molinos on April 28, 1989. The treatment of MRTA guerrillas who had surrendered demonstrated to the organization that the armed forces did not distinguish between the subversive organizations.

The MRTA retaliated a few months later by assassinating retired Army General Enrique López Albújar in Lima.

With municipal and regional elections scheduled for 1989 and the campaign for the next year's presidential election already under way, the country's political forces began to mobilize, exposing the limits of the threat to the state posed by the Shining Path and MRTA. Local and regional elections were successfully held throughout the country, representing a failure for the PCP-SL, which had called for a boycott of the elections.

In March 1990, with the presidential election only a month away, the government formed the Special Intelligence Group (*Grupo Especial de Inteligencia*, GEIN) within DIRCOTE. While DIRCOTE's operational groups, such as the Delta groups, continued the legal work of investigating attacks and terrorist actions in Lima, the GEIN engaged exclusively in undercover intelligence operations, keeping suspected subversives under surveillance in the hope that they would eventually lead to the principal figures in the two organizations. On June 1, shortly before the government changed hands, the GEIN scored its first major victory, raiding a safe house where Abimael Guzmán had recently been living. Information obtained in the raid provided valuable leads, and is considered «the beginning of the end of the Shining Path» (Jiménez 2000: 721).

Strictly speaking, the new government did not design a *new* anti-subversive strategy. Alberto Fujimori basically maintained the comprehensive strategy that had been developed by the armed forces, proposing legal initiatives to complement the approach. He also accepted the political-military plan designed by a sector within the armed forces, which called for a democratic system that fit the needs of the anti-subversive efforts.

The PCP-SL, which was suffering important setbacks in rural areas, expanded quickly in Lima amid the general political and economic crisis. The MRTA attempted a dialogue with the new government after the organization's leaders escaped from Lima's Castro Castro prison in June 1990. The organization kidnapped a lawmaker from Fujimori's party to give it an edge, but the administration rejected talks. In 1991, more than half the Peruvian population was living under a state of emergency. That year, the MRTA launched several offensives in different areas of the country, trying to show that it had recovered as a result of the prison escape. In November, the administration passed a package of legislative decrees that sparked fierce debate in Congress, starting the clock ticking for the next coup.

On April 5, 1992, Fujimori led a coup that violated the constitutional order. The Fujimori government passed a series of anti-terrorism laws (Legislative Decrees 25475, 25499, 25659 and 25744) that disregarded the minimum guarantees of due process. In addition, several other laws were passed to augment the power of the military, vastly increasing the role of the armed forces in the emergency zones and in the fight against subversion. The legislation increased the security forces' discretionary power, reducing democratic controls over anti-subversive actions. Serious human rights abuses by state agents continued, including those perpetrated by the death squad known as the Colina

Group (emblematic cases attributed to this group include the massacres in Barrios Altos and La Cantuta University), which began operating in the early 1990s. Taking advantage of the broad powers it was given under the new laws, the National Intelligence Service (*Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional*, SIN) began planning and carrying out actions on its own, using personnel from the armed forces.

The PCP-SL's assassination of María Elena Moyano, a grassroots leader and local politician, represented another turning point of sorts. While her murder demonstrated the cruelty with which the PCP-SL was capable of acting, it also revealed the vulnerability of grassroots organizations that tried to confront the subversives in the early 1990s. The organization led by Guzmán Reinoso intensified its offensive in the capital with numerous terrorist attacks, the most serious of which was the bombing of an apartment building on Tarata Street in Lima's Miraflores district in July 1992. The car bomb killed 25 people and injured another 150. By increasing its terrorist activities, the PCP-SL leadership believed that it could provoke a possible U.S. military intervention, which would transform the conflict from an internal war to one of national liberation.

Amid this extreme crisis, the police officers working in the DIRCOTE's special units surprised the country by arresting most of the high-ranking subversive leaders, strategically defeating subversion and terrorism. Among those arrested were Víctor Polay Campos, caught by the Special Detectives Brigade, and Abimael Guzmán Reinoso, captured by the GEIN.

DECLINE OF SUBVERSIVE ACTION, RISE OF AUTHORITARIANISM AND CORRUPTION (SEPTEMBER 1992-NOVEMBER 2000)

The arrest of Abimael Guzmán and other subversive leaders marked the defeat of the PCP-SL, which had begun to decline three years earlier when the organization was forced out of its traditional areas of operation by the security forces and self-defense committees. The lack of national leadership to fill the vacuum created by Guzmán's arrest was evident in the quick decrease in terrorist actions. The Shining Path's principal objective in this phase was to present the image that the organization was unaffected by the arrests, while concentrating on a campaign «to save the life of President Gonzalo.»

In October 1993, from his prison cell on the Callao Navy Base and after discussions with other Shining Path leaders facilitated by Alberto Fujimori's government, Abimael Guzmán proposed a peace accord with the state. The accord was never reached, but it served as a propaganda tool for Fujimori on the eve of the referendum to approve the 1993 Constitution. The Shining Path leader's position was accepted by the majority of the organization's militants, overshadowing factions that wanted to continue the «people's war.» The Fujimori government, however, did not attempt to establish a definitive peace or respond to the proposals offered by Guzmán. In practice, there was a rupture in the PCP-SL, with part of the organization's leadership rejecting the peace accord

proposed by Guzmán.

The MRTA, meanwhile, continued military actions in San Martín and part of the central jungle. Under the leadership of Néstor Cerpa, who took over after Polay's arrest, the organization launched important attacks on cities such as Moyobamba and attempted to develop urban guerrilla cells. Although it did not seem to be as crippled as the Shining Path, the MRTA was unable to overcome serious internal disputes, the inexperience of its cadres<sup>35</sup> and the effects of the «repentance» law. Externally, the organization was affected by the collapse of left-wing parties and the offensive against subversive organizations that was launched by the state and backed by the media. Given this situation, the MRTA decided that its priority was to rebuild its national leadership by attempting to free its jailed members. Unable to repeat the prison break from Castro Castro, the organization decided to plan a kidnapping that could be used to exchange hostages for its jailed leaders.

At the same time, the Fujimori government continued to play up its image as a hard-line regime that would make no concessions to subversives by enacting a new legal framework and strengthening its relationship with the armed forces. Despite the obvious decline in the number of subversive actions, which the administration highlighted in its official propaganda, the regime did not reduce the number of emergency zones and maintained the anti-subversive structures even though there was no longer a subversive threat.

In concrete terms, the pacification policy basically meant jailing the largest possible number of subversives and holding them under extreme conditions in maximum-security prisons, as well as isolating the remaining armed columns. The peace accord proposed by Guzmán and the Shining Path leadership provided Fujimori with political capital while lowering tensions in the prisons. The PCP-SL, however, did not disappear. Vladimiro Montesinos was in charge of conducting the personal interviews with Guzmán, Elena Iparraguirre and other PCP-SL leaders in a role as «academic interlocutor.» Those conversations, which were framed by political interests, were interrupted in 1995. It is important to note that neither Fujimori nor General Nicolás Hermoza Ríos (the most important military figure at the time) met with the PCP-SL leaders. Interviews with the Shining Path leaders were not conducted by members of DINCOTE, which was largely deactivated after Guzmán's arrest, or by Army intelligence experts working with the SIN, such as General Eduardo Fournier.

The constant accusations of human rights abuses took a new turn with the July 1993 discovery of common graves holding the remains of nine students and a professor who had been disappeared from La Cantuta University. The Fujimori government not only refused to assume any responsibility, but attempted to discredit and harass the people who had reported and located the common grave. Using the SIN as its principal political apparatus, the government continued implementing a series of legislative changes that eliminated the separation of powers in order to guarantee impunity for state agents implicated

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<sup>35</sup> In the tradition of revolutionary organizations, the term "cadre" refers to a militant capable of training and recruiting new members.

in human rights violations. The majority held by Fujimori supporters in the Democratic Constituent Congress allowed the administration to use different spokespeople to downplay the accusations and, most importantly, pass an amnesty law in 1995 that protected state agents who committed human rights abuses, thereby guaranteeing full impunity.

Corruption continued throughout the decade with the objective of ensuring the administration's permanence in power. The government used the military structure for electoral and political gain, maintaining the anti-subversive strategy even though subversion had been reduced drastically. The final actions of the internal conflict, which ended successfully for the government, were hyped in the media for political gain. The threat of «terrorism» was also used to manipulate the population through fear. Anti-subversive operations, therefore, were not aimed at arresting subversive leaders and decisively ending the actions of the PCP-SL and MRTA. At best, they were propaganda tools used by the regime; at worst, they were a way of distracting public attention from the excesses and crimes that were being reported with increasing frequency. The propaganda and distraction were largely possible because the administration had gradually gained near complete control over the mass media, which were bought off with state funds.

The final high-impact actions of the internal war were successfully exploited by the government. The assault on the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima in December 1996 by an MRTA column commanded by the group's leader, Néstor Cerpa, in which 72 hostages were held for more than four months, ended with the hostages being rescued during the Chavín de Huántar mission. After military setbacks in the border conflict with Ecuador in early 1995, the government used the hostage rescue as a way of regaining legitimacy. In addition, in July 1999, after a massive and highly publicized operation, PCP-SL leader Óscar Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*, was arrested near the city of Huancayo. Ramírez Durand was a dissident Shining Path leader who had rejected the peace accord proposed by Guzmán and continued fighting the «people's war» that had been launched in 1980. He was the last high-ranking PCP-SL leader still at large.

More interested in remaining in power and proclaiming his hard-line position on subversion, Fujimori paid little attention to the anti-subversion policy and did not offer a final solution to the problem of subversion, which continued to exist in remote areas of the country that were also home to drug trafficking.

## THE INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT AND THE REGIONS

The internal armed conflict evolved differently in the country's distinct geographic regions.

While the history of two decades of violence analyzed by the CVR involved organizations with centralized decision-making and leadership structures — the PCP-SL and MRTA on the one side and the security forces on the other — the intensity of the violence, the forms of violence employed and the



configuration of the actors differed greatly from region to region. While the various actors had a sporadic presence in some areas, in others they wiped out lives, destroyed infrastructure, altered residents' daily routines and launched long periods of horror, suffering and uncertainty. In addition, in regions with high levels of violence, the conflict evolved according to different timelines, depending on the strategies used and the ways in which the population was involved.

The diversity of the history of violence in the regions is related to the particular characteristics of each region before the conflict, as well as the objectives and strategies of the armed groups in the areas where they were active.

The CVR defined five large regions where the internal armed conflict was most intense:

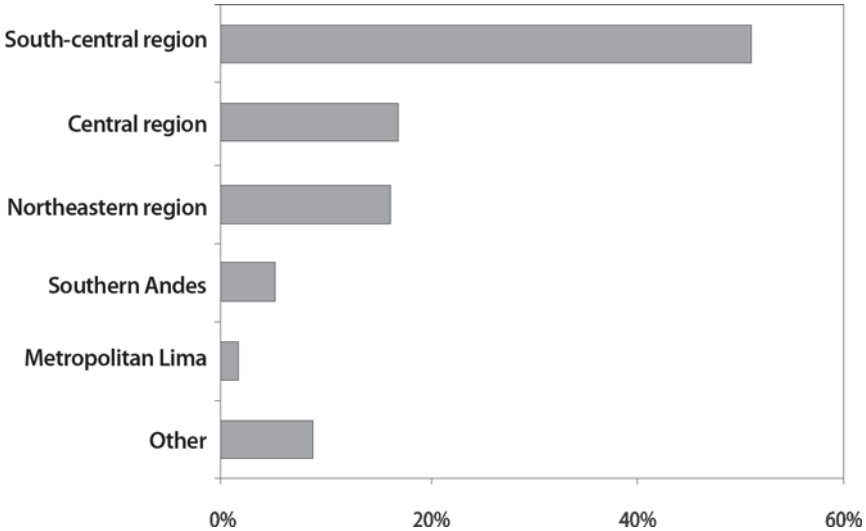
- The south-central region, formed by the department of Ayacucho, the provinces of Acobamba and Angaraes in the department of Huancavelica, and the provinces of Andahuaylas and Chincheros in the department of Apurímac. The internal armed conflict began here with a level of violence unparalleled in the rest of country. The largest number of victims came from this region;
- The northeast region, formed by the departments of Huánuco, San Martín, Ucayali (particularly the provinces of Padre Abad and Coronel Portillo) and Loreto. The armed conflict lasted longest in this region and was complicated by other factors, especially those linked to the drug trade;
- The central region, formed by the departments of Junín and Pasco, and the provinces of Huancavelica, Tayacaja, Huaytará, Churcampa and Castrovirreyna in the department of Huancavelica. Located between Ayacucho y Lima, this was a strategic region for supply and communication routes to the capital. It included the major hydroelectric complex for the national energy grid, as well as numerous mining companies. It also served as a rest area for subversives operating in the jungle.
- Metropolitan Lima, the seat of power and the economic center of the nation. It was permanently targeted from the start of the conflict because of what it represented and because of the national and international attention focused on attacks in the capital. It was also the place where national strategies were planned and a focal point for agitation and organization in low-income neighborhoods.
- The southern Andes, formed by the departments of Cusco and Puno, and the provinces of Abancay, Grau and Cotabambas in the department of Apurímac.

These regions were home to 91 percent of the victims reported in testimonies received by the CVR, as well as the most widespread destruction of infrastructure and the greatest deterioration of organizations, trust, relationships

and solidarity within civil society (see Figure 18).

**FIGURE 18**

Peru 1980-2000: Percentage Of Deaths And Disappearances Reported To The CVR,  
By Region Where They Occurred



#### GROUND PREPARED AND SEEDS OF THE CONFLICT IN THE REGIONS BEFORE 1980

The PCP-SL and MRTA were able to establish a greater presence in some regions than in others. The coastal region (with the exception of Lima), which is home to the most populated departments, is listed in the category of *others* in Figure 19, representing less than 10 percent of the victims reported to the CVR. This category also includes a large part of the lower jungle region, the northern jungle (Amazonas, northern Cajamarca and part of Loreto) and the southern jungle (Madre de Dios), as well as most of the provinces in the departments of Ancash, Cajamarca and Arequipa.

The CVR's investigations show that the subversive organizations achieved their greatest control and had an important and long-lasting presence in areas where they could take advantage of chronic conflicts among different sectors of the population or between residents and the state.

During the second half of the 20th century, Peruvian society experienced the most profound and radical demographic, economic, political and social changes in the nation's history. In the 1950s, a process of mass rural migration began, particularly from the highlands, with Lima as the principal pole of attraction. At the same time, peasant mobilizations altered traditional land-owning structures, changing rural demographic patterns and power structures.

Policies to protect industries and encourage investment (industrial development and agrarian banks, protectionist tariffs, etc.) transformed the national economy, particularly the life, economy and demographic importance of Lima. Massive modernization projects were also undertaken, including large irrigation projects along the coast, which changed the landscape, economy and demographics of the region. A highway into the jungle, which was started in the 1960s, had a similar impact. The promise of modernity, however, bypassed a large part of the highlands. There were no important investments, no highway links and no massive hydroelectric projects. In the highlands, modernization, or part of it, was manifested by the agrarian reform and the expansion of educational opportunities.

In many ways, these changes meant unequal levels of modernization and development in the different regions of the nation. While there were significant changes in the daily lives and expectations of the majority of the population, the limitations of the Peruvian modernization process allowed old conflicts to linger and created new social problems, as well as individual and group frustrations. The violent process that was launched in 1980 occupied those spaces where the limitations of modernity had generated the most significant conflicts or frustrations, preparing the terrain for subversive groups to take root and grow.

### **The northeast: integration, highway, colonization and drug trafficking**

A telling example of the incomplete process of modernization, which affected people's lives by disrupting their traditional patterns but did not integrate them into a new context of development and social welfare, can be seen in the northeast region. The northeastern jungle is an area of colonization, and its population multiplied several times over last half of the century as people from the impoverished central and northern highlands migrated there. This migration produced a huge gap between the demands and expectations of the expanding population and the capacity of economic and state structures to respond to them.

The massive effort to build the Marginal Highway through the jungle in the 1960s was an attempt not only to incorporate the resources of the Amazon Basin into the national economy, but also to satisfy the demands for land in the highlands and on the coast and redirect internal migration away from Lima. Besides investing in the highway, the government actively promoted colonization by awarding land titles as a way of expanding the agricultural frontier.

During the 1970s, this growing migrant population, which was rural, ethnically mixed, poor and eager to progress, settled in areas that lacked basic public services and internal communication routes and did not form part of the axes of regional development promoted by the state. As a consequence of this process, dozens of small towns were formed, creating a disorganized society without public institutions to guarantee security or order.

Two parallel stories emerged from this area. The first was in the Huallaga

Valley, where drug trafficking, with its own economy, culture and norms, took the place of the state. The second was in the provinces of San Martín, which had links to the coast through Jaén-Chiclayo. While licit agriculture developed here, there were also constant regional battles to improve the terms of economic exchange with the rest of the nation.

In both areas, whether because of drug trafficking or the pressure of social movements, the conflicts between the state and local populations were particularly intense, especially between 1978 and 1982. These conflicts created the immediate context in which the subversive groups put down roots – the PCP-SL in the coca-growing areas and the MRTA in San Martín.

### **The Asháninkas and colonists in the central jungle**

Unlike the northeast region, the central jungle, which is closer to the capital, had stronger links to the national economy and a more consolidated network of urban areas. The population also grew rapidly in the 1960s as colonists, mainly from the central highlands, moved to the area.

The region is home to the one of the largest lowland indigenous peoples, the Asháninkas, who inhabit an area from the Gran Pajonal plains in the north to the province of La Convención, Cusco, to the south. In addition to the Asháninkas, there are also smaller communities of Yanesha and Notmasiguenga indigenous peoples. The process of colonization in the region, which dates back many years, gained speed with the expansion of road systems, sparking numerous conflicts between indigenous people and squatters over natural resources and land titles.

Unlike other lowland Amazonian societies, the native communities in the central jungle are not isolated from the rest of the nation. They have links to urban areas and commercial zones and maintain smooth relationships with the colonists (despite constant conflicts over territorial boundaries), as well as the national educational system. Catholic and Protestant missionaries – the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) – have had a presence in the region for many years through schools, bilingual education programs, health care centers, etc. Many communities have received outside financial support to build schools or community centers, purchase farm animals and equipment, radios, electric water pumps, tools, chainsaws, medical and dental supplies, and, in one case, build an airstrip. The communities also received assistance for members to be trained in agricultural techniques or as health-care promoters.

The PCP-SL recruited people who functioned as a kind of link between the native communities and national society – colonists from Ayacucho, bilingual teachers, health promoters and even indigenous leaders – to infiltrate a society that was a blend of very traditional organizations and a modern economy that had not fully arrived. Its message of equality, justice and especially social welfare went over well with clan elders, and the Shining Path took root among the population, reorganizing it around the war effort.

The complex relationship between the MRTA and the Asháninka

population in the area around Oxapampa, which ended in open conflict, was the only case in the central jungle in which the conflict between Asháninkas and colonists mixed with the internal armed conflict.

### **Andean modernization: the cities, universities, market economy and mining**

Unlike the jungle and coastal regions, the highlands were not the focus of any major modernization projects. Without any resource to attract national or foreign investment or a dynamic economic pole – due mainly to the sparse and poorly constructed road system – midway through the 20th century Ayacucho showed visible signs of economic depression, with among the lowest per-capita income and greatest migration to other departments. A traditional center for landowners in the region, the city of Huamanga was the undisputed seat of regional power. The landowners, however, lost most of their social and economic power amid the region's poverty and depression. Peasant movements, the sale of haciendas to workers and finally the agrarian reform eroded this group's influence and weight in the city and surrounding areas.

An educational initiative, the reopening of the San Cristóbal de Huamanga National University (*Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga*, UNSCH) in 1959, revitalized the city and connected it to the modernization process in the rest of the country. The reopening of the UNSCH attracted professors and students from outside the region, and Huamanga became a focal point of cultural, political and economic development in the region. The university fostered progressive ideas and was removed from traditional sectors at a time when the old landowning class was disappearing.

After a nearly 50-year hiatus, the UNSCH was viewed as a modern educational organization in terms of its structure and academic conception. Without the administrative problems faced by other state universities, the UNSCH focused on training technicians, researchers and teachers to solve the region's problems. This high-quality, modern approach was sustained by the rapid growth of the university, which expanded from 228 students in 1959 to 6,059 in 1980. While that growth led to a deterioration of university services, it did provide young people from rural areas, the children of peasant families, the opportunity to envision new social mobility for their families and communities.

The importance of education as a tool for progress and social mobility and the university's role as a regional institution were manifested in the most important social protests in the region. The government's decision in 1966 to cut the university's budget sparked major demonstrations and led to the creation of the Ayacucho Defense Front. This was followed by an uprising in 1969 in Huamanga and Huanta against a decree by the military government to limit free education, a protest that was violently repressed.

Like other universities around the country, San Cristóbal was a center for the radical ideas of the 1960s and 1970s. Without the presence of other institutions or cultural influences, the university had a virtual monopoly on

public opinion and helped mold a common perception among the population. Its influence as a modern educational institution – at least in its rhetoric – extended to the National University of the Center of Peru in Huancayo, and UNSCH professors, as well as Shining Path leaders, were invited to offer presentations to students and unions there during the 1970s.

The UNSCH was the place where the PCP-SL and its leader, Abimael Guzmán Reinoso, got their start. The PCP-SL's presence at the UNSCH after a split with the Communist Party of Peru-Red Flag (*Partido Comunista del Peru-Bandera Roja*, PCP-BR) came just at the moment when the university was expanding rapidly, with enrollment rising from 1,500 students in 1968 to 3,319 in 1971. The strong PCP-SL presence in the UNSCH Education Department spread to Guamán Poma de Ayala High School, allowing the organization to influence the teachers' union (SUTE) in Huamanga and occupy the new teaching positions that were being created by the expansion of education in the region, particularly in rural areas.

Other regions of the highlands that were affected by the violence, although with less intensity than Ayacucho, had also undergone urbanization in the 1950s and 1960s, accompanied by the modernization of their universities. One example is the city of Cusco and San Antonio de Abad National University. Like the UNSCH, the university expanded by increasing access for students from poor urban to rural sectors, and increased enrollment was accompanied by a decline in services. There were also attempts to develop the same radical ideas that had taken root in Ayacucho.

Unlike Huamanga, Cusco was a much more complex society and achieved a level of economic activity and modernity through tourism. While there were only 6,903 tourist arrivals in Cusco in 1954, the number increased to 176,000 by 1975. Expansion of the hotel business, arts and crafts industry and restoration efforts followed that trend.

Cusco was also characterized by the urbanization of poverty and a depressed rural economy. While local authorities complained that tourism was not benefiting the city and that the major benefits were being reaped by tour operators in Lima and abroad, the presence of this dynamic activity, which generates ideas and services around a highly mobile, foreign population, was a counterbalance for the city, its university and its young people who, although radical, did not join the subversives' ranks or collaborate in their war against the state.

Modernization in Puno was also concentrated in urban areas. Between 1950 and 1960, Puno experienced a perverse combination of excessive rain and flooding followed by intense droughts. Amid these natural disasters, the Corporation to Foment and Promote the Social and Economic Development of Puno was set up in 1961 and operated until 1972 as an autonomous administrative agency responsible for organizing and planning development in the department. Its work, however, was only reflected in the modernization of the city of Puno, the departmental capital.

As part of this modernization, the creation of a university in Puno was

seen as an example of progress. In 1961, the government created the National Technical University of the Highlands. The university expanded rapidly in the 1970s, attracting the children of peasant families who saw it as an opportunity for social mobility.

The city of Puno, however, was neither the most dynamic nor the only urban area in the department to modernize. Thanks to the influence of a railway and the opening of the Caracoto cement factory in 1963, the city of Juliaca became the modern expression of provincial sectors linked to the peasant world. This led to the formation of a mixed-race and indigenous class of merchants that replaced the declining landowning class. In addition, the southern provinces in the department, which were home to primarily Aymara indigenous farmers organized in a network of communities that extended to the Bolivian border and who had a smaller presence in commerce, were uninterested in radical rhetoric. As a result, the presence of subversion in Puno was sporadic in urban areas and concentrated basically in rural areas that had once been under the control of large livestock operations.

The central region was of fundamental importance. Located between Ayacucho and Lima, it supplied food and energy to the capital and its industrial base. The region was formed by a network of urban areas (the cities of Huancayo, La Oroya, Cerro de Pasco, Tarma and Jauja), mining activity (large state-owned companies, active unions and warehouses full of explosives), and a highly differentiated rural area that included urbanized communities linked to the markets of the Mantaro Valley. In addition, there were communities in conflict with the state-owned companies, as well as extremely poor communities at higher altitudes, such as in Pasco, dedicated principally to animal herding. Control of the central region was a strategic objective of both the PCP-SL and the MRTA. While they failed in their attempts to infiltrate the communities with ties to the Mantaro Valley, they carried out actions in the highland communities and the cities, particularly Huancayo. This was evident at the university in Huancayo, where the student body was extremely radical, and which was the scene of open conflicts between the two subversive organizations.

The mining cities of La Oroya and Cerro de Pasco were the targets of frequent attacks. The subversive groups attempted to take advantage of union disputes, but they failed in that effort as well as in their efforts to infiltrate the unions. Faced with rejection by the union movement, the PCP-SL harassed and assassinated important leaders of the mine workers' union. Other union leaders were targeted by the Rodrigo Franco Command. The mining sector and its unions were hit hard, but they never capitulated politically to subversion. In contrast, the region's universities proved fertile ground, and the confrontational discourse was successful in attracting young people, many of whom were from rural backgrounds. In Cerro de Pasco, where the PCP-SL's presence was felt from the early years of the armed conflict, Daniel Alcides Carrión National University became a politically important center for spreading the PCP-SL's rhetoric and recruiting future militants. At the National University of the Center of Peru in Huancayo, the presence of the PCP-SL and MRTA was not as strong,

but was extremely violent.

### **Metropolitan Lima: urbanization, industrialization and marginalization**

Lima, the center of political and economic power in the country, was one of the most violent areas. Many of the subversive actions in the city, such as the assassination of high-level government authorities, political leaders, military officers and businesspeople, as well as car bombings, the downing of power lines and attacks on shopping centers and financial institutions, were motivated by the attention they would provoke. Through these kinds of terrorist actions, the subversive organizations, especially the PCP-SL, saw the capital as a «sound box» for magnifying the impact of their actions and creating a feeling of panic and the sense that the security forces had lost control.

Metropolitan Lima was the center of the country's industrial base and had the largest concentration of workers. It was also the destination of much of the rural migration, with millions of Peruvians seeing their hopes turned to frustration after abandoning their communities for the capital. Besides providing heightened visibility for their actions, Lima was also an area of intense propaganda and recruitment for the subversive organizations, particularly in the shantytowns ringing the city. Capturing the working class — the subjects of the revolution in communist ideology — and the residents of the «poverty belt» that surrounded the center of national power was the political and military strategy of the armed subversive groups.

The modernization of Metropolitan Lima was a process of industrialization encouraged by policies protecting local industries, but combined with unplanned and uncontrolled urbanization. Urban migration far exceeded the capacity of the economy's formal sectors to absorb so many new workers, and the city was unable to integrate the new population into existing infrastructure and social services. In addition, the import-substitution model hit a crisis in the 1980s, generating more unemployment and a deterioration of labor unions. That was the backdrop against which the internal armed conflict unfolded in Lima.

The armed insurgent groups undertook a systematic campaign to infiltrate shantytowns with the goal of winning over local leaders of unions, and neighborhood and subsistence organizations, such as soup kitchens. The shantytowns along the three major routes into Lima — the Central Highway, the Pan-American Highway North and the Pan-American Highway South — were key to the subversive strategy, seen as a kind of steel belt that would be used to strangle the nation's political and economic center.

It is important to highlight the importance of the legal left, reflected in the United Left coalition, and the political change in 1980 that ushered in municipal elections. For the first time, the districts in Metropolitan Lima elected their own leaders and began exercising local control. In the new urban areas, which were in the process of expanding and were plagued by inadequate basic services, the political fight to control local government was intense. In the



shantytowns, the left moved from its traditional role in unions and neighborhood organizations to running local governments. Between 1980 and 1983, practically all the districts of Lima's eastern, northern and southern cones were governed by the left.

The rise of the left provoked an open conflict with the subversive organizations. The armed groups saw the left, other political groups and social organizations in the shantytowns as competition. The state's anti-subversive efforts, which attempted to eliminate organizations and potential focal points of social demands, also hit hard at the legal left and existing social organizations.

Lima, a city formed by migrants in marginal districts operating within the informal economy, was the scene of an armed conflict that was much less visible than the bombings of strategic symbols and the selective assassinations of representatives of the state and political parties. Nevertheless, both the visible and invisible strategies touched the lives of millions of people and added considerably to the dramatic number of dead left by the internal armed conflict.

### **Conflicts in the wake of agrarian reform**

The armed conflict unfolded in an important context in rural areas. The subversive groups attempted to take control of the countryside and create a support base among peasants for military and political reasons. Inspired by the Maoist tradition, the PCP-SL began waging its war «from the countryside to the city.» In the wide, sparsely populated highlands, where there were few police officers, they could move with relative ease. Controlling the area required support bases, which is why one of the organization's principal objectives was to win over the peasant population politically. With rural support bases, the PCP-SL militants moved «like fish in the water,» to use one of Abimael Guzmán Reinoso's expressions.

Not all rural areas were receptive to the armed group's rhetoric and actions. Rural societies where peasants had benefited from the agrarian reform (valleys along the coast, in the north of Cajamarca and the Sacred Valley in Cusco) or areas with well-established ties to the market (the Mantaro Valley, for example) tended to remain on the margins of the violence.

The regional histories analyzed by the CVR demonstrate that PCP-SL was successful in infiltrating extremely poor peasant communities that did not have links to the market or that had not benefited from the agrarian reform because there was nothing to redistribute. It also had an impact in some communities that were affected by the agrarian reform, but where the process had created new forms of disenfranchisement or reopened old conflicts.

The infrastructure and high-quality livestock of cooperatives created by the agrarian reform, especially the Public Interest Farming Cooperatives (*Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social*, SAIS), were the targets of systematic attacks aimed at destroying them. What was surprising about these attacks is that many of the armed actions to destroy the SAIS had broad support, and in many cases local peasant communities took an active part.

The central highlands, the department of Puno, the highlands of the La Libertad department and the southern reaches of the Cajamarca department experienced important developments in the livestock industry from the start of the 20th century. The relationship between the ranches – islands of technological development, including improved livestock and pastures that required few workers – and the poor peasant communities around them that continued to use over-grazed pastures had been conflictive for years. From early on, the communities had been demanding property rights to the pastures used by the modern ranches. The agrarian reform, which began in 1969, recognized the demands of the peasant communities, but did not divide up the large ranches or redistribute land to the communities. Instead, it fused the ranches into large state-owned companies, the SAIS, which benefited workers and colonizers. The SAIS were created as a kind of business venture that incorporated the communities as partners without decision-making power, but with the right to receive a portion of the companies' profits.

The companies' economic power deepened the social divisions in the areas where they operated. This was complicated by the economic depression of the late 1970s and the move to dismantle the control mechanisms imposed during the Velasco years, which led to accusations of corruption and financial mismanagement. In the early 1980s, the communities that formed the Agrarian Production Cooperatives on the coast and in the inter-Andean valleys decided to eliminate the cooperatives and divide the land into individual parcels. The property rights of the SAIS, however, were much more complicated. While they accused managers of corruption and questioned the efficiency of the operations, the direct beneficiaries also feared the peasant communities, which continued to demand land rights. This gave rise to a conflict with no viable solution.

The country's largest and most technologically advanced SAIS were located in the highlands of the Junín department (the Canipaco and Alto Cunas river basins). The companies' economic prosperity, however, did not translate into improved standards of living for the participating communities. When the PCP-SL began its actions in this area around 1987, it found fertile ground among the communities where the SAIS leaders were accused of corruption and of selling off land at artificially low prices. Amid this situation, in which the SAIS managers' lacked legitimacy and farmers were questioning the way lands were managed, partner communities again began demanding rights to the land, arguing that the agrarian reform had not produced the benefits they had been promised. With its pledge of order and justice, as well as the death of corrupt officials and other antisocial elements, the PCP-SL quickly won converts to its political cause. SAIS installations were the targets of systematic attacks by PCP-SL militants. Many of the SAIS managers and technicians were assassinated, infrastructure destroyed and livestock distributed or, in some cases, slaughtered.

A similar situation, although on a smaller scale, occurred with the SAIS in the northern part of the country, such as those located in Santiago de Chuco, Huamanchuco, Cajabamba and San Marcos in the departments of La Libertad and Cajamarca.

In the provinces of Azángaro and Melgar, in the northern part of the department on Puno, the internal armed conflict also revolved around control of pastures. The situation, however, was much more complex in these areas. The Departmental Peasant Federation of Puno, legal left-wing parties and social organizations linked to the Catholic Church were also present, and clashed with the subversives as well as the police and armed forces. By the mid-1980s, the PCP-SL attempted to take advantage of the situation and militarize the conflict over the restructuring of land ownership, which pitted peasants against the managers of state-owned livestock companies and the central government. While the PCP-SL was unsuccessful in its effort to win over peasant organizations, that conflict, the repression of peasant mobilizations by state forces, and the fight between the legal left and the PCP-SL created conditions in which the subversives were able to establish some bases of support. The department became another scenario of conflict in 1989, although on a scale that was less intense than that of the central highlands.

One particular case in the conflict over agrarian reform occurred in Andahuaylas, in the department of Apurímac. Land problems there had been resolved by 1980, when the internal armed conflict began. Nevertheless, the solution – the lands from old haciendas had been given to peasants – had resulted in an intense conflict between the state and the communities. The agrarian reform process in the zone had been extremely slow, hampered by bureaucracy, local influences and lack of political interest. In 1974, five years after the reform was announced, the large landowners continued to control the haciendas. That year, the Provincial Peasant Federation of Andahuaylas called on its member communities to apply the reform on their own, taking over lands and evicting the landowners. As a result, 68 of the 118 haciendas in the province were taken over simultaneously by thousands of peasant farmers. An attempt to put down the land takeovers failed, giving way to a long and conflictive process in which the authorities responsible for agrarian reform attempted to promote the SAIS model, while farmers demanded that the land be divided up among individuals and communities. In 1978, after new protests, conflicts and arrests, authorities turned over the lands. The situation propelled the leaders of the federation and the land occupations, such as Julio César Mezzich and Lino Quintanilla, toward the more radical position of the PCP-SL and they joined the subversives in the early 1980s, facilitating the organization's expansion in the zone.

### **Extreme rural poverty: privatization of power and community conflicts**

The sector of rural society hardest hit by the internal armed conflict was the most marginalized. That is where the PCP-SL began, won over sympathizers, controlled territory and created numerous «people's committees.» It was in those areas that the PCP-SL achieved its greatest success in implementing its strategy of creating a new power. It is also where the most violent attacks on the civilian population – by both the subversives and the armed forces – occurred and where the greatest loss of human life and destruction of families and

communities were recorded.

These sectors were considered irrelevant to the national economy and the state's development plans. The state was absent and did not guarantee access to infrastructure or basic public services. It also failed to fulfill its role in guaranteeing peace and security and protecting property. These were poor, rural communities where the majority of residents spoke Quechua and were illiterate. Because of that, they had never taken part in elections. They were cut off from markets, immersed in their own problems, destabilized by land disputes and subjected to abuses.

This was the area known as the «Indian stain,» and included the south-central highlands (Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica) and the highland provinces of Cusco. The highlands of Pasco and the area of Junín known as the Tulumayo River basin shared those characteristics, as well as the violence spread by the internal armed conflict.

In these areas of rural poverty, while the population was organized in communities (with numerous internal problems), the only hope for progress was through individuals who migrated or had access to education. Teachers or children who studied in provincial capitals, with the prestige this carried, were the only link to progress. While each community experienced the process differently, teachers in local schools and visits by young university students were channels used by the PCP-SL to enter communities. It legitimized its presence with a political message of equality that appealed to ideals of social justice and was accompanied by the implementation of an extremely authoritarian form of social order, which, to the satisfaction of residents, eliminated antisocial behavior, theft and livestock rustling. In these societies, where there were high levels of internal violence and resentment over lack of access to resources, assassinations and the distribution of goods and livestock belonging to *the rich* (local residents with greater resources and, generally, more power) and landowners who still lived in the areas attracted peasants to a political cause that was presented in the most elemental terms. It proposed an egalitarian society that would impose strict authoritarian justice and that would be run by educated people.

These societies, however, were unaware of the changes that the country had been undergoing in the second half of the 20th century. In Ayacucho, particularly in the Pampas River basin (provinces of Víctor Fajardo, Cangallo, Huancasancos and Vilcashuamán) and in the northern provinces (Huanta, Huamanga and La Mar), the traditional hacienda system of the mid-20th century still existed. Most of the haciendas were unprofitable, however, having fallen behind in a more modernized economy. In the 1970s, with greater mobility and temporary migration among peasants, many of the haciendas were purchased by communities or their workers, who later created new communities on the lands. Many of the communities in Vilcashuamán were created in this way. In Víctor Fajardo, the only hacienda still operating when the agrarian reform began had been in the hands of peasant farmers for some time. Thus a process had been under way since the mid-20th century in which families in peasant

communities had been increasing their property by acquiring pieces of collapsing haciendas. This expansion, however, had created conflicts between communities and inequalities within them, depending on who had more access to monetary resources and a closer relationship with the former hacienda owners. The old power of the landowner, with control over authorities and justice, was partially replaced by peasant farmers who had some access to resources.

As with the landowners, whose personal power was not replaced by modern state bureaucracy – the exception being the short period between 1970 and 1975 when the state created the National Social Mobilization System (SINAMOS), a network of authorities that reached all the communities in the nation – power remained in the hands of local agents who often used it for their own benefit.

Amid the conflicts created by this new inequality<sup>36</sup> in access to resources, and its links with local power structures, the PCP-SL's message and practices took root. The weak presence of the state, represented by justices of the peace, appointed lieutenant governors and widely dispersed police stations that were incapable of combating theft and livestock rustlers, was quickly eliminated by the subversives through harassment, threats and assassinations. The «new power» was established in the vacuum that had so easily been created.

This was repeated in many other areas, first in Pasco and Tulumayo in the early years, and later in Cusco and Apurímac. Greater access to education as a way of getting ahead, which created greater social differentiation, along with the abuse of local power and the subversives' control of problems, like livestock rustling, helped subversion spread in the second half of the 1980s.

Diverse situations of conflict and discontent allowed the PCP-SL to spread. In some cases, old conflicts between communities and district capitals, which monopolized local power and were home to wealthier residents, sparked attacks and assassinations («people's trials») that were supported by poorer sectors. In others, the peasant farmers' lack of acceptance of the «new power» preached by the PCP-SL created a kind of generational conflict, pitting younger people, who had more education but little access to resources and were attracted the PCP-SL's message, against older adults (their parents), whom they considered «reactionaries.»

The response to the PCP-SL's «new power» in the countryside was an implacable counter-insurgency effort. This was particularly true when the armed forces were put in charge of the anti-subversive fight in 1983 and attempted to destroy the «support bases» and «people's committees» organized by the PCP-SL. Even before the anti-subversive campaign was launched, however, peasant communities showed signs of resisting the totalitarian plan that the PCP-SL was attempting to impose through blood and fire. When the state changed its approach from indiscriminate repression to a more selective strategy aimed at

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<sup>36</sup> This is probably irrelevant to an outside observer, for whom a person who was considered "rich" in this context would be a poor person in the lowest quintile of income distribution in the country.

winning over the local population, self-defense committees were formed. In coordination with the security forces, these committees helped expel the PCP-SL from the Andean provinces, forcing the subversive group to move toward urban areas and the jungle region.

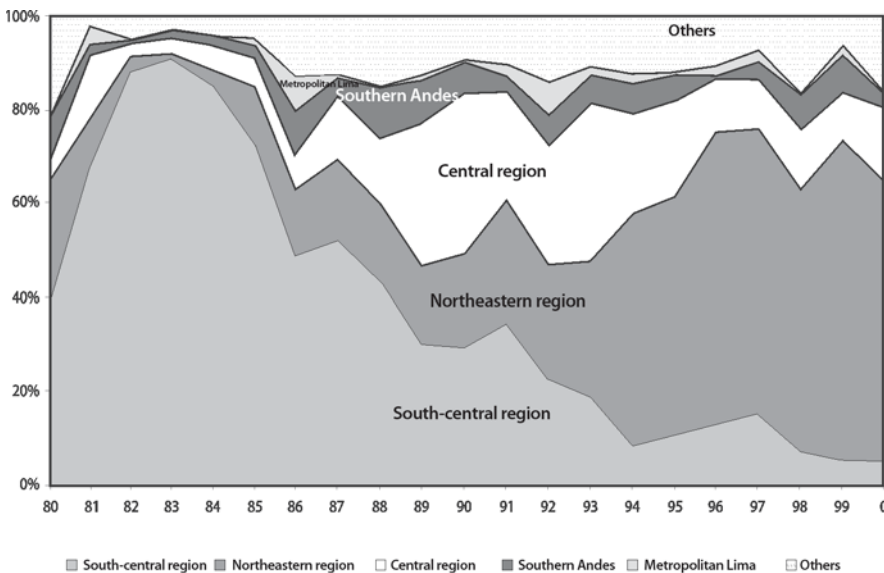
### THE SPREAD OF VIOLENCE IN THE REGIONS

The internal armed conflict did not spread to all regions at the same time. The expansion to different parts of the country was related to the initiative of the subversive organizations and their attempts to take advantage of regional social conflicts, hoping to turn them into confrontations with the state and its authorities.

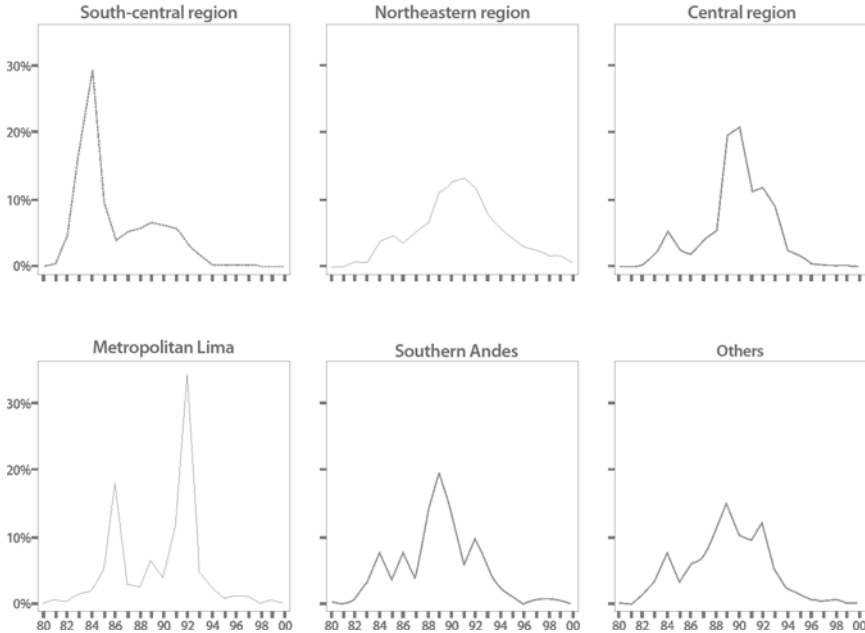
As Figure 19 shows, the first five years the violence and its victims were concentrated mainly in the south-central region, particularly the department of Ayacucho. As has been mentioned, during these years and in these areas, the PCP-SL took advantage of conflicts between communities and between generations within communities to impose an egalitarian, autarkic order based on its totalitarian ideology. The reaction of the armed forces, provoked by the PCP-SL's actions (assassinations, bombings, attacks on police stations and ambushes of military patrols), as well as the subversives' increasingly intense use of violence to impose their «new order» on communities where they had established «support bases» and «people's committees,» made 1983-84 the bloodiest period in the conflict in the region and in the country as a whole (see Figure 5 on page 8 and Figure 20 below). NOTE: Change the page reference to correspond the current page where figure 5 is located

**Figure 19**

Peru 1980-2000: Percentage Of Deaths And Disappearances  
By Region And Year As Reported To The CVR



Peru 1980-2000: Percentage Of Deaths And Disappearances By Year And Region As Reported To The CVR



The intense counterattack launched by the state in the south-central region weakened the PCP-SL's presence there, provoking an expansion of the organization's actions to other areas. By committing widespread and systematic human rights abuses in the Ayacucho region in 1983 and 1984, state agents helped create the image – especially among the most radical sectors of young people at national universities in Lima and the provinces – that the subversive groups were challenging an illegitimate power that did not hesitate to unleash harsh repression against the people. That image was used by the PCP-SL to win over supporters in new regions and contributed to the MRTA's decision to begin its armed actions in the cities and, above all, in the northeastern and central areas of the country.

New regions became the principal scenario of the conflict beginning in 1986 and throughout the rest of the 1980s. Around 1986, the PCP-SL and MRTA launched a number of actions in Lima, attempting to use the city as a «sound box» to magnify the impact. An example was the prison riot and subsequent massacre of PCP-SL inmates in the Lurigancho, El Frontón and Santa Bárbara prisons in June 1986.

In other regions, the subversive groups attempted to take advantage of conflicts created by the restructuring of the SAIS and confrontations among

member communities, managers and the central government, first in Puno (with little success) and later in Junín. In the central jungle region, the PCP-SL in the south (Ene Valley) and the MRTA in the north (Oxapampa) tried to control new areas where tensions between indigenous communities and colonists were high. In the northeast, the MRTA tried to identify with the demands of farmers in the department of San Martín, while the PCP-SL worked to control the coca-growing areas of the Upper Huallaga Valley, acting as a middleman between coca farmers and drug traffickers, and replacing the state in the role of enforcing social control.

A period of extreme crisis began at the end 1980s, with a new peak in the violence coming between 1989 and 1992. Except for the south-central region, during this period the regions affected by the violence registered the highest number of victims reported to the CVR. The largest number of districts affected by the violence was registered in 1989. The principal areas of the conflict during this period were the central and northeastern regions and Metropolitan Lima. As noted above, this period was also marked by a change in the state's anti-subversive strategy, which became more focused and selective, and which was aimed at winning over the population in areas where the subversive organizations were active.

The intensity of the conflict was related to three different dynamics in the central region. First, the PCP-SL offensive against the SAIS was winding down in the Alto Cunas and Canipaco areas, as well as in the highlands of the Concepción and Huancayo provinces. The result was the destruction of the SAIS, which was carried out with the participation of communities that had not benefited from the agrarian reform. That was followed by a brief period of PCP-SL control over the region. The subversive hegemony lasted about four months, until the armed forces and the recently organized peasant self-defense committees, or *rondas campesinas*, responded with force.

Second, in the city of Huancayo, the PCP-SL managed to establish itself as the main hegemonic force in its battle against the MRTA and other political organizations (principally on the left) for control of the National University of the Center of Peru. That was accompanied by a wave of assassinations and terrorist attacks in the city and surrounding communities. Faced with such violence, the security forces undertook a vast campaign of selective repression between 1991 and 1992, reflected in the forced disappearance and extrajudicial execution of dozens of university students and staff suspected of having ties to subversive organizations.

The third process in the central region involved efforts by the subversive organizations to gain control over lowland indigenous communities (mainly Asháninkas) and settlements of colonists.

There was a direct confrontation between the MRTA and the Asháninkas in 1989 and 1990. In the mid-1960s, the area around Oxapampa had been the scene of the development of a guerrilla movement inspired by the Cuban Revolution, which included members of the Revolutionary Left Movement (*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria*, MIR). The MIR would later form part of the MRTA. At that time, one of the principal Asháninka leaders, Alejandro



Calderón, collaborated with the Peruvian Army in the arrest of the MIR guerrillas. Nearly 25 years later, in 1989, the MRTA decided to make Alejandro Calderón pay for his earlier collaboration, assassinating him and two other Asháninka leaders. The murders unleashed a war between the Asháninkas and MRTA militants in the province of Oxapampa, and the MRTA was practically eliminated from the region.

The MRTA suffered multiple setbacks in the region in 1989. Weakened by its confrontations with the PCP-SL and the arrest of its leader, Víctor Polay Campos, the subversive group attempted to strike a «high-impact blow» by taking over the city of Tarma in April 1989. The MRTA assigned its top military personnel to the region, but its militants were crushed by the Army in a battle in an area known as Molinos.

The PCP-SL, meanwhile, attempted to consolidate support bases and areas of refuge for combatants in the central jungle region in the early 1990s, penetrating the province of Satipo through the Ene River and its tributaries to the south. To do so, the subversive group began capturing groups of Asháninkas and colonists, unleashing a long process of violence that would lead to the enslavement and extermination of entire indigenous communities and violent confrontations with self-defense committees and the security forces. The local population was caught in the crossfire. The PCP-SL's presence in Asháninka territory was a tragedy for the indigenous people. The CVR believes that what transpired there must be further investigated to determine whether the crimes constituted genocide.

The rugged terrain in this part of the country allowed the PCP-SL to maintain a presence in high, inaccessible jungle areas for years. In 2003, some of those areas still shelter remnants of the PCP-SL faction that continued the armed struggle despite the «peace accord» called for in 1993 by Abimael Guzmán.

The northeastern region was another main area of fighting between 1989 and 1992. As has been stated, the PCP-SL attempted to consolidate its control over the population in the Huallaga Valley by imposing its version of «social order» to regulate the relationship between drug traffickers and coca-growing farmers and «protect» the farmers from state actions. That control also meant imposing its brand of «social justice,» imparting harsh reprisals for what the group considered antisocial behavior. Following its national strategy, the PCP-SL's principal effort was to create support bases among the coca-growing farmers and violently repress any opposition, which led to a high number of victims.

The complexity of drug trafficking and the amount of money involved had an important impact on the PCP-SL's local strategy, which was reflected in the greater level of autonomy apparently exercised by the «Huallaga Regional Committee» in relation to the organization's central command. It is not surprising that drug money had a corrupting effect on the normally rigid discipline of the PCP-SL militants, despite their fundamentalism, just as it had on the armed forces and National Police. Nevertheless, it is impossible to refer to the subversive

phenomenon in the region using the simplistic term «narco-terrorism,» as that fails to distinguish between very different actors, logic and motivation (those of an illicit economic activity and those of a political cause aimed at taking power through violence) that require specific measures in order to be combated effectively.

In an effort to deal more effectively with the armed groups in the northeast, beginning in 1989 the anti-subversive strategy no longer included an anti-drug component and focused exclusively on identifying and eliminating subversives. These changes allowed the security forces to avoid confrontations with coca-growing farmers, which opened the door somewhat for the creation of the self-defense committees. Important confrontations between the security forces and subversive groups occurred between 1989 and 1993. According to the list of military losses in the internal armed conflict provided by the armed forces, nearly 45 percent of the deaths occurred in operations in the northeast region.<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, the anti-subversive strategy applied in the area also resulted in systematic human rights abuses, especially torture and forced disappearances.

As Figure 20 shows, unlike other regions where peaks were recorded in specific years (1984 or 1989), the intensity of the conflict in the northeast region remained high between 1989 and 1993. Hundreds of testimonies received by the CVR describe the intensity of the violence in this part of the country, which may have turned the Huallaga River into the nation's largest common grave.

While the south-central region was not the principal scenario of the conflict between 1989 and 1992, the violence continued in a number of areas, especially the provinces of Huanta and La Mar, and in the Apurímac River Valley. This zone was the scene of intense activity by self-defense committees, which, together with the security forces, forced the PCP-SL to move toward the high jungle and more remote areas of Ayacucho, Cusco and Junín.

In the early 1990s, the state's new anti-subversive strategy, the effort to win over the local population and self-defense committees' actions put the subversive groups on the defensive and in a much more precarious position in most rural areas. As a result, the PCP-SL Central Committee decided to intensify the organization's actions in urban areas, particularly the capital, to create a situation of panic and extreme crisis for the Peruvian state, which was already weakened by a spiral of hyperinflation. The PCP-SL offensive in Lima reached its peak in 1992 with a wave of bombings. It also ended that year with the arrest of the organization's principal leaders.

In 1993, weakened and without leadership, the remaining PCP-SL cells were reduced to small areas. Nevertheless, the situation was still complicated. The principal scenarios of the conflict in this final stage were in the northeast

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<sup>37</sup> In contrast, less than 20 percent of the military losses in the conflict occurred in actions in the south-central region, even though this region accounted for the highest number of deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR.

region. Between 1993 and 1994, the effects of the «repentance law,» together with the armed forces' «cleanup» operations along the left bank of the Huallaga River (an area known as Venenillo, where several confrontations occurred and where there is evidence of extrajudicial executions), further weakened the PCP-SL in the region.

Despite Abimael Guzmán's capitulation in 1993, the PCP-SL factions that were still in favor of the armed struggle continued to maintain «support bases» in isolated areas of the Huallaga Valley, the central jungle (Satipo province) and the Apurímac River Valley north of Ayacucho. They carried out sporadic propaganda actions and some armed incursions, but on a very limited basis. These isolated areas were important for prolonged resistance, but they also limited the subversive organization's ability to coordinate a national strategy or stage significant actions.

Today the groups that continue the armed struggle are weak and do not constitute a threat to the stability of the Peruvian state. In addition, the conflict's massive cost in human lives has caused certain sectors of the population, which might have been attracted to the PCP-SL's cause early on, to lose interest in the idea of social transformation through violence. Nevertheless, many of the regional and local conflicts related to the truncated processes of modernization and integration, which the subversive organizations manipulated and used to justify the imposition of totalitarianism and their idea of social change on thousands of Peruvians, continue to exist.



## CHAPTER 2

### SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path (*Partido Comunista del Perú -Sendero Luminoso*, PCP-SL), which took up arms against the Peruvian state and society when the country was returning to democracy after 12 years of military dictatorship, is the principal actor responsible for the tragedy described in the preceding pages. The PCP-SL was not the only group to challenge the nation's decision to have a democratically elected government. The Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, MRTA) rose up in arms in 1984. While their approaches were different, as explained below, both organizations committed grave human rights abuses, including crimes against humanity, which left thousands dead and had painful repercussions for the Peruvian population, especially the poorest sectors.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU-SHINING PATH

The subversive and terrorist organization that calls itself the Communist Party of Peru, and is also known as the Shining Path, launched a war on the Peruvian state and society in May 1980. Throughout the conflict, the PCP-SL committed violent actions that can be categorized as crimes against humanity and was responsible for the highest number of victims caused by the internal armed conflict. The Shining Path was responsible for 54 percent of the deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR during its investigation. Based on our calculations, the CVR estimates that this subversive group was responsible for

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1 The calculations have a 95-percent accuracy rate, with numbers possibly ranging from a low of 24,823 to a high of 37,840 people, which would represent at least 46 percent of the fatalities in the internal armed conflict.

31,331 deaths.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE ORIGINS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU-SHINING PATH

The PCP-SL got its start during internal purges within Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties, aligning itself with the dogmatic and sectarian ideology that emphasized the notion of vanguard as the principal force of revolution and violence as the way of achieving it.

The Shining Path adopted Lenin's thesis of the construction of «a party of select and secret cadres,» an organized vanguard that could impose a «dictatorship of the proletariat» through armed struggle. From Stalin, a minor figure within the historic processes recognized by the PCP-SL, the subversive organization inherited the simplification of Marxism as dialectic materialism and historic materialism,<sup>2</sup> as well as the thesis of a single party and personality cult around the leader. From Mao Zedong, the PCP-SL took the idea of how power is achieved in semi-feudal nations: a prolonged people's war from the countryside to the city.<sup>3</sup> Above all, however, the PCP-SL borrowed from Mao the notion that the people's war is inevitable for achieving socialism and that «cultural revolutions» are a necessary step after the triumph of the revolution.

The PCP-SL arose through successive divisions within Peruvian communist and socialist parties, which reflected the dispute within the international communist movement. The most important split stemmed from the rupture between China and the Soviet Union in the early 1960s over the issue of violence as a necessary step for revolution. While the parties aligned with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – until that time the hegemonic power within the communist world – accepted the thesis of peaceful transition to socialism proposed by the party in 1956, the followers of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong, held to the idea of violence and the need for a «people's war.»

This dispute was reproduced in different countries and on different scales. In Peru, it led to a split in the Peruvian Communist Party. The majority of the country's union organizations remained in line with the Soviet position, while younger members, teachers and some sectors of the peasantry opted for the Maoist approach. To distinguish themselves, each faction used the name of its newspaper: PCP-Unity was the pro-Soviet faction, while PCP-Red Flag represented the pro-Chinese faction.

At the time of the schism, Abimael Guzmán Reinoso – who would become the founder, ideologue and maximum leader of the PCP-SL – was the head of the Regional PCP Committee in Ayacucho, known as the «José Carlos Mariátegui» Committee. Guzmán came down on the side of the PCP-Red Flag, led by lawyer Saturnino Paredes. The unity among the Maoists lasted only a

<sup>2</sup> Made popular by the books on Marxism published in the Soviet Union.

<sup>3</sup> In these cases, the peasants were considered the "principal force" and the proletariat, which had been given the central role in Marxist revolutions, became the "leadership force" of the revolution.

short while. In 1967, the younger members of the party and an important sector of the base organizations within the teachers' union separated from Red Flag and formed the Communist Party of Peru-Red Homeland. Guzmán remained in the group led by Saturnino Paredes, even though he had already formed his own «red faction» in Ayacucho.

A conflict soon ensued between Guzmán and Paredes, and a new division occurred between late 1969 and February 1970. Paredes scored a victory in the short term, remaining in control of the majority of the PCP-Red Flag's base groups, while Guzmán was isolated with his Ayacucho committee. The Guzmán faction also lost a large number of the base groups that had been established among peasant communities, in theory the most important sector for a Maoist party. The PCP-SL emerged in 1970 with its foundations in the «José Carlos Mariátegui» Regional Committee in Ayacucho, taking its name from a slogan used among students in Huamanga — «for the Shining Path of Mariátegui.»

According to Guzmán, the organization had only 12 militants in Ayacucho and 51 militants in the entire nation after the split with Paredes. Nevertheless, the new party was able to survive at the university in Huamanga, and throughout the 1970s it was one of many small, radical, left-wing parties that fought to lead the «reconstruction» and «refoundation» of the Communist Party and, in some cases, prepare for the armed struggle.

#### THE PCP-SL IN THE 1970's

To better understand the PCP-SL's actions over the next decade, it is necessary to consider two important issues: a) the construction of its ideological and pedagogical plan; and b) the absolutely vertical and oppressive relationship between the party and society or between the party and the «masses,» to use the organization's terminology.

#### **Dominant ideology**

After the schism with the PCP-Red Flag, the Shining Path maintained its presence among students, university professors and schoolteachers in Ayacucho. At the UNSCH, Guzmán concentrated on «refounding» the PCP by focusing the political struggle on allegiance to the thinking of José Carlos Mariátegui, who was recognized as the legitimate source of ideology by the entire Peruvian left.

Between 1971 and 1972, PCP-SL cadres formed the Mariátegui Center for Intellectual Work (*Centro de Trabajo Intelectual Mariátegui*), which was led by Guzmán, to carry out an exhaustive review of the Marxist classics and the works of José Carlos Mariátegui. After nearly two years of intensive study, the PCP-SL produced a publication that converted Mariátegui, a versatile thinker who was uninterested in systematic thought, much less orthodoxy, into the forerunner of Maoism and the founder of «general line» orthodoxy. The publication covered all possible issues, from «Mariátegui and the problem of literature» to «Mariátegui and the military problem.»<sup>4</sup> The transformation of Mariátegui into

the forefather of Maoism was presented by the PCP-SL as a «development» of Mariátegui's thinking. From then on, the Shining Path talked about «Mariátegui and his development,» but without mentioning who was responsible for this development — Abimael Guzmán.

Armed with an ideology, PCP-SL militants concentrated on spreading what they believed was a manual for Marxism through the university. It was a simplistic vision that was easily transmitted to students. At the same time, the Shining Path developed what it called a *pedagogical project*. The main efforts were aimed at controlling the UNSCH Student Federation, expanding the reach of the Guamán Poma School to the university and participating in the teachers' strike in 1973. The PCP-SL began to spread throughout the region as students graduated and were sent out as teachers to secondary schools in different district and provincial capitals. While this was occurring, the Shining Path tried to develop its national connections, particularly in Lima through the Enrique Guzmán National Teachers College and in Huancayo at the National University of the Center of Peru.

### Verticality as principle

During the third plenary session of its Central Committee in 1973, the PCP-SL decided to come out of its seclusion in the university. To do this, it decided to create «generating organizations,» internal movements that were considered «organizations generated by the proletariat» in the different fields in which the party operated. The PCP-SL went about building cells, which were generally small, but ideologically solid and closely linked to the party. In this manner, it created the Classist Neighborhood Movement (*Movimiento Clasista Barrial*), Grassroots Women's Movement (*Movimiento Feminino Popular*), Classist Workers and Laborers Movement (*Movimiento de Obreros y Trabajadores Clasistas*) and Poor Peasants Movement (*Movimiento de Campesinos Pobres*), among other groups that would gain notoriety in the coming decade.

The members of these organizations were called «masses,» which distinguished them from the «cadres.» Both the masses and the cadres, however, had to submit to «democratic centralism» and «adhere to Mariátegui,» that is, the party. Under this structure, society was absolutely subordinated to the party, which «decides everything without exception.» The only thing that existed outside the PCP-SL and the organizations of the masses that it controlled were its enemies. Once the armed struggle began, the «masses» had to submit to the party's scientific direction or pay a high price. This concept would lead to the future «militarization of society» proposed by the PCP-SL, a concept the CVR believes played a significant role in increasing the number of victims of the internal armed conflict.

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<sup>4</sup> Among the issues analyzed were: "Outline for the Study of Marxist Philosophy," "Application of the Materialistic Dialectic to Society," "The People's War," "Outline for Studying the Thinking of José Carlos Mariátegui» (Mariátegui Center for Intellectual Work, Ayacucho, 1973).



Between 1977 and 1979, the PCP-SL made a major break with the predominant social and political dynamic in the country and transformed into a fundamentalist group with a potential for terrorist acts and genocide. For PCP-SL militants, this rupture meant «the reconstitution of the [communist] party» and the decision to move forward with the armed struggle. The issue of «reconstitution» was particularly important in the Shining Path's ideological definition at that time. In 1975, the party had decided that:

[...] to reclaim the Path of Mariátegui is to Reconstruct the Communist Party, his party; to work for its ideological-political construction, developing the fundamentals given by its founder and, simultaneously, work for its organizational construction, readjusting the organic and political structures. Reconstructing the party today, in summary, is to push for its reconstitution by Reclaiming Mariátegui and aiming for the development of the people's war (PCP-SL 1975).

In March 1977, the PCP-SL's Central Committee held its second National Meeting of Generating Organizations and addressed the issue of building the party under the banner of «Constructing the Armed Struggle.» The PCP-SL believed that the reconstruction of the party had progressed sufficiently and that it had enough trained cadres to initiate the «people's war.» The task of drafting a National Construction Plan was assigned to the National Coordinating Committee.

Before launching its «people's war,» however, the PCP-SL had to deal with a number of intense internal struggles, because a sector of its leadership favored social protest and taking advantage of the political openings that were emerging during the transition to democracy after nearly 12 years of military dictatorship. Guzmán needed to defeat this sector in order for his plans to prevail in the party. To do so, he imposed on the party a number of radical definitions, including: a) converting ideology into a kind of religion; b) seeing militancy as a kind of purification and rebirth; and c) identifying revolutionary activity with terrorist violence. These ideas were expressed in four important texts published in 1979 and 1980.<sup>5</sup> The first important element visible in the texts is the change in Guzmán himself. He began to use religious references, specifically biblical references, to attack his enemies, as well as to offer a message of faith and hope

<sup>5</sup> The first text is called "For a New Flag" and was read during the IX Plenary on June 7, 1979. Peru celebrates Flag Day on that date and the presentation of the text was an explicit challenge to the state and its symbols 11 months before the "start of the armed struggle." The second text is "On Three Chapters of our History," and was presented on December 3, 1979 at the First National Conference of the PCP-SL to "forge the events" of the First Campaign of the First Division of the "People's Guerrilla Army." The third text, "We Begin Tearing Down Walls and Unleashing the Dawn," was presented on March 28, 1980, during the Central Committee's Second Plenary Session. The fourth text, the most important, was entitled "We Are the Initiators." It was read during the closing ceremony of the PCP-SL's First Military School on April 19, 1980, less than one month before the armed actions began.

to his followers, most of whom were young adults. The publication, «For a New Flag,» began with the biblical phrase, «Many are called, but few are chosen.» That was followed by, «The wind carries off the leaves, but the seeds remain [...]. How can the seeds stop the mill? They will be turned to dust.» Guzmán states that the god of this bible is matter, and that the movement toward communism is inevitable. Through shrewd use of rhetoric, Guzmán seems to embody this movement:

[...] the earth has needed fifteen billion years to generate communism. How long will man last? Much less than the simple blink of an eye; we are nothing more than a pale shadow and we aim to rise up against this process of matter [...] arrogant bubbles, is that what we want to be? An infinite particle that wants to rise up against fifteen billion years? What arrogance, what decay!

In this exhortation, Guzman's rivals not only appear as insubordinate to the leader, but opposed to the universe.

In Guzman's discourse, the rise of the party is a cosmic event. At the start of the 20th century, «the purest light began to emerge, a resplendent light, a light that we hold in our breasts, in our souls. This light was fused with the earth and mud became steel. Light, mud, steel, and the PARTY emerged in 1928 [...]» (capital letters are in the original). Thus militancy in the party is a religious experience, which implies both a collective and an individual rupture. «Two flags [struggle] in the soul, one black and the other red. We are the left, we must provoke a holocaust of the black flag.» To do this, it is necessary «[...] to cleanse our souls, cleanse ourselves thoroughly [...] enough of rotting individual water, abandoned waste.» It is a purification that allows for rebirth in a privileged work, but one fraught with pitfalls. The enemy is within; therefore, as internal struggles arise and the start of the armed struggle approaches, the tone of the discourse grows frenetic:<sup>6</sup>

We need to pull up the poisonous weeds, which are pure venom, cancer of the bones that corrupt us; we cannot allow this, it is decay and sinister and we cannot permit it, even less so now [...] we must expel these sinister vipers [...] we cannot allow cowardliness or treason, they are poisonous snakes [...] We will begin to burn, to drain this puss, this venom, burning is urgent. It exists, and this is not good, it is harmful, it is a slow death that will consume us [...] Those who are in this situation are the first to face the fire, to be pulled up, squeezed like pimples. If this does not happen, the poison will spread. Venom, purulence that must be destroyed [...]. (PCP-SL 1980b)

This tone is an indication of the future «struggle between two lines» within the PCP-SL, the verbal «slaughtering» among the militants to remain within the party structure that now has as its pinnacle Abimael Guzmán.

The opponents who believed the armed struggle was an inappropriate option appear as non-believers: «Some have such little faith, charity and hope

<sup>6</sup> The tone allows one to understand why Guzmán believed that “the essence of the cultural revolution is to change the soul” (PCP-SL 1991a: 2-3).

[...] we have taken the three theological virtues to interpret them. Paul said, 'men of faith, hope and charity.'» It is an argumentative process in which the speaker defeats all resistance and molds things to his image and likeness, more as a potter than a blacksmith, because, as he would repeat in the years to come when discussing those who did not see the light of the party: «It will not be easy for them to accept it [...] they require overwhelming acts [...] it needs to be hammered into their head, their speculations must be torn to pieces, their souls forced to dwell in the reality of our homeland.»

The discourse announces the methodology the Shining Path would employ with the so-called «masses.» For the «class enemies,» the prospects are much worse:

The people will become furious, will take up weapons and will rebel, putting a noose around the neck of imperialism and reactionary forces; they will be grabbed by the throat, choked and, when necessary, strangled. The flesh of the reactionaries will wither and be shredded, and the black scraps will be submerged in the mud, what remains will be burned [...] and the wind will scatter the ashes across the land so that all that is left is the sinister reminder of what should never return, because it will not and cannot return. (PCP-SL 1980b)

The virulence of the language foreshadowed the violence to come, because after the meeting called for the «Initiate the Armed Struggle» (*Inicio de la lucha armada*, ILA), «the destruction of [the party] has been averted.» The reconstruction of the party has concluded and the militants are now alchemists of the light:

We are a rising torrent at which they will launch fire, stones and mud; but our power is great. We turn everything into our fire, the black fire will become red and red is the light. This is who we are, this is Reconstitution. Comrades, we are reconstituted (PCP-SL 1980b).

What comes next is the apocalypse. The participants in the First Military School, which was held in Lima and not in Chuschi, as the PCP-SL's official history maintained for many years, signed an agreement stating:

The communists of the Party's First Military School, a symbol of the end of times of peace and the start of the people's war, are on the verge of combat as the initiators, under the direction of the party and bound to the people, to forge the invincible legions of steel of the Red Army of Peru. The future is in the barrel of our guns! The armed revolution has begun! Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung! Long live the Communist Party of Peru! For the path of Comrade Gonzalo, we begin the armed struggle! (Gorriti 1990: 67)

What Guzmán defined as the «reconstitution of the Communist Party» and its militarization not only led to the «initiation of the armed struggle,» but constituted a decisive step in the personality cult created around him. Mariátegui was slowly forgotten and the «development» of his thinking became the «guiding thought» of Guzmán, who had not yet proclaimed himself «president.»

## THE CASES OF CHUNGUI AND OREJA DE PERRO

The district of Chungui is located the extreme eastern corner of Ayacucho's La Mar province, bordering the departments of Apurímac and Cusco. The violence unfolded in two different ways in the community Chungui, to the west, and the area known as Oreja de Perro (literally «Dog's Ear,» because of its shape on the map) to the east. The only land routes to Chungui are through San Miguel to the west or Andahuaylas to the east. The distance between the district and the city of Huamanga is approximately seven hours by car. The communities of Oreja de Perro have little contact with the district capital. The best route to Oreja de Perro is through Andahuaylas.

In the 1980s, the community of Chungui had access to considerable resources thanks to the sale of coffee and cocoa in the farmers' market in Sacharaccay in the district of Anco, in La Mar province. Until the 1970s, residents of Chungui also received income from land rented to non-residents, principally from the jungle.

Oreja de Perro is linked to districts in the province of Andahuaylas (Apurímac), including Ongoy, Ocobamba and Andarapa. The commercial relations with Andahuaylas were based primarily on the sale of livestock. In general, traders from Ongoy and Andarapa would buy livestock in Oreja de Perro for resale in the city of Andahuaylas. Many residents of Oreja de Perro would also travel to the districts of Andahuaylas to sell their livestock directly at a higher price than that paid by middlemen.

Chungui was characterized by a lack of haciendas and constant land conflicts, especially in the jungle zone. In contrast, Oreja de Perro was home to large haciendas that produced sugarcane alcohol. The hacienda system in Oreja de Perro had collapsed because of guerrilla activity in 1965 and land takeovers staged in 1974 to protest the slow pace of agrarian reform in the provinces of Chincheros and Andahuaylas. Border conflicts intensified as land changed hands and new communities were formed. The conflict also included fights over pastures and arable land in the jungle, where the area's principal crops, coffee, cocoa, sugarcane and coca, were grown.

The change in land ownership enabled local farmers to improve their earnings by directly managing crops, pastures and livestock. Economic development increased because of trade with Andahuaylas and La Mar, where livestock was sold and local farmers acquired products such as sugar and clothing. Another important change during this time was the development of educational opportunities as more schools were built in the region. The residents of Oreja de Perro — especially those with more economic resources, that is, more livestock — began sending their children to study in schools in Andahuaylas, Ongoy and Andarapa.

## FIRST STAGE: THE PCP-SL INFILTRATES THROUGH THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The principal vehicle for PCP-SL infiltration in these communities was the educational system. The subversive group took advantage of the greater access to educational opportunities that these communities achieved in the wake of the major changes in property structure in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Shining Path began working in Chungui by recruiting young people in schools. Between 1975 and 1980, the PCP-SL's Andahuaylas Zone Committee

Of all of the meetings summarized above, the one that stands out most clearly is the IX Plenary of the Central Committee, held between May and July 1979. At the plenary, Guzmán was recognized as the «head of the party and the revolution,» which is much more important than the title of «general secretary,» which he always disdained. At the plenary, in a move replicating Mao's actions during the Cultural Revolution, Guzmán purged the Central Committee and formed the Permanent Historic Committee, which was authorized to guide the party during a crisis. This committee included Guzmán, Augusta La Torre, *Nora*, his wife, and Elena Iparraguirre, *Miriam*, his future sentimental partner. That was the leadership committee that launched the ILA the following year.



It is generally accepted that the PCP-SL began exclusively in Ayacucho. Since 1970, however, the PCP-SL had small cells of militants in Lima and other cities. On November 14, 1972, the June 14 Regional Committee met to begin building the generating organizations among workers in different sectors. After the third plenary session in February 1973, the Metropolitan Committee decided to strengthen its work among sectors of the «petit bourgeois,» which led to the formation of the Lima affiliates of the Mariátegui Center for Intellectual Work, the Grassroots Women's Committee, which later became the Grassroots Women's Movement in May 1973, and the Center for Worker Self-Education.

The party's work in Lima did not have clear direction, and Guzmán would criticize the committee for taking on «obvious working-class nuances.» In June 1975, Guzmán, now in Lima, decided that the party's urban work would be guided by the formation of a broad front of «masses,» with the idea of «workers as leaders, neighborhoods as masses.» One sector, however, insisted that it was necessary to strengthen the party's presence in the union movement – «impart more ideology to the working class» – so that it could be the principal motor of the revolution, which is not Maoist dogma. This internal debate took place during the rise of the union movement, which reached its peak with the nationwide strikes of 1977 and 1978. The Shining Path, however, distanced itself from the unions, which it considered «revisionist.»

In November 1975, during the fifth plenary of the Central Committee, which was part of the VI National Conference, Guzmán expelled the «Bolshevik faction» from Lima, considering it part of the «liquidation of the left.»<sup>7</sup> In the following years, the PCP-SL carried out very little work in Lima. On May 11, 1976, the first PCP-SL workers cell clandestinely passed out fliers in various Lima districts. That same year, amid internal struggles, the party held the XIII Convention of the Metropolitan Coordinating Committee. It decided that the Grassroots Women's Movement and the Revolutionary Student Front, as well as the Center for Worker Self-Education, would become pillars of the reconstruction of the party in Lima to prepare for the people's war. The party

<sup>7</sup> That is, they used far left-wing language but with no practical application that would allow the party to progress. See the explanation of this process in PCP-SL 1986a.

focused on forming young cadres and recruiting high school students in Ongoy, Ocobamba and Andarapa. The children of peasant farmers from communities in Oreja de Perro, such as Tastabamba, Oronqoy, Putucunay, Socco, Santa Carmen and Mollebamba, also studied at these schools. «My older brother studied in Ongoy [...] teachers from the party took over the school. I also studied there, but only for one year because I was afraid; the teachers forced me paint graffiti and talk about that party; they [PCP-SL] talked about equality.»<sup>1</sup> The teachers at these secondary schools were educated at the UNSCH, where they had contact with the PCP-SL.

The Shining Path's presence in Oreja de Perro first came to light because of an apparently isolated action. After suffering from a wave of robberies, the wealthier residents of Mollebamba filed a complaint in Andarapa. Simultaneously, on September 27, 1982, the police station in Erapata (district of Incahuasi, Cusco, on the right bank of the Apurímac River) was attacked and one officer was killed. The National Police in Illahuasi (district of Andarapa, province of Andahuaylas, Apurímac) went to Mollebamba and arrested seven people.

#### THE START OF THE ARMED CONFLICT

After working quietly through the schools, the PCP-SL began to form its «principal force» after declaring the «start of the armed struggle.» The principal force took over communities to form «people's committees.» The local population recalls the PCP-SL entering Chungui in different ways, first from Andahuaylas to Oreja de Perro, and later, around 1984 after the Army had established its presence in Ayacucho, from Cangallo. The PCP-SL, however, had made earlier incursions into communities in Oreja de Perro. These incursions were from Andahuaylas and Chincheros and began in the second half of the 1970s. They were aimed at proselytizing communities in Andarapa, Ocobamba and Ongoy, all of which are close to Oreja de Perro.

According to one testimony from Oreja de Perro, «[...] the terrorism [subversion] first began in 1982, when the subversives entered the community of Chapi. They burned down the sugarcane alcohol factory and organized the people to support and follow them.»

#### The massacre in Santa Carmen de Rumichaca

A group of armed, uniformed people entered the community of Santa Carmen de Rumichaca on December 8, 1982, looking for the local authorities.<sup>2</sup> They returned three days later and gathered the residents for an assembly. People who claimed to be police officers – they were actually PCP-SL militants – separated the women from the men in two classrooms and asked: «[...] who are the people in the peasant patrol, because they were going to receive an award.»<sup>3</sup> The people who were part of the patrol were assassinated that night by the PCP-SL.

The Shining Path brutally murdered the local authorities:

So we followed. All the people were gathered, even the children were gathered. A trader from Talavera was there and they took away his tape player and they went to the

<sup>1</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P627. Chungui, Chungui. Woman, age 40.

<sup>2</sup> CVR. Testimony 201316. Chungui, La Mar, June 24, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> CVR. Testimony 201316. Chungui, La Mar, June 24, 2002.

began to create support groups and reinforce its work in certain universities, particularly San Marcos and La Cantuta. In addition, it once more analyzed the role the cities would play in the «people's war.»

Unlike Ayacucho, however, not all party members in Lima recognized Abimael Guzmán's absolute leadership. Some members believed it was necessary to strengthen the organization and disagreed with the idea of launching the armed struggle in the short term. These were the people, according to Guzmán, who wanted to unfurl the «black flag» at the historic IX Plenary in 1979. He saw the party leaders in Lima as part of the «opportunistic right-wing line» opposed to armed struggle. That sector would be violently attacked and expelled from the party.

After the Central Committee's IX Plenary Session, the PCP-SL agreed to intensify its efforts to recruit new workers. Shortly thereafter, during the First National Conference of the Central Committee held between November and December 1979, the Metropolitan Committee began implementing its plan to form «armed groups without weapons.» Finally, between April 2 and 19, 1980, the First Military School, led personally by Guzmán, was held in Lima's eastern sector. At the end of the event, the participants agreed to carry out the first of six military plans designed by the PCP-SL that would be launched between May 1980 and November 1999.<sup>8</sup> These military plans were:

- First plan: Initiate the armed struggle (May 17 to December 1980)
- Second plan: Begin the guerrilla war (January 1981 to January 1983)
- Third plan: Conquer support bases (May 1983 to September 1986)
- Third plan: Conquer support bases (May 1983 to September 1986)
- Fourth plan: Develop support bases (November 1986 to July 1989)
- Fifth plan: Develop support bases for the conquest of power (August 1989 to August 1992)
- Sixth plan: Construct the conquest of power (September 1992 to November 1999)<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "The Party, in the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee, has defined the "development of the militarization of the party through actions; it agrees that through belligerent actions the party will unleash the powerful and recognized vanguard of the working class of Peru, the recognized center of the Peruvian revolution. The Second Plenary Session has agreed to a 'plan to initiate the armed struggle' that will solve an unresolved problem: the start of armed struggle" (PCP-SL 1980a).

<sup>9</sup> The sixth military plan was mentioned by Guzmán when he was presented to the press on September 24, 1992, after his arrest on September 12. At that time, Guzmán called on his organization to "proceed" with the plan. The end of this plan was supposed to come in November 1999. The arrest of Óscar Ramírez Durand, Feliciano, in 1999 marked the definitive end of this plan.

school. I don't know what they were doing, but the ladies were there and they were dancing to the music with the children. Everyone was happy, dancing *huaynos* (traditional highland dance). That was done so there would be noise and no one would hear the screams. I was in the kitchen and there was a little window, so I could see what was happening. There were some people in one meeting and others in a different room. I was hiding in my aunt's kitchen and saw what happened. We did not suspect this would happen. A man came, but he did not tell us who he was. He wore a mask. Who could it have been? He asked our names and like idiots we let him write down everything. The other people with him also had things written down. They had a big book and they called from a list. They called my father; they called out XZ and asked for the person to repeat his name. They called XZ and my father said, «Present, chief.» They said, fine, you are being called, run, run, they are calling for you there. He ran to the school and several of them were waiting for him, maybe six or seven of them were waiting for him near the wall. My father had just arrived and one of them grabbed him from behind and began to kick him. My father tried to defend himself and then they stabbed him. They stabbed him in the back and my father started punching and kicking and then «pow, pow, pow.» They threw him on the ground and they kicked him. My father did not die, so they stabbed him again in the stomach and the heart. My father cried out, «Ay, no.» He cried out only three times. And then they called another man from the list. He said, 'Here,' and ran to the school. They kept calling and the men kept running. Eight people were killed. The eight people were the leaders. I think the president of the peasant patrol was PJ.<sup>4</sup>

A week later, on December 15, a group of 12 uniformed people arrived when the residents of the Santa Rosa peasant community (an annex of Santa Carmen de Rumichaca) were in a community assembly. They separated the men from the women. At 8 p.m. «[...] they killed my father with no explanation, stabbing him in the head outside the school. They killed my sister the same way.»<sup>5</sup> During a third incursion, the subversives killed more than 30 people, including children and infants, and «forced the people to flee into the jungle, because they didn't want to live in their homes any longer. It was necessary to abandon the village, because they said the repression would come to the zone and that would also make us suffer.»

#### *The PCP-SL takes Chungui by storm*

According to the testimonies of Chungui residents, the PCP-SL entered the community in 1983. The indoctrination stage ended that year, and the course of events changed in December, when a column of approximately 30 subversives arrived.<sup>6</sup>

They came right to the school, to our classroom. They introduced themselves, saying, «We have come, we are in the armed struggle and we want you to study. The things being done by the Belaúnde government must be stopped. There is no sugar, there is no kerosene, there is nothing and the cost of living goes up each day. We have to change this; we are the final option. We have to live in equality, and these miserable people, who have money, must die. The people have been chosen to govern.» The teacher left and they [PCP-SL] wrote a hymn on the blackboard so that we could learn it.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P641. In-depth interview. Oronqoy, Chungui. Woman, age 37, witness to the massacre in Santa Carmen.

<sup>5</sup> CVR. Testimony 201316. Chungui, La Mar, June 24, 2002.

<sup>6</sup> CVR. Testimony 202695. Chungui, La Mar, July 22, 2002.

<sup>7</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P610. In-depth interview. Chungui, Chungui. Man, age 30.



## DEVELOPMENT OF THE SHINING PATH'S SO-CALLED «PEOPLE'S WAR»

**The beginning**

On May 17, 1980, in the town of Chuschi in Ayacucho, five armed fighters wearing hoods broke into the building where ballot boxes and voter rolls were being stored for national elections scheduled for the next day, burning 11 of the boxes. The event merited little attention in the daily newspapers in Lima. The PCP-SL, however, took credit for the action and stated that it was the start of the armed struggle, which included the first phase of the «plan to initiate the armed struggle» mentioned above, as well as the second phase, «begin the guerrilla war.»

The first phase of the Shining Path's war lasted from the attack in Chuschi until December 29, 1982, the day the armed forces were called up to fight subversion in Ayacucho. As will be seen, while actions were carried out in different parts of the country, the first stage of the armed conflict was concentrated in what the PCP-SL called the Principal Regional Committee, which included the provinces in northern Ayacucho, as well as Andahuaylas, in Apurímac, and the department of Huancavelica, except for the Tayacaja province.

This stage was marked by the Shining Path's military advance. It began with the so-called «armed groups without weapons,» which got their weapons by stealing dynamite from isolated mines or taking guns after attacks on police officers. The objective was to form «guerrilla detachments.» In mid-1981, the organization stepped up its actions and began assaulting police stations. On March 3, 1982, cadres attacked the jail in Huamanga, the most important military action during this period. The attack included the main detachments formed by the PCP-SL in the Principal Regional Committee. Attacks on police stations would multiply in the coming months, first in isolated district capitals and later in important towns like Vilcashuamán, where several officers were killed in a second attack on the police station on August 22, 1982. On December 3, 1982, Abimael Guzman's birthday, the PCP-SL officially launched the «people's guerrilla army» («*Ejército Guerrillero Popular,*» EGP).<sup>10</sup> Shortly thereafter, the armed forces were sent to Ayacucho to take over the anti-subversive effort.

On the political front, after the agreements reached during the IX Plenary and the launching of the ILA, the most important decision was the approval of the second military plan, «begin the guerrilla war,» which lasted from January 1981 to January 1983 and consisted of campaigns called «conquer weapons and resources,» «beat the countryside with guerrilla actions» and «strike to advance toward the construction of support bases.» Two decisions in the development of

<sup>10</sup> The "people's guerrilla army" was formed by three kinds of forces: principal, local and base. "An important situation is how President Gonzalo conceives the People's Guerrilla Army incorporating the people's militias formed by three forces, principal, local and base, which act mainly in the countryside, and in urban areas as a complement. This is the great leap toward the sea of armed masses" (PCP-SL 1988c).

Leoncio, the president of Chungui, was heading to his potato fields on the other side of town when he was detained by a group of subversives on December 14, 1983. He was stabbed to death.<sup>8</sup> The same morning, PCP-SL militants assassinated the justice of the peace in the community of Marco, which is close to Chungui, hanging him from a tree. Finally, Ramiro, considered a well-off businessman, was detained and killed by a group of 20 male and female subversives who used knives and axes to murder him. Later, a member of the PCP-SL, *David*, told the population that those miserable residents, *ñam sucarunñi*, were dead and had gone to see St. Peter.

The PCP-SL then forced the population to celebrate. They distributed the merchandise that had belonged to Ramiro, and they took with them clothing, cloth and tape players. Before leaving, they left a local resident, Gregorio, in charge. They changed his name to «*Comrade Pepe*.»<sup>9</sup> They also chose as leaders Justo, who became *David*; Noel, whom they called *Carlos*; and other young people, such as Modesto. *Pepe* was later identified as the leader who took charge when the community was forced to retreat.<sup>10</sup> According to information received in Oronqoy and Chungui, the population did not rebel. Nevertheless, not all resident followed; some hid on the farms, while others fled to the city.

#### THE PCP-SL AND SCHOOLS IN CHUNGUI

The PCP-SL's presence in 1983 was not only more aggressive and open, but also more persistent. The subversives overran communities, killed authorities, and eliminated or punished anyone who represented «disorder» (rustlers, womanizers, unfaithful women), the «old state,» illicit wealth or abuse.

In Chungui, the community assembly had approved spending community funds to build a secondary school, Túpac Amaru II, in 1978. The person behind the effort, Helí La Rosa, was born in Chungui and believed it was necessary to develop educational opportunities in the community. She invited Chungui natives living in Lima and Ayacucho to return to the community (minutes from community meeting in Chungui, 1977). In both the primary and secondary schools, the presence of teachers linked to the PCP-SL was extremely important for recruiting students and indoctrinating young adults and their families, especially those from the poorer sectors. Besides the teachers, there were young local residents who maintained close ties with urban areas and who supported the PCP-SL's efforts.

#### THE «NEW POWER:» COMMUNITY RETREATS AS STRATEGY (1982-1987)

After gaining control of the population by using the methods described above, the Shining Path imposed one of the worst tactics of the two decades of violence – «forced retreats.» These retreats were organized by the PCP-SL not only to confuse security forces, but to create the «support bases» of the «new state.» The population in Oreja de Perro lived through «forced retreats» for nearly five years. Between 1982 and 1987, the residents of Oronqoy, Santa Carmen, Tastabamba, Putucunay and the other annexes were dispersed into groups in the jungle and valley. «They made us pull back quickly and they began to organize with the people they put in charge. That is

<sup>8</sup> CVR. Testimony 202660. Chungui, La Mar, September 24, 2002.

<sup>9</sup> CVR. Testimony 202695. Chungui, La Mar, July 22, 2002.

<sup>10</sup> CVR. Testimony 202660. Chungui, La Mar, September 24, 2002.

this plan must be highlighted because they demonstrated the extremely violent path the PCP-SL's «people's war» would take.

The first decision was the agreement in May 1981 on the so-called «quota» (of blood) necessary for the triumph of the revolution. Guzmán incited his followers to «live their lives on their fingertips» and be willing to die. Furthermore, he told them that they had to be willing to kill for the revolution and that this had to be done in the most brutal way. This brutality began to manifest itself almost immediately in the assaults on police stations – throwing acid in the faces the officers guarding the police station in Tambo, in Ayacucho's La Mar province – and the attacks on state authorities and community leaders.

The second decision was to «beat the countryside» (to the PCP-SL, «beat» meant «raze and leave nothing behind»), creating a power vacuum and forming the people's committees that would constitute the seeds of the PCP-SL's «new power.» The decision to direct its violence at the peasant society where it wanted to establish its base fueled resentment that the subversive group was unable to contain and created the conditions for rebellion among the people who were supposed to be its main allies – poor Ayacucho peasants.

### 1980-1982: Surprising progress

The PCP-SL was an unexpected enemy for the outgoing and incoming governments. There were warnings about the organization, however, that went unheeded. In October 1979, the military commander in Ayacucho, apparently acting on his own initiative, undertook a special intelligence operation and found evidence of Shining Path influence in Vilcashuamán and Vischongo. There was no evidence of traditional guerrilla activity – training camps or caches of weapons – so he did not pay much attention. In addition, in the months leading up to the burning of the ballot boxes in Chuschi, Navy and Army intelligence cables reported subversive propaganda in Pomacocha, Vilcashuamán and Vischongo, as well as the possibility «of acts of sabotage, confrontations with the security forces and probable attacks on C[civil] G[uard] police stations» (Gorriti 1990: 82). Graffiti appeared in Ayacucho and surrounding towns announcing the start of the «people's war.» In Lima, the PCP-SL announced the war on May 1 through a pamphlet, «Celebration of May 1 by the Revolutionary Proletariat,» which was prepared by the Movement of Workers, Laborers and Peasants. No one paid attention to these warnings, which were overshadowed by the first presidential election campaign in 17 years and months of social agitation.

Besides attacks and assaults, ideology was the most important weapon in the Shining Path's arsenal. The militants who embraced the party *line* did not need weapons. That is clear from a Central Committee document that states that its military organization «is based on men, not weapons» (PCP-SL 1989b). That explains one of the banners of the ILA, which claimed that the party was «beginning the war unarmed,» and that the militants were responsible for procuring their own weapons. The party had such excessive confidence in its ideology that it believed that modern weapons were unnecessary for the «people's war.»

On August 8, 1980, three months after burning the ballots in Chuschi,

how the 'retreats' started, and they spread us out here and there. We were completely organized.»<sup>11</sup>

The PCP-SL ordered the population in Oreja de Perro to organize in four groups, which were supposed to spread to the surrounding areas.

During the «retreat» we had to leave. For example, those of us who lived in Oronqoy joined those living in the lower area. We were organized in four groups, and each one was in a different place. Before, we all lived on our own land in Puquiora, Jabas Huayco, Jerona, Sarachacra and Ccanjahua, but we also had our houses in town. In the «retreats,» we were separated from our place. We were sent to Sarachacra, Ccanjahua, Puquiora and Accopampa, together with the people from those places. There was a political commander and a military commander in each group.<sup>12</sup>

A «retreat» was organized in Chungui two years later, in February 1984, when the Army was preparing to launch an incursion in the zone.

The soldiers began to come to the town [Chungui]. The Shining Path told us that we had to escape to the hills and jungle. Some people began to flee to the jungle. In 1984, we began the «retreats.» It was the month when we harvested the potato crop – in June. They made us «retreat» during the middle of the harvest.<sup>13</sup>

### *The PCP-SL organization during the «retreats»*

Within the Shining Path's organizational structure, the population recruited in the «retreats» was organized in «support bases,» which represented the PCP-SL's form of government in the zone. The population became what PCP-SL called «the masses,» which were the people's support bases for the PCP-SL government. In addition, these families provided «local forces» for the party militants.

All the people in the *masses* were treated equally. Couples, widows and single mothers slept together with the children who were not yet old enough to form part of the «local force.» The women were in charge of caring for orphans. «As in other communities, there were abandoned children. When their parents died, we gave them food and clothing.»<sup>14</sup>

The «principal force» was a traveling group that supervised the actions of the «local force» and the «masses» throughout the zone. This group was also made up of young people, but the leaders were not from the area. They were «strangers,» as the people in Chungui would say. In general, they had only a few makeshift weapons and they did not wear uniforms. They tended to arrive with food and clothing for the «masses,» which they obtained in raids on other communities. These goods were handed out when they arrived to supervise the development of the armed conflict in the zone.

We wore the little clothing we brought with us and the clothing that the group traveling with Comrade *Aurelio* gave us. They gave us clothes and sandals. Comrade *Aurelio* would give them to the commander of our group and he would hand them out as needed.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P638. In-depth interview. Huallhua, Anco. Man, age 58.

<sup>12</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P657. In-depth interview. Oronqoy, Chungui. Man.

<sup>13</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P606. In-depth interview. Chungui, Chungui. Man, age 30.

<sup>14</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P608. In-depth interview. Huallhua, Anco. Man, age 35.

<sup>15</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P606. In-depth interview, Chungui, Chungui. Man, age 30.

the PCP-SL leadership evaluated the first few months of the «armed struggle.» Guzmán exuded enthusiasm as he underscored the successes:

The Initiation Plan, its application and the first results of the first actions are brilliant and a resounding success of transcendental importance and repercussion [...] the application of the plan to start the armed struggle [...] has shaken the country, placing the Party at the center of the class struggle, in the center of the political arena [...] we have entered a superior form of struggle, the armed struggle, to destroy the old order and build a new society (PCP-SL 1980c).

His discourse took on messianic tones when he talked about the future of the war:

It will be long but fruitful; cruel but brilliant; hard but vigorous and omnipotent. It is said that the world is transformed by the barrel of a gun, and we are doing it [...]. For all Communist Parties there comes the time to assume their role as vanguard of the proletariat with arms to tear away the centuries, let out a resounding war cry and storm the heavens, the shadows and the night. The old and rotting walls of the reactionaries begin to crumble, crack and bend like leaves in the tender and new flames; young but crushing bonfires. The people's war is starting to sweep away the old order to inevitably destroy it, and from the old will rise the new, and, like a glorious Phoenix, communism will be born forever (PCP-SL 1980c).

The state did not have a planned response to the first stage, mainly because of an inadequate analysis of the problem. While some members of the armed forces blamed the legal left for the problem, left-wing politicians accused the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Army Intelligence Service of using the dynamite attacks to orchestrate a campaign against them. The ruling party insisted that the violence was part of an international conspiracy.

The PCP-SL intensified its actions in 1981, including carrying out assaults to obtain weapons. The sense of urgency in the police forces was reinforced early in the year when it became clear that rural police stations were quickly becoming the principal targets of Shining Path attacks. At the time, the PCP-SL was a highly disciplined organization with an efficient communication network and centralized leadership.

The PCP-SL began carrying out its second military plan, «begin the guerrilla war,» in January 1981.<sup>11</sup> Also known as the «the great wave,» this plan was carried out in two stages. The first wave of the second military plan involved opening «guerrilla zones to serve as support bases,» while the second wave was called «begin the guerrilla war.» The first wave ended in April 1981. Attacks moved from targeting state offices in rural communities to downing high-tension

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<sup>11</sup> There are different names for the plan in existing bibliographic information. «Begin the guerrilla war» was the name used by Guzmán in an interview with the CVR at the Callao Naval Base on October 21, 2002.

Instructions were handed down through a complex network of commanders, from the central leadership through the regional and zone committees. The groups were led by a political commander and a military commander who named the people responsible for production, organization and oversight. There was also a person in charge of the women. The men were responsible for clearing the jungle to grow corn, squash and sweet potatoes. The population also began collecting fruit in the jungle, a task that was also performed by children. The fields were tended collectively and the production distributed equally among all the members of the «retreat.» In theory, no one received more than another, not even the commanders. «The commanders had us bring food, told us what to plant and sent us to other places to deliver food to the mobile group. We had lookouts to let us know what was happening [...]. There was also someone in charge of the organization.»<sup>16</sup> According to another testimony, «We also planted on the outskirts of Chapi. After setting up lookouts on the edges of the land, we burned off the brush to plant corn and squash. That is what we ate. We also planted cassava and sweet potatoes.»<sup>17</sup>

The children between ages 8 and 10 were called «pioneer children.» They helped their mothers fetch water, food and firewood for the camps. They also attended «people's schools.» One of the leaders taught them songs about the internal armed conflict, as well as how to draw a hammer and sickle, the symbol of the revolution, and strategies for escaping a military incursion. All of the classes were oral and some graphics were used, because most of the children did not know how to read or write.

Yes, I was with the pioneer boys and girls. They taught us songs and constantly told us that we would take power and that that military would kill us if we escaped.<sup>18</sup>

They did not teach us how to read or write; everything was verbal. Only they [subversive leaders] had a notebook for drawing. They drew pictures of how to get away from the military, how to dodge bullets, those kinds of things.<sup>19</sup>

From an early age, children were taught about confrontations with the security forces. The PCP-SL became a kind of protective blanket for them. When they reached the age of 12, boys and girls were separated from their parents and incorporated into the «local force,» where they received training to join the «principal force.» Only the best prepared and the strongest were recruited and trained to tolerate the tough conditions that they would endure as part of the «principal force.» This group consisted mainly of young adults, adolescents and some boys and girls of about age 12. They traveled through the jungle with the political and military commanders and slept in camps where they were tended to by the «masses.» They slept apart from the «masses,» men and women together. They called this knifing. «We had to sleep close together, man, woman, man, woman. That is what they called 'knifing.'»<sup>20</sup>

A pregnant woman received no special treatment. She would be taken to a cave when she was about to give birth, and then returned to the «masses.» If the woman was part

<sup>16</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P613. In-depth interview. Huallhua, Anco. Man, age 60.

<sup>17</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P616. In-depth interview. Chungui, Chungui. Woman, age 50.

<sup>18</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P667. In-depth interview. Oronqoy, Chungui. Man, age 38.

<sup>19</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P606. In-depth interview. Chungui, Chungui. Man, age 30.

<sup>20</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P665. In-depth interview. Oronqoy, Chungui. Man, age 33.

electricity towers in the Mantaro Interconnected Hydroelectric System in the central highlands, the country's main source of power.

The Shining Path began the second wave, which lasted from May through July 1981 and included three phases and three objectives: «conquer weapons and resources,» «beat the countryside with guerrilla actions» and «strike the enemy.» According to Guzmán, the party was surprised at the ease with which it was able to create a power vacuum in the vast area where it operated. This «success,» however, forced the PCP-SL to make a decision that was not originally included in the ILA and which distanced it from the Maoist experience by creating «people's committees» in areas where «power vacuums» emerged. A third wave was undertaken between August and September, basically replicating the characteristics of the first and second waves.

At the fourth plenary session of the Central Committee in May 1981, the PCP-SL specified the initial plans for the development of the «guerrilla war» and agreed to intensify the levels of violence. If the goal was to create a power vacuum, then it was necessary to apply a plan of selective assassinations. In addition, if the number of actions had to be increased, it was necessary for militants to become bolder and take on greater challenges. This referred to «the quota» that had to be paid. The plan also included inciting the state to respond disproportionately to the PCP-SL's actions as a way of unmasking «its anti-democratic character.»

By the end of 1981, the cadres in the PCP-SL's detachments had acquired a certain level of military experience. On October 11, 50 people led by armed subversives overran the police station in Tambo, in Ayacucho's La Mar province, killing three officers and stealing two machine guns and three revolvers. The call to obtain weapons by «striking» at the police forces was carried out in the countryside and cities, where officers were killed for their revolvers. On October 12, the government declared a state of emergency in five of Ayacucho's seven provinces (Huamanga, Huanta, Cangallo, La Mar and Víctor Fajardo), suspended constitutional guarantees related to personal liberties and security for 60 days, and dispatched members of an anti-subversive police brigade known as the Sinchis to Ayacucho. The state continued with a disinformation campaign. Interior Vice Minister Héctor López Martínez stated that the terrorist groups had international support and blamed the subversive actions not only on the PCP-SL, but also on the PCP Pukallacta and MIR Stage IV, an organization that had ceased to exist in 1979.

In a second review of the war in February 1982, Abimael Guzmán cited as important achievements of the «people's war» having forged the temper of the party, the formation and construction of an armed forces led by the party, and «the great quantity and increasing quality» of the armed actions. The country became aware of the magnitude of the problem with the attack on the jail in Huamanga on March 2, 1982. According to Guzmán, the original idea was to coordinate prison breaks around the country, but it was impossible to coordinate a project of that scope. Nevertheless, the action allowed 304 inmates (of whom approximately 70 were PCP-SL militants) to escape, including Hildebrando Pérez Huaranca and Edith Lagos. It was the most important

of the «local force,» she would live with the «masses» during her pregnancy, but return to the force after the child was born. «The women in the jungle would give birth in caves, and often, because of malnutrition, the children would be born retarded or would not survive.»<sup>21</sup>

As the violence worsened, communication among the three PCP-SL forces deteriorated, particularly between the «principal force» and the «local force.» As time went by, the visits by the «principal force» became more sporadic, which allowed the «local force» and the «masses» to gain more autonomy and power. According to the interviews, most abuses came from the «local force.» These were abuses against their own people, often ending in executions with rustic weapons, grenades or shotguns. Personal animosities and family squabbles were also cause for executions in the name of the Shining Path. In addition, sexual violence, theoretically prohibited and punishable by death, became more frequent. The PCP-SL imposed fierce control and order. The party did not forgive any form of betrayal or suspicion of betrayal, and there was no room to question the «new order.»

The [PCP-SL] would come to see if we were following orders, if we were well organized, if everyone was eating the same thing. They came to see if we were making mistakes. Those who made mistakes were tied up and killed.<sup>22</sup>

I was concerned because the comrades called an assembly and those who did not attend would die. I went to the assembly very fearful. My husband and my father did not go, and they were whipped until they became ill. Later, we had to cook together, because if they found you cooking alone you were admonished and punished.<sup>23</sup>

Life in the «retreats» was hell. One witness, who was 7 years old at the time, tells how the «masses» suffered more than the «principal force» or the «local force» as they tried to survive and escape the security forces:

I was very sad. There were very few of us left in my base, and we escaped to the highlands where we ate potatoes. When we found out the Sinchis had left, the survivors returned to Achira, where the Shining Path militants came back to organize us again. They told us: «We are many, like the sand in the river and the soldiers are like the big rocks in the river.» The organization of the masses in my base was divided, with the women in charge of cooking and bringing food to the adults who worked in the fields. The adults and the young people participated in the principal forces and were also farmers. We all worked for the collective; there was no individualism. The older children helped where they could, and the younger ones were taught to read and write by the Shining Path's *SF*. He let us sing and play. I was seven years old at the time. What hurts to remember is how the masses died, because they could not escape from the military attacks. The members of local and principal forces were almost never killed. The young people over 12 and the adults over 40 had the easiest time escaping from the military, but they could not fight. There were only 20 combatants armed with sticks, slingshots, two rifles and two

<sup>21</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P643. Focus group of women. Oronqoy, Chungui. Woman, age 60.

<sup>22</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P633. In-depth interview. Huallhua, Anco. Woman, age 60.

<sup>23</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P608. In-depth interview. Huallhua, Anco. Woman, age 35.

<sup>24</sup> CVR. Testimony 202014. Chungui, La Mar, March 22, 2003.



military action undertaken by the PCP-SL at the time and was carried out with surprising efficiency. While the attack was under way, soldiers stationed in Ayacucho remained at the Los Cabitos base on the outskirts of Huamanga, awaiting orders from Lima to intervene. The call never came.

The security forces responded with violence. Republican Guard (*Guardia Republicana*, GR) officers assassinated three detained PCP-SL militants who were recovering from wounds at the hospital in Huamanga. In April 1982, the government ordered inmates arrested on terrorism charges to be transferred to El Frontón, an island prison off the coast of Lima, to prevent other assaults like the one in Huamanga.

#### *Lima: Difficult complement*

Documents from the PCP-SL show that during the IX Plenary in 1979, militants in the Metropolitan Lima Committee were opposed to launching the armed struggle, but «[...] the party [...] smashed fully and completely this opportunistic right-wing line» (PCP-SL 1986a). The party was militarized after that purge. In the urban areas, this meant building groups without weapons and «[...] from these burning seeds will spring burning sunflowers.» The most important work in the cities would be carried out by a «unified front.» To do this, the PCP-SL proposed recruiting residents through «generating organizations,» such as the Grassroots Women's Movement, Classist Movement of Workers and Laborers, Teachers' Movement, People's Intellectual Movement and Movement of People's Artists. It was also at this time that the party created the People's Support Committee (*Socorro Popular*), initially conceived to provide medical and legal assistance to PCP-SL militants.

The first phase of this Shining Path campaign began to take shape in Lima in 1982. Among the actions that created the most commotion in the capital were the attacks on the high-tension electricity towers, which caused widespread blackouts. Through these and other attacks, the Metropolitan Committee gained importance in the organization and began to expand its actions by strengthening its presence in universities and extending its network to Lima's shantytowns, as well as in the workers' unions in industries along the Central Highway, the main route from the city to the central highlands.

Despite these actions, Guzmán believed that the so-called «Metro» was not sufficiently committed to the armed struggle. This was reinforced by organizational problems and the inability to prepare large-scale attacks, demonstrated by some significant failures. The «Metro» was still a problem for the organization.

The «new power» in the countryside and the participation of the armed forces

The first campaign, «beat the countryside (Strike 1),» ended around October 1982. It was part of the second military plan, «begin the guerrilla war,» which was launched in July under the banner, «fight against the exploitation of landowners and local power, and annihilate the forces of reaction.» From

shotguns. That is how the masses died until only a few of us were left.<sup>24</sup>

Women with children could not hide or escape quickly. «Escaping with children was harder. They caught you and they killed you.»<sup>25</sup> The situation in the «retreats» got much worse when the soldiers arrived to eliminate them.

When they began the search, we would hide in the jungle, in holes, caverns, lagoons, etc. We faced all kinds of hardships. In the end, only a few of us survived and we returned to our village, even though they were searching for us and we were wanted. Later, we fled to the cities. Only a few people have returned home over the years. Many people died of hunger or were shot in the head, the body, etc., during those forced marches out of our villages. Some people would fall when we had to run, breaking their legs. They would die. Others lost their arms, their hands because of the bullet wounds. We were injured and malnourished. I can tell you that even today I am still malnourished; we do not eat well and have little blood. The women in the jungle had to give birth in the caves. Because of malnutrition, many of the children were born retarded. The children who did survive are still unhealthy and they continue to suffer from the effects of the malnutrition. Many people's children died of gunshot wounds from the soldiers and many parents were assassinated by the subversives. Others died when we were escaping; they fell into the rivers and were swept away. We went to different villages with nothing, with only the clothes on our backs. We didn't have blankets or other clothes; that's how we would arrive. The people from our village who returned earlier took advantage of our absence and kept our animals and the things we left behind.<sup>26</sup>

The infants were malnourished and cried from hunger, so the leaders of the «masses» and the «local forces» decided to eliminate them. In several of the camps in Oreja de Perro, mothers were forced to kill their own children. Some smothered their children by holding them tightly against their chests. If a woman refused to follow the order, the camp's political leader would take the child by the feet and slam his or her head against a rock. In other cases, they tied a rope around the neck and strangled the child. The infants were killed because their cries might attract military patrols. The mother had to kill her own child. She killed him in Patawasi. It was nighttime, and I don't know where they left him or if they even buried him [...] he was only a baby, maybe about six months old [...] He cried a lot. They called the mother and said, «Pathetic woman, quiet your son» so he wouldn't alert the soldiers. They forced her to make him stop crying. The woman held him tightly against her breast and the baby smothered. He stopped breathing.<sup>27</sup>

## THE ARMY'S PRESENCE

The Army carried out its first incursion in Chungui in March 1984, and a military base was established the following month.<sup>28</sup>

The PCP-SL did not achieve control over the population. Several families returned to the community immediately after the first Army incursion and organized a civil defense patrol to combat the subversives. Each time they went on patrol, the

<sup>25</sup> CVR. BDI-P633. In-depth interview. Huallhua, Anco. Woman, age 60.

<sup>26</sup> CVR BDI-I-P643. Focus group with women. Oronqoy, Chungui.

<sup>27</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P606. In-depth interview. Chungui, Chungui. Man, age 30.

<sup>28</sup> CVR. Testimony 204052.

November 1982 to March 1983, the PCP-SL carried out its second campaign, «shake the countryside (Strike 2),» which included distributing confiscated land and forcing peasant communities to plant collectively.

The subversive organization's actions, particularly the attacks on the Civil Guard police stations, forced the state to pull back from vast areas of the Ayacucho countryside, as well as from some areas of Huancavelica and Apurímac. The PCP-SL began to present itself as the new local power.

Between 1980 and 1982, the PCP-SL formed a large number of people's committees, «the seed of the New State,» which organized the communities' social and economic life and attempted to impose a new autarkic economy. Beginning in 1982, the PCP-SL prohibited farmers from selling products and closed some farmers' markets, such as the one in Lirio, in the province of Huanta, and the market in Huancasancos. At its Second National Conference, held in 1982, the PCP-SL proposed:

[...] with the formation of people's committees we have taken another step in establishing new productive relations, collective farming, collective work and collective harvest. One thing is distributing lands, another is collective work and in the country there is a tradition of this, the *ayni*, and with this we are introducing the concept of mutual help and planting socialism. The distribution of land happens when there is a certain level of grassroots support. We have proposed organizing the entire community in collective work by convincing them that it is right. There are individual and communal lands and both are worked collectively, but whoever has more land has to pay a kind of tax and set aside part of production for the poorest families and another part to feed the army. We have suggested how to improve production, because the peasants have to see the benefits of the revolution, planting prickly pear, improving seeds, cochineal and fertilizer. There is a Production Commissary to look after the problems [of] commerce, bartering, plowing and improving feed for guinea pigs. We have proposed that the Support Bases be self-sufficient and shown that the countryside supplies all that is needed to live, what are missing are matches and kerosene, for the autarkic economy. Take over agriculture and livestock production. Where there is a lack of land, open new lands and build terraces for planting. We can develop an economy and maintain the New State based on our efforts. A policy directly related to the war.

The people's committees (Co. Po.) were formed by several commissaries. The secretary commissary «leads the Co. Po., meets with the other four commissaries to establish the government plan and each carries out the agreements.» The security commissary «plans and proposes [the] defense plan for the Co. Po., organizes the security detail in daytime and nighttime shifts that include men, women and children [...].» The production commissary «is in charge of planning and organizing collective planting and distributing seeds.» The community affairs commissary applies «elemental justice to resolve problems of damages and conflicts, and impose sanctions.» The people's organizations commissary «organizes the generating organizations in the communities» (PCP-

soldiers would be sandwiched between members of the civil defense patrol, who would form the columns in front of and behind the soldiers. When they brought in someone from the jungle who had been arrested – in the cases when they were brought in still alive – the entire population of Chungui was forced to line up and insult and hit the prisoner. If they refused, they were punished.

The men who participated in the civil defense patrol in Chungui – all men and boys over age 14 had to participate – state that the worst years of the armed conflict were between 1984 and 1988, especially because of the number of extrajudicial executions by the Army. The members of the civil defense patrols constantly attempted to avoid responsibility for those actions, blaming the violence on the soldiers or the local residents who were killed.

The captain blamed us and as punishment sent me off with two terrorists [PCP-SL militants]. They were hung from a tree and we started to light logs, sticks and trunks to burn them, but they wouldn't die. They were naked, with their hands tied. That was our punishment because we let some terrorists escape.<sup>29</sup>

According to residents, Captain *Samuray* – who was in charge of the base in 1985 – was one of the cruelest and most violent commanders of the base in Chungui. The first president and vice president of the civil defense patrol, *Maurino Quispe* and *José Jaycur*, respectively, were killed in 1985 on Captain *Samuray's* orders. The reasons are unclear, but the people in Chungui believe that Captain *Samuray* ordered them killed because he suspected that they were subversives.

The communities of Oreja de Perro were also the scene of incursions by the Sinchis based in Andarapa, who entered the zone sporadically after 1982 to supervise the system of community lookouts, which had disappeared from most communities after executions carried out by the PCP-SL in 1983. The lookouts existed only in Mollebamba, where they continued until they were transformed into a system of civil defense patrols. A military base for the Apurímac region was established in the area in 1985. Another base was established in Pallqas in 1986, but it was moved to Chapi in 1987 after a PCP-SL attack.

Between February and March 1984, soldiers from the Army based in Andahuaylas entered Oreja de Perro through Mollebamba, where they organized a civil defense committee. From then on, the Army and members of the Mollebamba civil defense patrol carried out systematic incursions in Oreja de Perro. Numerous massacres and razings of whole villages followed. Not a community or annex in the area was spared from the military incursions and what they implied – theft of property and animals, extrajudicial executions and the destruction of homes. According to testimonies, the violence came from the soldiers and the civil defense patrol members.

The people from Mollebamba said, «Kill them. Kill the thieves, kill the terrorists who stole our food and massacred the people.» That's what the people from Mollebamba said.<sup>30</sup>

People remember that the Army's attitude changed after Army Major Miguel Seminario<sup>31</sup> was named head of the base in Chapi between October and December 1987. They said: «This major is from Ayacucho; he doesn't allow soldiers to beat the

29 CVR. BDI-I-P602. In-depth interview. Chungui, Chungui. Man, age 60.

30 CVR. BDI-I-P619. In-depth interview. Hierbabuena, Chungui. Man, age 38.

31 CVR. Testimony 202678.

32 CVR. Testimony 202678. Chungui, La Mar, November 5, 2002.

SL 1989a).

In the area of Huancasancos, the production commissary led the «razings»<sup>12</sup> and distributed the goods and animals, which the families were forced to receive:

[...] it was obligatory [to participate in the distribution] if you didn't receive the meat, you were marked. We would go out of fear, men, women and even children. We all got something, but it depended; for example, the ones who had fewer sheep got two kilos of meat. They knew everything; some got one kilo, and others got half a kilo.<sup>13</sup>

The largest PCP-SL offensive in the early years of the internal conflict came in July 1982: 34 terrorist actions and five massive incursions in small communities, attacks on municipalities in Ayacucho and the assassination of the mayor and a businessman in Hualla, Víctor Fajardo, who were accused of being «snitches.» Cadres attacked the GC police station in Vilcashuamán on August 22. Seven officers were killed in the five-hour battle. Edith Lagos was killed on September 2 in Umacca, in the department of Apurímac, in a shootout with members of the Republican Guard. The auxiliary bishop of Ayacucho celebrated her funeral Mass with approximately 10,000 people on hand for her burial. In the following years, Lagos, who was 19 when she died, would become a kind of icon in the country's south-central region.

The growing sense that the government was losing control, which was fed by the assassinations of public officials and the continuing assaults on police stations in Ayacucho, led to the decision to involve the armed forces in combating subversion. On December 27, 1982, President Fernando Belaúnde gave a 72-hour ultimatum «for the terrorists to lay down their weapons» before the armed forces were given control of the emergency zone. The PCP-SL did not comply. General Roberto Clemente Noel Moral was named political-military commander of the new emergency zone, and on December 31, 1982, soldiers took up positions in Ayacucho. The Navy, under the leadership of Commander Juan Carlos Vega Llona, was given control over the provinces of Huanta and La Mar. The cruelest stage of the internal armed conflict was about to begin in the south-central highlands.

#### The PCP-SL between 1983 and 1985

The PCP-SL's first two military plans – «initiate the armed struggle» and «begin the guerrilla war» — were carried out between May 1980 and January 1983. In two years, the PCP-SL had established a solid presence in the Ayacucho countryside and a significant number of social sectors, particularly peasants, either accepted or were neutral to its radical, autarkic plan. They were persuaded by the subversives' message about justice, without imagining the levels of violence

<sup>12</sup> "In striking," according to a PCP-SL document, "the key is to raze. And razing means leaving nothing behind" (PCP-SL 1982).

<sup>13</sup> CVR. Testimony from a 45-year-old resident of Sacsamarca.

detainees. He brought in the people who had fled to the jungle and repopulated Chapi before December 25, 1987.»<sup>32</sup>

The central mission of the security forces was no longer to execute anyone they came across in the «retreats.» The new mission was to save and rescue the residents [from the PCP-SL].<sup>33</sup>

The soldiers came from Chungui, Mollebamba, and the civilians [civil defense patrols] also came from the same places and annexes. They captured all of us, but they treated us well. They said to us, «Stop. Do not run away, we are not going to kill you.» They took us to the fields, where the potato crop was ready. We had a place near the fields that we had built, and the women began to cook so we could eat potatoes. That's when we began to recover from our hunger. Next they took us to Chapi, where there were helicopters that transported the soldiers. After that we were happy, because they didn't kill us. They took statements from the subversive leaders and then took them away in the helicopters. They were taken prisoner and sent to jails in different places.<sup>34</sup>

As of 1987, there were different factors that influenced the Shining Path's failure in the zone. The population that had been forced to live in the «retreats» with the PCP-SL, the «masses» as well as the «local force,» began deserting and showing up at different military bases. Living conditions in the jungle had become unbearable. The children died of hunger and thirst. They ate only squash seeds and raw corn, and they didn't have salt. Malnutrition was chronic and death frequent. The Army began to make significant incursions. They took charge of the people in the jungle and protected them from the peasant patrols, which often wanted to kill people, accusing them of being subversives. That was prohibited by the military leaders.

The base in Chapi was deactivated in 1988 and the people returned to Andahuaylas. A re-population program began in 1992 so that people could return to Yerbabuena, Putucunay, Belén de Chapi, Oronqoy, Santa Carmen, Chillihua and Tastabamba.<sup>35</sup>

According to data recorded by the CVR, 1,381 people were killed or disappeared in Chungui between 1980 and 2000, representing nearly 17 percent of the entire population registered in the 1981 census.

Comparative data from the 1981 and the 1993 censuses in the district of Chungui show a 47.5 percent decline in the population, from 8,257 people in 1981 to 4,338 in 1993. In the surrounding rural areas, the population decreased by 51 percent, from 7,682 people in 1981 to 3,797 in 1993. There are no exact statistics on how many of these people were displaced to other areas and how many were assassinated or disappeared.

33 CVR. Testimony 202660. Chungui, La Mar, September 24, 2002.

34 CVR. BDI-I-P606. In-depth interview. Chungui, La Mar. Woman, age 30.

35 CVR. Testimony 201316. Chungui, La Mar, June 24, 2002.

to which they would be subjected in the coming years.

The Navy took control of the province of Huanta on January 21, 1983. One of the first steps it took there was to group peasants in communities and organize Civil Defense Committees similar to the Strategic Hamlets organized by the U.S. Army in Vietnam or the Civil Self-Defense Patrols in Guatemala. In the majority of cases, the measure provoked resentment among the peasants, not only because of the economic uncertainty created by having to move, but also because of the profound rivalries that existed between communities that were now forced to live together.

The PCP-SL did not retreat, despite the violent anti-subversive strategy launched by the military. On the contrary, it decided to take a further step because Guzmán believed that the organization had won over a solid social base among peasants in the previous two years:

How come they were unable to hit us hard, even with such a genocidal policy? How can 1983 and 1984 be explained? [...] The relationship with the people has to be examined, the kind of relation that existed.<sup>14</sup>

The PCP-SL's Central Committee met in March 1983 and agreed to move forward with the third military plan, «conquer support bases.» Four political tasks were decided at the meeting: general reorganization of the party, formation of the «people's guerrilla army,» formation of the organizing committee of the People's Republic of the New Democracy, and formation of the Revolutionary Front to Defend the People. In other words, the PCP-SL decided to begin building its «new society.»

In the Central Committee in March 1983, President Gonzalo further developed the idea of building the Front-New State. He proposed levels at which the New State would be organized: People's Committees, Support Bases and the People's Republic of the New Democracy. The work of the Support Bases and the Organizing Committee of the People's Republic of the New Democracy are leadership, planning and organization, and each base drafts its own specific plan.

The People's Committees are the pillars of the New State, they are Committees of the Unified Front, run by commissaries who take on state roles and are elected in Representative Assemblies and are subject to removal. They remain clandestine and operate with commissions directed by the Party and use the principle of «thirds» – one-third communists, one-third peasants and one-third progressives – and are supported by the army. They apply the dictatorship of the proletariat, coercion and security by firmly and decisively exercising the violence necessary to defend the New Power from its enemies and protect the rights of the people.

The People's Committees constitute the Support Bases and the Support Bases are the foundation that will support the People's Republic of the New

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<sup>14</sup> CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, October 29, 2002.

## THE CASE OF THE ASHÁNINKAS OF THE CENTRAL JUNGLE

Peru's central jungle region is the ancestral home of the Asháninka, Yánesha and Nomatsiguenga indigenous peoples. According to its research, the CVR estimates that of the 55,000 Asháninkas, approximately 6,000 were killed, 10,000 were displaced from their communities in the Ene, Tambo and Perené River Valleys, and nearly 5,000 were enslaved by the PCP-SL. In addition, between 30 and 40 Asháninka communities disappeared during the internal armed conflict.<sup>1</sup>

### SCENES OF THE INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT IN THE CENTRAL JUNGLE

Four large areas in the central jungle region felt the impact of the internal armed conflict in different forms. The first was the Gran Pajonal plains (Ucayali), home of the Asháninka, where the PCP-SL was categorically rejected. The second included the province of Oxapampa (Pasco), which was home to Asháninkas and colonists. The MRTA had a strong presence in that area, but in the early 1990s, MRTA militants assassinated Alejandro Calderón, the *pinkátzari* (highest-ranking leader) and president of the Asháninka organization *Apatyawaka Nampitsi Asháninka* (ANAP). He was killed for his alleged participation in the 1965 murder of Guillermo Lobatón, a MIR guerrilla leader at the time. Calderón's death led to the formation of the «Asháninka Army.» The MRTA admitted its mistake and pulled back from the region, carrying out only sporadic attacks in urban areas and against Army bases. The third zone included the province of Chanchamayo (Junín), which was home to colonists, Asháninkas and Yáneshas. The MRTA was also very active there, but was eventually displaced by the PCP-SL. The PCP-SL presence, however, was mainly through sporadic incursions. The fourth zone included the province of Satipo (Junín), where the PCP-SL arrived early in the conflict. The Satipo zone can be divided into three sub zones:

- The first basically encompasses the districts of Río Negro, Satipo and Mazamari, and includes the principal cities connected by the Marginal Highway and the rural hinterland. There are numerous Asháninka and Nomatsiguenga indigenous communities, as well as settlements of colonists.
- The second includes the district of San Martín de Pangoa, which is connected to the district of Río Tambo through the upper Ene River basin. The largest number of Nomatsiguenga communities is located here.
- The third is the district of Río Tambo, where 97 percent of the population is Asháninka. The Ene and Tambo rivers link all the communities. The Ene River connects Ayacucho to the central jungle. It is the continuation of the Apurímac River, which runs through the Ayacucho jungle region. This text focuses on events in the area of the Ene and Tambo rivers.

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1 In 1995, the National Human Rights Coordinating Committee published a report on the disappearance of these communities.



Democracy, which is in formation (PCP-SL 1988c).

The party also defined the primary and secondary lines of the struggle, which was how the PCP-SL columns would spread throughout the country with the objective of maintaining the organization's presence in areas where the armed forces had assumed control over the population. They also defined «four forms of struggle and eleven procedures» and agreed to «defend, develop and construct the new power.»<sup>15</sup> Plans were outlined to expand the party's work by opening the Huallaga Front and broadening the struggle in urban areas.

While the armed forces launched an energetic anti-subversive campaign in Ayacucho, Guzmán decided to install «people's committees» and replace local authorities with commissaries as the foundation for creating the new power. The «people's committees» in each area formed a «support base» and the network of support bases formed the «People's Republic of the New Democracy in formation.» According to Guzmán, the committees were clandestine structures to protect the party militants.

The police, unprepared for these conditions, were defeated. The first operation police officers carried out against us, an operation carried out in intervals, was condemned to failure because of the amount of territory and the limited number of officers involved. This forced the police to leave the area. [...] What happened next? A power vacuum. What did we do? That was discussed at a party event, because everything was determined that way in an organization such as ours. We proposed the creation of a state model. [...] But because we did not have sufficient forces to manage that, because it involved territory the size of a department, the power was clandestine. It was a clandestine committee, it was not power that was openly installed. That is how it began and functions were assigned. It was a necessity dictated by circumstances.<sup>16</sup>

In some cases, the authorities imposed by the PCP-SL had to prepare the population for the military response the party leadership expected. This implied building an infrastructure where the peasants could seek refuge when they retreated.

The decision to form the «Organizing Committee of the People's Republic of the New Democracy» indicates that the PCP-SL did not believe it was facing state offensive that would defeat them. On the contrary, it was at this time that Guzmán became «President Gonzalo,» the name he would use in all party documents and the way party members would refer to him from then on. The Shining Path began to build its «new state» and «President Gonzalo» was the undisputed leader of the new republic in formation.<sup>17</sup> In addition, Guzmán was

<sup>15</sup> In a plenary session in 1984, the party outlined 11 procedures: guerrilla action, counter-reestablishment, harvests, razings, ambushes, sabotage of highway system, disruption of trunk lines, disruption of airports, psychological war, harassment to break movements, and selective terrorism. The four forms of struggle were agitation and propaganda, sabotage, selective annihilation, and guerrilla combat.

<sup>16</sup> CVR. *Interview. Callao Naval Base, January 27, 2003.*

<sup>17</sup> According to diverse testimonies, it was Guzmán's wife, Augusta la Torre, Nora, who defended the proposal that he be named "president" of the new state in formation.

## THE FIRST PCP-SL ACTIONS

Many Asháninka families began moving down the Apurímac River toward the Ene River starting in the 1960s to escape pressure from colonists in the jungle of Ayacucho. Years later, another wave of colonists arrived to plant coca along the left bank of the river, forming the Ene River Colonization Committee. The first PCP-SL cadres arrived with the committee, fleeing the military counteroffensive launched in Ayacucho in the early 1980s.

Between 1985 and 1988, PCP-SL commanders began killing alleged criminals and «snitches» among the colonists in the Ene Valley. The Asháninkas' reaction was a combination of fear and attraction, because they considered many of the colonists land invaders and «delinquents» who had brought drug trafficking, prostitution and abuse to the area. The Shining Path expelled a group of drug traffickers from the valley during those early years.

As in other areas, the PCP-SL leaders initially approached Asháninka teachers and community leaders, who had higher levels of education, contact with urban areas and mobility throughout the zone. The visits became much more frequent in 1988, and the PCP-SL's presence was widespread and open by 1989. The commanders arrived each weekend to coordinate and «raise awareness» among community authorities.

### OTICA, THE ROLE OF THE LEADERS AND INITIAL ATTRACTION TO THE PCP-SL

*HP*, a leader in Otica, was a well-known health-care promoter and technician, which allowed him to travel frequently to the various communities along the Tambo and Ene Rivers. *HP* was recruited by the PCP-SL in the mid-1980s. Thanks to his credibility in Otica, *HP* won over the population for the PCP-SL. «*HP* told us about policies for the poor people, that everything could be different [...]»<sup>2</sup>

The first PCP-SL incursion in Otica took place on October 29, 1987. The guerrillas sacked the health post and the home of people who worked for two non-governmental organizations. The people of Otica repudiated the attack, but *HP* convinced them that the PCP-SL incursion had been a «mistake.»

That year, *HP* was elected president of the community and *Javier*, the PCP-SL's military commander and the godfather of *HP*'s child, began visiting Otica. They worked together to «politicize» the various clans. Two other PCP-SL commanders arrived and began offering political courses. After a few months, *HP* told the families that the PCP-SL was going to create a «new state» and that the community had to accept it. «He was the chief and you had to accept what he said. How could you not accept what the chief said?»<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, not all the Asháninkas accepted the PCP-SL. Many did not understand the ideology, and some who had lived in urban areas doubted the organization's promises. Others, who had heard of assassinations perpetrated by the PCP-SL, were afraid of the subversives. Most of the colonists who disagreed with the PCP-SL had already fled the valley out of the fear. Displacement to urban areas was not an option for most of the Asháninkas, who did not have relatives in cities. In addition, the Asháninkas traditionally sought refuge in the deep jungle rather than

2 CVR. Interview with Carlos. Otica, September 2002.

3 CVR. Meeting with women. Otica, November 2002.

named president of the party and president of the Military Commission. The concentration of power was absolute.

The concentration of power reflects the image that Abimael Guzmán had of himself when he fought to impose this decision and illustrates the role he believed he was destined to play in history. At a party meeting, Guzmán recalled certain attributes of Mao Zedong that may shed light on his motivation:

We cannot forget that Chairman Mao was president of 800 million people and the repercussions of his ideas were greater than that of Lenin; and he held three positions: President [of the Chinese Communist Party], President of the Military Commission in the Armed Forces, and Head of State. This is why he had 50,000 men to protect the leadership.<sup>18</sup>

This vision of the historic role that Abimael Guzmán felt he was called to fulfill fed a personality cult around him that grew over the following years. At the start of 1983, he began to emulate the «Third Sword of Marxism,» at least within the organic structure of the PCP-SL. His concern for the universal resonance of his ideas grew continuously throughout the years.

Beginning in 1983, when the third military plan, «conquer support bases,» was launched, the party militants adopted a much more coercive attitude toward the peasants. As a consequence, they increased selective assassinations of opponents, including community authorities and peasants who were better off economically, whom they labeled «enemies of the people.» After community leaders were assassinated, the organization installed young militants with little political formation to run communities. These new leaders often mixed the effort to establish the «new power» with personal or family interests. Their arrogance provoked immediate rejection among the population.

Because they named very young people, students with no life experience, they sometimes got involved in their own kind of cannibalism, so the people wanted nothing to do with them. That is how it started.<sup>19</sup>

The communities in the province of Huancasancos —Sancos, Lucanamarca and Sacsamarca— formed one of the Shining Path's first «liberated zones.» Beginning in 1982, they began building their «new power» in these communities, forcing authorities to resign or face execution. The PCP-SL was accepted by some sectors of the population, because it imposed order and all people were «equal»:

Damn! The people with money were sweeping the streets, everything was orderly, no one slacked off. There were no longer any *waqras*, they were punished. Everything was clean and orderly in those days.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Guzmán made these remarks during a preparatory meeting for the National Meeting of Leaders and Cadres.

<sup>19</sup> CVR. Testimony of a self-defense patrol member from Chupacc.

<sup>20</sup> CVR. Testimony of a 70-year-old resident of Sancos.

urban areas. Finally, the PCP-SL had encircled the area, forced the closure of local airstrips and restricted river travel.

The PCP-SL employed different methods to control the communities. One of the principal tools was fear. «[...] We will kill whoever does not support the party.»<sup>4</sup> The leaders and supporters acted as the «party's thousand eyes and thousand ears.» A sense of mistrust spread throughout the communities and even within family groups. The PCP-SL also convinced the Asháninkas that the military was trying to kill them. In this way, the subversives were able to physically and psychologically isolate the communities. The subversives then began to recruit children between the ages of 10 and 15 as fighters. By 1989, the PCP-SL had formed two people's committees in Otica. The people no longer used [the form of address] *nosháninka*,<sup>5</sup> but «comrade.» I would get angry when they would greet me as «comrade,» but the people accepted it. One of them said we are living in the new state.<sup>6</sup>

The Shining Path increased the frequency of its incursions and attacks in the communities throughout 1989, targeting areas where there were religious missions, development projects or business operations. On February 13, 1989, in Tzomaveni, the PCP-SL assassinated Isaías Charete, president of the Central Asháninka Organization of the Ene River, which included all the communities in the valley.

#### EXODUS FROM CUTIVIRENI

The PCP-SL began indoctrinating the population and recruiting young people in Cutivireni in 1988. The incursions, attacks, forced recruitment of young people and assassinations increased until the Asháninkas who did not fall into step behind the PCP-SL fled to the deep jungle to an area known as Tzibokiroato. They were attacked there on several occasions. On November 14, the PCP-SL killed six people in Cutivireni.

In September 1991, 169 Asháninkas, with the support of the Rev. Mariano Gagnon, a Franciscan missionary priest, were airlifted to Matsiguenga territory on the other side of the Urubamba mountains. They found refuge in the community of Kiriketi and would eventually set up their own autonomous community. A group of Asháninkas still lives there, while others have relocated to the Tambo River area.

In 1991, the Army installed a base in Cutivireni and formed a self-defense committee. Cutivireni became a place a refuge, a «population center» that eventually housed more than 2,000 Asháninkas who had been displaced from their own communities.

#### «ARMIES» OR SELF-DEFENSE COMMITTEES

By the end of 1990, the PCP-SL controlled the entire Ene River Valley and the headwaters of the Tambo River up to the bend in the river at Poyeni. That area was called the «frontier,» because it was where the «Asháninka Army» or Poyeni self-defense committee was formed.

The creation of «armies» was a traditional Asháninka practice. All of the adult males formed the indigenous self-defense committees or *ovayeriite*.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> CVR. Interview with Ernestina. Puerto Ocopa, November 2002. Woman, approximately 30 years old.

<sup>5</sup> Nosháninka means friend, brother Asháninka.

<sup>6</sup> Man, age 36. Testimony recorded by CAAAP. Puerto Ocopa, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> The name the Kunuja indigenous organization gave to the self-defense patrols in Pangoa.

The punishment of powerful people who had committed abuses and the apparent elimination of differences between rich and poor are still stamped into the peasants' memory. The order imposed by PCP-SL was symbolized by the decision to force local residents who had some degree of power or wealth to clean the communities.

The people's committees in Huancasancos were formed by young people between ages 12 and 30 who were in charge of maintaining order and controlling the movements of residents. They were drawn by the PCP-SL's message offering them power and equality. These young men and women began to feel the enormous power conferred upon them by the party; the illusion of always being obeyed fascinated them.

Traditional ideas about hierarchy were replaced by a discourse of equality: «They [the young people] were pleased at being called 'comrade,' never sir, or *amigo*, nothing like that. 'Comrade!' That was it.»<sup>21</sup> The «new order» implied a radical transgression of traditional Andean structures, in which power was wielded by elders who were respected by the population. Under the PCP-SL, youths, women and even children replaced the elders:

[...] the new power, everyone was afraid because the students said they would kill anyone who let them down, you had to obey the weapons. The community had no authority over them [...] the students were not the authority. They became activists, workers, with strong interventionist language.<sup>22</sup>

«Their word was law ... it was unbearable,» said another community member.

Discontent increased when the PCP-SL restricted people's movements and prevented them from leaving or returning to the community. That occurred not only in Huancasancos, but in other areas where the organization exercised control:

In the beginning, they were well behaved, but I don't think three months passed before they started to pressure us and we could not move around, we could not go to Ayacucho or even Vinchos to visit our relatives. They also prevented us from receiving visitors. All of this made our lives impossible. We peasants are free and can go where ever we want, and that is what hurt us.<sup>23</sup>

The use of children in hostile actions was a widespread and systematic practice imposed by the PCP-SL from the start of the «people's war,» and it grew more intense after 1983.

Make children participate actively in the people's war. They can carry out different tasks that will make them understand the need to transform the

<sup>21</sup> CVR. Testimony of a businessman from Sancos.

<sup>22</sup> CVR. Testimony of a 68-year-old resident of Sancos.

<sup>23</sup> CVR. Testimony of a resident of Paqcha, Vinchos, Huamanga.

Asháninka self-defense committees reported directly to the Army and patrols formed by colonists in the Ene River Valley, while in the Tambo River Valley they were more autonomous. Each community in the Tambo River Valley created its own patrol, and all participated in the central self-defense committee. The PCP-SL therefore could no longer move up the Tambo River, and Poyeni became the «frontier.»

#### THE ASHÁNINKA MARTYRS OF THE TAMBO RIVER

At the end of 1989, a group of leaders in the Central Organization of the Tambo River Asháninka (*Central Asháninka del Río Tambo*, CART) decided to form an «Asháninka Army» to fight the PCP-SL. The plans did not get off the ground because the PCP-SL leader *HP* was also a CART member.

In 1990, at the Sixth CART Congress, the organization officially declared its opposition to the PCP-SL. A column of 60 Shining Path cadres, including colonists and Asháninkas and led by *HP*, entered the community of Mayapo, where the congress was being held. Most of the delegates managed to escape, but the PCP-SL captured Pablo Santoma and the leaders of two other groups, Óscar Chimanca of the Nomatsiguenga and Asháninka Confederation of Pangoa, and Dante Martínez of the Confederation of Amazonian Nationalities of Peru. The PCP-SL took the prisoners to the community of Anapati, where they were executed. «Pablo Santoma was calm, drinking *masato* and singing. My father-in-law, Andrés Torres, said to him: 'Why don't you escape, no one is watching.' Pablo responded that if he escaped they would blame us and kill my father-in-law and the whole family. 'If I am going to die, I will die alone for my people.'» Santoma, Chimanca and Martínez became Asháninka martyrs in the war against the PCP-SL, and their names are recalled at every Asháninka congress.

The murders led to the formation of the Asháninka Army under the leadership of the Poyeni community, which became a refuge for Asháninkas seeking protection from the subversives.

The Asháninka Self-Defense and Development Central Committee No. 25, which was recognized by the Army, was formed on September 23, 1990. The first president was Emilio Ríos, who adopted the name *Kitóniro* (Scorpion). The committee played a key role in the organization and leadership of the communities in the lower Tambo River Valley over the next four years.

The Asháninkas attacked the PCP-SL's «principal force» several times during 1990, forcing the subversives to retreat. The Shining Path took the «base committees» with them. As a result, 14 of the 35 Asháninka communities in the upper Tambo River Valley disappeared and nearly 10,000 Asháninkas either followed the PCP-SL or fled from it.

#### THE «NEW STATE»: THE LIFE OF THE «MASSES» IN THE DEEP JUNGLE

Once in the high jungle, the PCP-SL regrouped the Asháninkas into camps that had been set up previously and which were located away from the rivers and on higher ground for greater security. The communities were divided into small groups known as «platoons.» Two or three platoons would form a «people's committee.» Each family had a hut, and the huts formed a circular pattern. The platoons had a common area for food storage and a field for meetings and exercise. A control tower was located about 15 minutes from the camp. The passwords for entering and leaving the camp were changed each week.

world [...] change their ideology and let them adopt the ideas of the proletariat (PCP-SL 1988a).

Recruitment of young people was generally done through coercion, lies and violence. Many people participated under pressure or out of fear of reprisals. When a community or family refused to hand over the «quota» of children voluntarily, the PCP-SL took the children by force after threatening or assassinating those who opposed them.

The Shining Path's practice of kidnapping young people, interrupting peasants' daily lives, undermining their families' livelihood and the local economy, forcing them to attend assemblies and leave their herds unattended, and restricting mobility combined to create a general sense of rejection among the communities. There was also general resentment over the murder of authorities, closing of the farmers' markets, forced systems of production for family consumption and the conversion of people into «masses» managed by the party.

The initial violent reactions in the communities began at the end of 1982. The first rejection of the Shining Path was probably the action by Iquichanos in the highlands of Huanta, who killed seven PCP-SL cadres in January 1983 in the community of Huaychao in response to the murder of community authorities. The testimonies of residents in this community recorded by the CVR show that the plan to construct the «New State» was not well received by the peasant communities in the highlands surrounding Huanta. The authorities in Huaychao, including the lieutenant governor, *varayocc* and municipal leader, began to argue [with the PCP-SL cadres], telling them that they were members of the government and that they would not oppose the government.<sup>24</sup> Several days later, the country was stunned by the murder of eight journalists in the neighboring community of Uchuraccay. The journalists had gone to report on the situation in Huaychao.

There was an uprising in Sacsamarca in February 1983, which was the beginning of the end of the Shining Path's control over the province of Huancasancos. Enraged by the abuses inflicted by local PCP-SL leaders, some residents got the subversives drunk and then beat and stoned them to death. Similar reactions were recorded in the following weeks in other communities in Huancasancos and Lucanamarca, where community members also killed local PCP-SL leaders.

The early rebellions against the PCP-SL were isolated and uncoordinated, however, and always provoked a violent response by the subversives. In the months following the murder of the journalists, the PCP-SL targeted Uchuraccay, launching incursions on three occasions — May 20, July 16 and December 24, 1983. Of the 470 people registered in Uchuraccay in the 1981 census, 135 were killed in PCP-SL's reprisals against the community. In all, one-third of the population was wiped out by the violent actions of the PCP-SL, as well as by

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<sup>24</sup> CVR. Testimonio 201700.

The day would begin at 3 a.m. The leaders would wake up the «masses» to bathe and pack their things in baskets «to be ready to escape if the miserable ones [from the Army] showed up.» The women would prepare food. To avoid detection, they were forbidden to light fires. The food was served at 5 a.m. The commanders ate first. «When they [the commanders] take a spoonful, they say, 'Long Live Gonzalo.' The others [the masses] eat after them.»<sup>8</sup> The «commanders» ate the best food. The «masses» ate what they could, «watery soup, *chalanca* leaves, even snake, that's what they ate.» From 8 a.m. to 3 p.m., the «masses» worked in the fields, returning to the camp at 5 p.m. Elderly and infirm people remained in the camp, making weapons. What was produced or caught – cassava and fish – was given to the commanders to be distributed.

Children between ages 8 and 10 attended a «people's school» for one hour each day. They were taught «subjugation to and respect for President Gonzalo, self-criticism and subjugation to the party and many songs.» The older children, or «pioneers,» had one hour of military training each day. They had rudimentary weapons, generally bows and arrows. At best, they would have some old rifles. Only the «commanders» had revolvers and automatic weapons.

They ate and bathed at the end of the day. The women were forced to braid their hair like the female colonists from the highlands. They all had to wear clean clothes, «rags, really, but they had to be clean.» During the first months, the day ended with a family meeting. Sometimes they sang Andean songs in Spanish, which the PCP-SL commanders taught them. As the committees' situation worsened, family meetings and visits were restricted. Even signs of unhappiness or lack of appetite were punished. «[...] If you were quiet, they would say, 'What are you thinking about? Surely you must be thinking about escaping.'»<sup>9</sup>

During the weekly meetings called by the «local force,» those present «accused» other members of the platoon, including their own family, of making mistakes. Everyone knew how to do «self-criticism.»

We learned by force. We learned how to salute their president, subjugation only to President Gonzalo. «I would like to speak, comrades, beginning with a declaration of my total subjugation to the teacher and guide, the dear and respected President Gonzalo, who is the head of our party and the revolution.» If you didn't comply [with the tasks], talk about what you thought and felt, you'd have to offer self-criticism. «I am a bum, I'm lazy. What the hell, I sometimes think. That is what I have to say.» You could do that three times, but after that they would apply violence.<sup>10</sup>

Different forms of resistance were developed in the camps. «You had to suffer alone in the jungle, where no one could see you, to avoid punishment.»<sup>11</sup> When they could, people would conceal food so they could eat it later with their family.<sup>12</sup> Others hid their children so that they would not be taken away «to wage war.» When they went out to do their chores, they would check on the children. This was extremely risky and could lead to physical punishment or even death. When the PCP-SL «applied

8 CVR. BDI-P737. In-depth interview. Male resident of Quempiri.

9 Testimony recorded by CAAAP. Puerto Ocopa, 1994.

10 Woman, age 48. Testimony recorded by Leslie Villapolo (CAAAP). Puerto Ocopa, 1995.

11 CVR. Interview with Carlos. Otica, September 2002.

12 CVR. BDI-P. In-depth interview. Woman, resident of Quempiri.



confrontations with peasant patrols and disputes with neighboring communities.

On April 3, 1983, approximately 80 PCP-SL cadres, both men and women, launched a violent attack on Lucanamarca. As the subversives moved down the hills, they killed men, women, children and elders. A total of 69 people were executed. Some residents who escaped the massacre went to Huancasancos to ask the Army for help. Others stormed the home of the parents of the local PCP-SL commander, whom they had killed earlier, and murdered them.

The PCP-SL claimed responsibility for the massacre in Lucanamarca in 1988, in an interview with Abimael Guzmán published in *El Diario*, which was dubbed the «interview of the century.» In the interview, Guzmán said the massacre was a decision by the PCP-SL's central command<sup>25</sup> to quell the peasant rebellion.

Faced with the use of troops and the reactionary military action, we responded with an overwhelming action: Lucanamarca. Neither they nor we will forget, because they witnessed a response that they did not imagine, more than 80 were annihilated and that is real. There were excesses, as we would state in 1983, but there are two sides to everything in life: our problem was a strong blow to quiet them, to make them understand that things were not easy. In some cases, like this one, it was the central leadership that planned the action and ordered things, that is how it happened. The main thing was for us to strike a massive blow and reprimand them, making them understand that they were dealing with another kind of people's combatants, that they were not dealing with the kind of combatants that operated earlier, that is what they understand. The excess was the negative aspect. Understanding the war, basing our ideas on what Lenin says, and taking into account Clausewitz, in the war of the masses combat can be excessive and express hate, the profound sense of hate of classes, of condemnation, that was the root. That was clearly expressed by Lenin. Excesses can be committed, the problem is to reach a point and not go beyond it, because if you go beyond it you can deviate. It is like an angle, it can only open to a certain level and cannot go beyond that point. If we are going to put restrictions, demands and prohibitions on the masses, in the end it is because we do not want the waters to overflow; here we needed the water to overflow, for the landslide to wipe everything away, certain that the water would return to the riverbed once it was over. I repeat, this is explained perfectly by Lenin; and this is how we need to understand this excess. I insist that the goal was to make them understand that we were a hard bone to chew, that we were willing to do anything to gain everything (Guzmán 1988).

A willingness to do anything against unarmed civilians. Twenty years later, the CVR found no remorse among the Shining Path's principal leaders. For them, «these are things we said were mistakes, excesses that were committed.

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<sup>25</sup> According to Óscar Ramírez Durand, Feliciano, this was a decision made by Guzmán. "He decided it. For me this was something that was more in line with what the armed forces did. It was a signal for us to attack the civilian population, which began the divorce from us as they withdrew support" (CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, October 4, 2002.)

violence» to snitches, rule-breakers or «individualists,»<sup>13</sup> the accused would be placed in the center of a circle and a member of the «principal force» would be chosen to kill him or her with a rope or knife. While the «masses» did not witness most of the assassinations, the commanders forced the platoon, especially the victim's family, to celebrate the death by drinking *masato*, laughing and shouting, «Long live the party and President Gonzalo!»

The number of people who died of malnutrition and disease was high. «[...] There was nothing to eat; there was no longer any salt [...]. Sometimes the children just ate dirt, and a lot of them died.»<sup>14</sup> The dead were sometimes dumped in common graves. «They would make a deep hole or sometimes a hole with a rock on top; that's where they threw the bodies [...].»<sup>15</sup> The people ended up living «[...] like pigs, hiding in the jungle, sleeping in mud and eating watery soup [...].»<sup>16</sup> «You were an animal. You no longer had a family. Sometimes you had to kill your family, your child, because they were no longer your family. 'That is the will of the people,' which was a lie — it was his [the PCP-SL commander's] will.»<sup>17</sup>

The number of Asháninkas fleeing from the zone increased between 1992 and 1993. Some left behind children and relatives who were too weak to escape. They also had to overcome their fear of the Army and the self-defense patrols, which had been instilled during the PCP-SL's indoctrination, to seek refuge in «population centers.» The Asháninkas who escaped took advantage of their knowledge of the forest to survive. Mass escapes were less frequent.

#### ESCAPE FROM THE WACAPÚ AND VISTA ALEGRE DE OTICA «PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES»

In February 1993, *Máximo* and *Javier*, the commanders of the Wacapú and Vista Alegre people's committees, decided to flee with their respective groups. According to *Javier*, «there was a lot of fear. Because everyone had to offer self-criticism, we didn't tell anyone. We only told them to make canoes and hide them in the jungle. We told them not to tell their wives or children [...].»<sup>18</sup>

The night they had chosen to flee, the «local force» commanded by *Javier's* brother, *Jesús*, arrived. The PCP-SL leader discovered his brother's plan and wanted to accuse him. Faced with this danger, *Javier* tied up a woman from Ayacucho who had arrived with the «local force» and another group grabbed *Jesús*. When *Javier* reached the river, he found his brother dead. «I looked at him, but had to go on. ... We escaped and I didn't think about it until later.»<sup>19</sup>

13 The PCP-SL defined "individualists" as those who did not follow the order to "centralize" all the food that was produced in the fields, the fish that were caught or the fruits and other products gathered in the jungle by the "masses." People were also considered "individualists" if they did not want to participate in group tasks assigned by the commanders.

14 CVR. BDI-P737. In-depth interview. Quempiri, September 2002. Man, approximately 40 years old.

15 CVR. Interview with Ernestina, approximately 32 years old. Puerto Ocopa, November 2002.

16 Woman, age 28. Testimony recorded by CAAAP. Puerto Ocopa, 2000.

17 Man, age 41. C.N. Testimony recorded by CAAAP. Puerto Ocopa, 2000.

18 CVR. Interview with Javier. Road between Puerto Ocopa and Satipo. December 2002.

19 Ibid.

But they were not a problem with the party line.» Lucanamarca was one of the major events of the «people's war,» because it was the first indiscriminate massacre and would set a pattern that characterized the PCP-SL's actions, making the Shining Path the bloodiest subversive group in the history of Latin America.

In April 1984, when the PCP-SL was still implementing its third military plan, Guzmán announced the start of the «great leap plan,» with a «political strategy to establish and develop support bases» through four campaigns. The campaigns included, «put into place the widespread guerrilla war, extend our zones, mobilize the masses and hit hard at the troops to withdraw the social base for their next reactionary plan to defeat it» (PCP-SL 1984).

The security forces responded with brutal force to the escalation of the PCP-SL's actions. Among the best-known cases is the murder of six young members of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in Callqui on August 1, 1984. The following day, August 2, 1984, Jaime Ayala Sulca, a journalist from Huanta working with the daily *La Republica* in Ayacucho, was detained and disappeared on the Navy base set up at the local municipal stadium. On August 23, the bodies of 49 people were found in common graves in Pucayacu, several kilometers north of the city of Huanta. All had been detained by the Navy in the Huanta Stadium and then transported in a kind of «caravan of death» to an area in the province of Acobamba, Huancavelica, where they were killed between August 16 and 19, 1984.

In September 1984, 117 men women and children were killed in the community of Putis, district of Santillana, province of Huanta, allegedly by soldiers. It is important to highlight that the majority of the communities in this zone had been forced by PCP-SL, present in the area since 1983, «to retreat» to the hills to avoid military patrols. Under the guidance of PCP-SL columns, they were placed in groups in strategic spots among the hills. «They were careful so that the people would not leave and warn the military in San José de Secce. If they knew that someone planned to escape, they immediately slit their throat.»<sup>26</sup> The peasants remained in the hills for six months. When the military base was established in Putis, a group of peasants decided to surrender and went down to the community. The soldiers made them dig their own graves and then shot them. At the time the CVR's Final Report was written, the common grave in Putis was one of the largest in Ayacucho, and possibly the entire nation.

PCP-SL documents circulating around the nation at the time, as well as the blows it was receiving from the armed forces, revealed a complex reality. Guzmán minimized the reversals, writing about «an inflection» in the party. As was later learned, the PCP-SL strategy was to leave the population unprotected in the face of the military counterattack. The organization believed that the abuses committed by the security forces would provoke a profound resentment in the population, which would later be used by PCP-SL detachments to regain control.

The macabre dynamic of massacres that began in 1983 was part of a strategy designed by Abimael Guzmán to «oppose the re-establishment (of the

<sup>26</sup> CVR. Testimony 200919.

Community members recall the events differently, maintaining that *Javier* killed his brother so that they could escape. He is seen as the «savior» of the group. «*Jesús* arrived at the river and *Javier* had to kill him so that we would not reveal our plans [...].»<sup>20</sup> The night before, they said, they dreamed of the color white, which was a good sign. Approximately 187 people fled to Poyeni. «We were lucky, because it was a windy day and that helped push the boats. [...] We arrived in Poyeni [...].»<sup>21</sup> Another 147 adults and children did not flee.

Faced with mass escapes, the PCP-SL leaders began to separate family members so that if someone escaped, they could take revenge on his or her relatives. The number of executions multiplied. At the same time, the Army and civil-defense patrols intensified their operations in the Tambo and Ene Valleys, slowly rescuing Asháninka communities that had been kidnapped by the PCP-SL. Nearly 3,000 Asháninkas in the Ene Valley were rescued in 1993 alone.

### THE «POPULATION CENTERS»

The people who escaped or were «recovered» by the Army were taken to «refugee communities» or «population centers,»<sup>22</sup> such as Puerto Ocopa, Poyeni and Betania in the Tambo River Valley, and Cutivireni and Valle Esmeralda in the Ene River Valley. In many cases, the people who were «recovered» were subjected to intense questioning by the military.

The centers were overcrowded and isolated and lacked basic resources. In addition, constant harassment by the PCP-SL made life in the centers extremely difficult. None of the residents could leave the centers without protection. Fishing, hunting and farming were restricted and could only be carried out with the self-defense patrols serving as guards. Overcrowding led to outbreaks of cholera, tuberculosis and malaria. Many people, especially the elderly, died in the centers, while young families preferred to flee into the jungle to try to survive. There were also tensions and conflicts between families from different communities, as well as because of differences in the communities' degree of sympathy with or rejection of the PCP-SL.

### MARGINALIZATION OF THE OTICA REFUGEES IN POYENI

The civil defense patrol members allowed the refugees from Otica to enter Poyeni only because they had contacts in the community. «My child's godfather was there when we arrived. He recognized me and defended me to the civil defense patrol members [...]. That is why they allowed us in.»<sup>23</sup> If that had not happened, «[...] the patrol members would have killed the male and female leaders, as they did with refugees arriving from other communities [...]. We would later see the bodies float by in the river [...].»<sup>24</sup>

20 CVR. Interview with Carmen. Otica, September 2002.

21 CVR. Interview with Máximo. Otica, September 2002.

22 Some experts use the term "population center" because international legislation does not recognize the existence of "internal refugees," only "displaced" people.

23 Testimony from the political commanders at the Wacapú Base Committee, Otica, November 2002.

24 Information provided by a professional who worked in the community in the 1990s. Lima. November 2002.

old order) with a counter-reestablishment» (of the Shining Path's control).

When the armed forces arrived, we had to undertake a difficult fight. They applied a strategy to re-establish the old power, while we applied a strategy of counter-reestablishment to re-launch the New Power. A cruel and merciless genocide was produced; we fought very hard. The reactionaries and the armed forces, in particular, thought they had us beat in 1984 [...] but what was the result? The people's committees and support bases multiplied, this led us to develop bases, which is where we are today (Guzmán 1988).

The «counter-reestablishment» called for by Guzmán consisted of attempts to recover «support bases» in zones close to where military bases were placed. Predictably, that decision led to worsening levels of violence and exposed the population to attacks from both sides. Curiously, Guzmán saw this as a «creative contribution» to revolutionary military thought. The number of dead during this period in the provinces Huanta and La Mar, in northern Ayacucho, was equal to the number of people who would die in the remaining years of the internal conflict.

In the mid-1980s, more and more peasants were dragged into the conflict at a high social cost. From the start, the PCP-SL had wanted to end the neutrality among the population and the military responded with same tactic, so the peasants could not remain on the margins and were left to decide which side to join.

Nevertheless, peasant communities responded differently in the face of the intensifying conflict. PCP-SL's «re-establishment and counter-reestablishment» strategy sparked an exodus of tens of thousands of people, who fled their homes and their possessions to save their lives. Those without resources or contacts were the victims of incursions by the PCP-SL and the armed forces. When they talk about this period, residents expressly recall the feeling of being at the mercy of events, subjected to the arbitrary decisions of the armed actors: «*Viday carajo valenñachu, quknin qamun wañuchin, quknin qamun payakun*» («Life was worth nothing, damn it. One comes to kill you; the other comes to hit you»)<sup>27</sup> It was a kind of nightmare from which, unfortunately, it was impossible to awaken. «Were we even considered people? It was like we were in a dream. [...] The PCP-SL militants killed us, the soldiers killed us, who wants to look at us now [all remember and weep].»<sup>28</sup>

In 1984, the military began pressuring communities to form peasant patrols. The first anti-subversive patrols were formed in the province of Huamanga and the Apurímac River Valley. They quickly gained fame in the fight against the Shining Path and achieved a level of strength that somewhat neutralized the subversives. The PCP-SL recognized the «nefarious role» the peasant patrols played in the «people's war.» According to the PCP-SL, the «troops» applied a corollary to the «re-establishment» strategy by «using masses against masses.»

<sup>27</sup> CVR. BDI-P17. Field notes. Anonymous informant.

<sup>28</sup> CVR. BDI-P30. Focus group in Loqllapampa. Accomarca, Vilcashuamán, June 2002.

A group of soldiers was sent from the Navy Base in Atalaya to interrogate the people from Otica, settling them in different «sectors» of the community. The orphans were placed in different homes, and many showed signs of physical abuse, including rape.

The people from Otica were discriminated against when aid from private and public sources was distributed. The residents of Poyeni treated them like terrorists and feared that the refugees from Otica would organize and attack them, believing that they still followed the PCP-SL. That fear lingered even after the people from Otica returned to their own lands.

The internal armed conflict produced a demographic upheaval. Women and children outnumbered men, many of whom had died in conflicts. Many of the elders died in the «support bases» or the «population centers.» Some of the agricultural tasks normally performed by men were taken over by women, adding to the workload they had at home and in the community. The men also had much more work, because they had to participate in the self-defense patrols. The availability of adult males for the patrols was limited, because of the large number of men who had been killed. There were about 500 patrollers in the Ene Valley and another 1,000 in the Tambo Valley in 1993. The number was relatively low for a population of approximately 20,000 people. Entire communities participated in the self-defense efforts.

In many cases, the civilian population paid a high price for military support. Most of the soldiers were from the coast or the highlands and did not understand the customs of the jungle. A large number of abuses were committed because of that lack of cultural understanding. Soldiers routinely took advantage of the women or stole the belongings of families or communities. The lines between military and civilian life were blurred because of the presence of military detachments in some of the «population centers.» The civil defense patrol members had to fall into formation, raise and lower the flag, and sing the national anthem every day at 6 a.m. and 5 p.m. That militarization was reflected in the language used by patrol members, teachers and authorities, as well as the communities' ways of resolving conflicts.

## THE RETURN

The PCP-SL retreated toward the Ene River around 1995. As peace took hold in the Tambo River Valley, residents in the «population centers» began returning to their lands. The people who returned were not the same people who had fled. Many had died, others had escaped into the jungle, and some had decided to remain in the communities that had received them, where they had met new partners and started families.

In some cases, entire communities moved without adequate resources for their relocation or survival. In other cases, the relocation was gradual to ensure survival. Several communities also received assistance from outside institutions to help with the return. The most effective approach was a gradual return organized by the community itself.

Homes in the original communities had been destroyed by the PCP-SL or the passage of time, and the forest had reclaimed many of the fields. CART was reactivated and held its Seventh Congress in 1994. The self-defense patrols in Poyeni and Puerto Ocopa joined forces at the same time. Land and river traffic began to return to normal in 1995. Toward the end of the decade, some families were able to replant crops, such as coffee, for sale and began to market products. Non-governmental organizations returned to the zone, but so did colonists, loggers and petroleum companies. The processes reignited old conflicts and sparked new problems between communities.

Because of the PCP-SL's concept of peasants, it was impossible for the group to believe that the peasants were acting of their own accord. If the peasants were revolting, they had to be influenced by the military and the «agents of the rotten feudal order.»

In contrast to the province of Huamanga and the Apurímac Valley, the self-defense committees encouraged by the armed forces did not prosper in the Huanta Valley in 1984, mainly because of the indiscriminate military repression there. Faced with the pressure to join self-defense patrols, young people in the region chose to migrate to the city of Huanta, the jungle or Lima. Communities in the south-central provinces — Cangallo, Víctor Fajardo and Vilcashuamán — were also reluctant to organize against the PCP-SL.

The varying responses to the PCP-SL by Ayacucho peasants can be explained by the different ways in which the subversives and soldiers acted in certain areas. In general, the PCP-SL's aggression against peasant communities was much more brutal in the northern part of the department, while the most brutal massacres in the central area were caused by the military (Umaro and Accomarca in 1985, and Cayara in 1988). Nevertheless, in the long run the relationship between the state and peasant communities was much better in Huanta and Huamanga than in Cangallo and Víctor Fajardo.

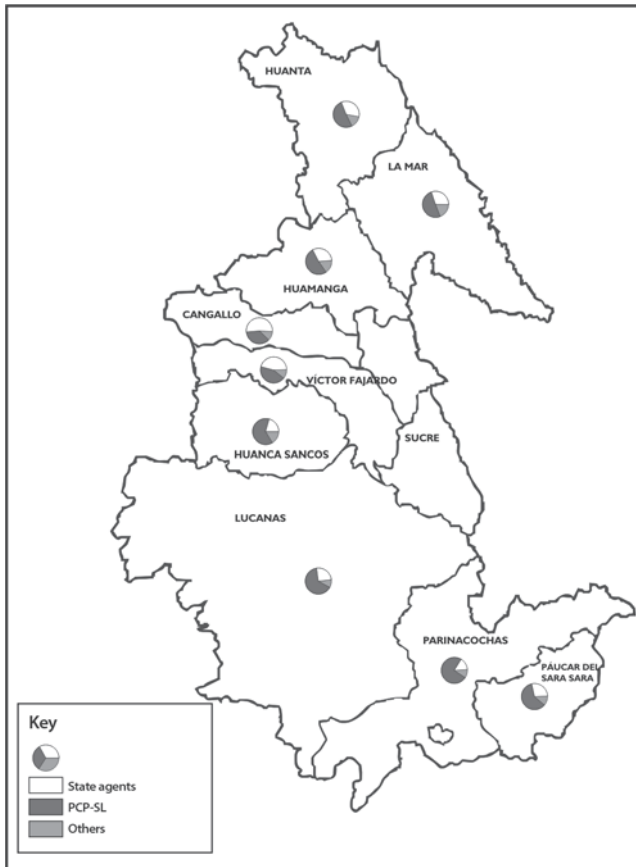
Available information indicates that the PCP-SL invested more efforts in preparing its war in the central provinces of the department, using, above all, access to education, which had been one of the principal demands of peasant communities in decades past. The PCP-SL had its laboratory for forming cadres in two of the most important schools in Ayacucho's south-central region: the General Córdova School in Vilcashuamán and the Los Andes Schools in Sancos. In the Huanta Valley, the other zone where the Shining Path remained strong until the end of the 1980s, the subversives built a solid base in schools and among students. In other areas, such as the highlands of Huanta or the province of La Mar, where school attendance was not as great, the links between the peasants and PCP-SL broke much earlier in the conflict.

Unlike the case of the high Andean areas of Huanta and Huancasancos, the PCP-SL appears to have had more respect for local authorities in the south-central region. In Vilcashuamán, one of the strategies to protect its military base and prevent possible incursions by security forces was to install «front authorities.» In other words, the PCP-SL maintained secret control, while the community president, governor and other authorities acted as a facade, informing military authorities that everything was normal in their communities and reporting that the Peruvian flag was raised each Sunday morning in the district capital's central square. Guzmán criticized this strategy from Lima, because he believed that it only served «to maintain the situation» and was a refusal to combat the enemy.

Thus there were different war scenarios in Ayacucho by the mid-1980s. In the valleys of the Pampas and Qaracha Rivers, where the PCP-SL had managed to consolidate numerous support bases through early indoctrination, the subversives were able to maintain a presence, although weak, into the 1990s.

#### MAP

AYACUCHO 1980-2000: PROPORTION OF DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR BY PERPETRATOR AND PROVINCE





In the highlands of the Huanta province, where the first communities revolted against the PCP-SL, the military installed several «multi-community anti-subversive bases.» One of these was in Ccarhuahurán, the historic center of Iquicha. When the Navy arrived in the community in August 1983, it set up a civil-defense committee based on the self-defense groups that had been established in the community at the end of 1982, shortly before the assassination of the seven PCP-SL cadres in Huaychao. The Navy installed a 36-man detachment in the town, which grouped together eight annexes – in this case, the annexes joined of their own accord – with a total of 600 families (Coronel 1996: 51). Another enclave of resistance was the former Chaca hacienda, located in the Huanta district of Santillana, that included seven neighboring communities. While some residents moved to these multi-community centers, others migrated to the valleys of Huanta, Tambo and the Apurímac River Valley, or to the cities of Ayacucho and Lima. By mid-1984, the highlands of Huanta were abandoned. The displacement affected entire communities, and about 68 communities simply ceased to exist.

In November 1983, families from 10 communities, which would later join others from Uchuraccay or Iquicha, gathered in Ccarhuapampa, outside the town of Tambo, to form the first multi-community hamlet of displaced communities. From the start, Ccarhuapampa was organized around a civil-defense committee that operated with a military mindset. The committee established a strict protection system that included restrictions on movement, issued passes for people to travel and physically punished anyone who disobeyed the norms. More and more communities in the northern highlands of Ayacucho followed suit and organized along the same lines.

The Apurímac River Valley witnessed the formation of Anti-Subversive Civil Defense militias (*Defensa Civil Antisubversiva*, DECAS), as the peasant self-defense patrols there were known. The DECAS were the first peasant groups to form a network that included an entire region, in this case the Apurímac River Valley. By mid-1985, the armed forces and the DECAS had forced the PCP-SL columns to retreat from the zone.

One of the Shining Path's refuges in the area was the «people's committee» known as the Sello de Oro, which was located in Simariva in the district of Santa Rosa. The PCP-SL organized its peasant «masses» in the area based on its idea of the «New State.» Nevertheless, it was a human shield that only existed because of the PCP-SL's authoritarian way of wielding power.

The fear of losing its social bases because of rejection from the communities and pressure from the military and the DECAS led the PCP-SL to further oppress the population it considered «masses» within its «people's committees» in the Apurímac River Valley.

The families lived under plastic tarps, exposed to the elements and without clothing. Food was an even bigger problem. In the final years, they had virtually no salt, sugar, vegetables or grain to eat. In the 10 years, about 100 children and adults died from lack of food (Del Pino 1999: 178).

On October 24, 1993, when the «masses» killed the PCP-SL commanders in Sello de Oro and turned themselves in at the Santa Rosa Military Base, «100 percent were anemic; many had tuberculosis, severe bronchitis and malaria. Many

of the children between ages 2 and 3 were still unable to walk because of malnutrition» (Del Pino 1999).

A similar way of controlling the population was through «retreats» in the area known as the Oreja de Perro (literally «dog's ear» because of its geographic shape) in the Ayacucho district of Chungui. The «retreats» were forced displacements from communities, in which the residents were taken to hide in the hills or in the high jungle forest, where access was difficult. That meant that the PCP-SL moved its «support bases» to avoid military incursions. To the Shining Path, a «support base» was a group of several «people's committees,» which were communities where the local authorities had been forced to flee or had been killed and replaced by «commissaries.» In the area to which the communities «retreated,» the subversive organization imposed fierce order and complete control, making life unbearable:

I was very sad. There were very few of us left in my base and we escaped to the highlands where we ate potatoes. When we found out the Sinchis had left, those of us who remained went back to Achira, where the Shining Path militants returned to organize us again. They told us: We are many, like the sand in the river and the soldiers are like the big rocks in the river. The organization of the masses in my base was divided, with the women in charge of cooking and bringing food to the adults who worked in the fields. The adults and the young people participated in the principal forces and were also farmers. We all worked for the collective, there was no individualism. The older children helped with what they could and the younger ones were taught to read and write by the Shining Path member SF. He let us sing and play. I was seven years old at the time. What hurts to remember is how the masses died, because they could not escape from the military attacks. The members of Local and Principal Forces almost never were killed. The young people over 12 and the adults over 40 had the easiest time escaping from the military, but they could not fight. There were only 20 combatants armed with sticks, slingshots, two rifles and two shotguns. That is how the masses died until there were only a few of us left.<sup>29</sup>

Between 1983 and 1985, Ayacucho continued to be the area hardest hit, but it was not the only department to feel the effects of the «people's war.» In Huancavelica, particularly in the provinces of Angaraes and Acobamba, the PCP-SL applied its strategy of creating a vacuum in the countryside, assassinating authorities who would not resign and attacking police stations. They also targeted the peasant population, killing people accused of being «snitches,» but they did not «raze» communities. The military, however, attacked the PCP-SL columns in these areas more directly, killing numerous subversives.

In Pasco, particularly in the province of Daniel Alcides Carrión, the PCP-SL managed to establish a large number of «support bases.» In 1983, the zone had not yet been declared under a state of emergency and the PCP-SL continued its strategy of «shaking the enemy,» assassinating local authorities and

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<sup>29</sup> CVR. Testimony 202014.

landowners. In May 1983, a contingent of 200 peasants led by a PCP-SL platoon entered the district of Páucar, attempting to mobilize the population with harangues and threatening local authorities. A month later, local authorities and the principal of the local school, who had refused to resign, were assassinated in a second PCP-SL incursion in the district. Four other authorities were killed in the neighboring hamlet of San Juan de Yacán. In testimonies, the residents said that there were adolescents and children among the PCP-SL troops and that they marched wearing red armbands and shouting slogans praising «President Gonzalo.» The district fell into the hands of the PCP-SL, and Óscar Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*, was the principal subversive leader. The province of Daniel Alcides Carrión was not declared an emergency zone until July 1984, when it was placed under military control.

Another area of expansion at that time was the Mantaro Valley, where Shining Path cadres carried out numerous acts of sabotage and infiltrated the local university. The PCP-SL's first public appearance in the area came on January 20, 1983, when four subversives burst into the student dining hall at the university to ask for «donations.» Such events became commonplace at the university in the following years.

Municipal authorities and political parties were also the targets of attacks. Saúl Muñoz Menacho, mayor of Huancayo and a member of the United Left (*Izquierda Unida*, IU), was assassinated on July 16, 1984. In March and April 1985, there were dynamite attacks against the party headquarters of Popular Action (*Acción Popular*), the Popular Christian Party (*Partido Popular Cristiano*), APRA and the IU, as well as the Provincial Election Registry. Subversive actions continued to increase throughout the year.

In the central jungle, Asháninka indigenous people living in the Ene River Valley testified that they first heard about the «party» in their area in 1982. In 1984, the PCP-SL began penetrating the area systematically, forcibly recruiting native communities and the heads of family clans. In October 1984, the subversives attacked the Franciscan mission, a farm and neighboring homes in Cutivireni, in the Río Tambo district of Satipo province. The harassment and terrorist techniques used by the PCP-SL against the Cutivireni mission were highlighted by the PCP-SL in a 1991 document:

Another situation with similar repercussions, and one that has been used often by the Peruvian reactionary [forces] as part of the psychological action they are using in the low-intensity conflict, is the action against the religious mission in Cutivireni and the Franciscan [priest] Magnon, in the Ene Valley, who works with the Asháninkas. He [Magnon] has worked in the region since the 1970s, but adopted a position against the ILA in 1980, taking a particularly strong stand in 1985 when the Party installed a support base in the place and his followers began joining our ranks. He sent a written request to the reactionary army, which installed an anti-subversive base. The policy of our Party was to invite him to subject himself to the New Power and to limit his work to strictly religious tasks and abstain from counter-revolutionary activities. We carried out several acts of sabotage and razings until we forced him to leave the place (PCP-SL 1991c).

In 1985, news that the PCP-SL was killing pimps and other criminals created some level of sympathy among certain sectors of the population.

The PCP-SL's violent actions in the Huallaga Valley began in 1983 with the murder of an employee of the Agriculture Ministry and a high school student accused of collaborating with the police. In 1984, the PCP-SL carried out two major incursions in the city of Aucayacu, attacking the police station and killing 20 officers. On April 19, the mayor of Tingo María, Tito Jaime Fernández, was assassinated, and on September 20 the mayor of Pumahuasi, a member of APRA, was killed. That same year, three cooperatives were attacked in the district of Crespo y Castillo. Shining Path columns attacked the city of Tocache, the Experimental Farming Station in Tulumayo, the GC police station in Santa Lucía and the Palma del Espino plantation and factory in Uchiza. As a result, the government declared a state of emergency in the departments of Huánuco and San Martín.

In Lima, the PCP-SL campaign expanded gradually, with ups and down. The operations in Metropolitan Lima stabilized in 1981 and 1982, registered a peak in 1983, and then gradually increased over the following years.

The urban campaign played the important role of placing the PCP-SL at the center of political attention. Although at the time the organization's urban network included only a few detachments, their actions destroyed the myth, particularly among the urban elite, that Lima was separate and distinct from the rest of Peru.

In 1984, the Metropolitan Committee was composed of a leadership cell and three zone committees: east, west and center. There were two detachments: The special detachment, which carried out actions in the eastern part of the city, and the central detachment. As generating organizations, the party formed the Movement of People's Intellectuals, the Classist Movement of Workers and Laborers, the Classist Neighborhood Movement and the Youth Movement.

Of the three organizational structures created by the PCP-SL at the start of the armed struggle (the party, the army and the front), the front was the most important in urban activities. The principal task was to recruit people through the generating organizations, which were created taking into account the different characteristics of the targeted population.

Even when the start of the armed conflict appeared to be taking shape in Lima, serious criticism was raised about the Metropolitan Committee, particularly in 1985 when there was a noticeable reduction in its actions compared to the rest of the country. That showed that the regional organization was not responding to the criteria established by the central committee, and a series of «bottlenecks» are mentioned in the evaluations conducted by the party. The leadership concluded that the «Metro» needed to be reinforced to act as a «sound box,» given that any action in Lima, regardless of its magnitude, had national and international repercussions.

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<sup>29</sup> CVR. Testimonio 202014.

### The Great Leap

The Third Conference of the Central Committee, held in 1983, approved the great leap phase, which corresponded to the third military plan, «conquer support bases,» and would last until September 1986. The phase was to begin in June 1984 and consisted of four campaigns:

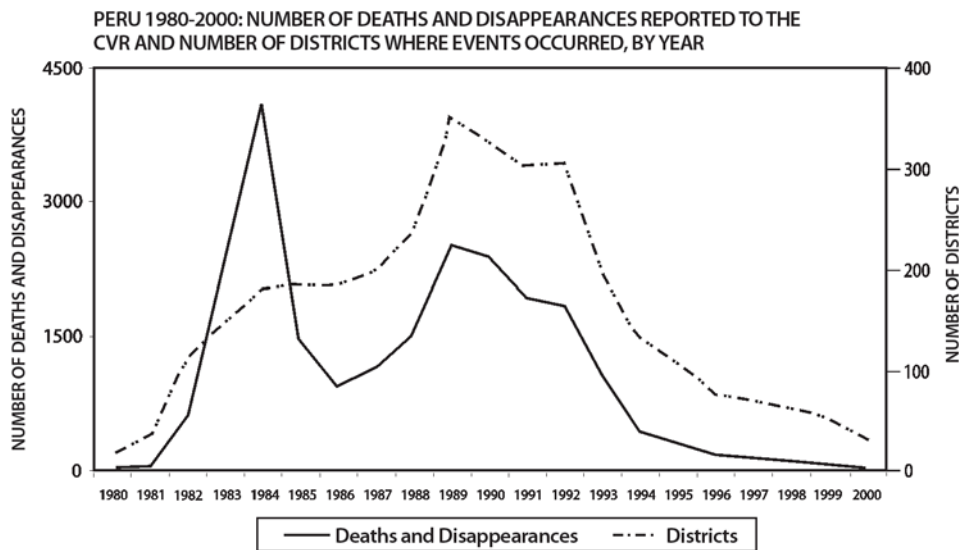
- Build the Great Leap (June-November 1984)
- Develop the Great Leap (December 1984-April 1985)
- Strengthen the Great Leap (June-November 1985)
- Finish the Great Leap (December 1985-September 1986).

These campaigns were extremely important for subversive activity in Lima. Under the banner «militarize the party,» the PCP-SL decided to totally revamp its various organizational levels. Because of the weakness of operations in Lima, the reorganization focused especially on the capital. The purpose was to promote a growth strategy for zones and subzones, special detachments, centers of resistance, generating organizations and support groups.

A six-month pilot plan was devised for the «Metro.» The goal was to launch a new stage of recruitment of masses in shantytowns, low-income neighborhoods and factories. In addition, special attention was placed on attracting the «petit bourgeois» (intellectuals, artists, teachers and students). A particularly important element was the recruitment of domestic employees, who could be used as informants.

It was during this stage that the People's Support Committee, a generating organization, began to acquire importance. It would go on to overshadow the Metropolitan Committee.

FIGURE 1



## Expansion of the armed conflict

### *The situation in 1985, according to Guzmán*

Despite the losses inflicted on the subversives between 1983 and 1985, the PCP-SL not only maintained its presence in what it considered its principal front, Ayacucho, but spread to new areas in the Peruvian highlands and, with renewed confidence in its forces, began an expansion in 1986 that would alarm the Peruvian state.

Expectation of a change in the state's anti-subversive strategy was heightened with the inauguration of Alan García on July 28, 1985. Abimael Guzmán, however, had no intention of offering a truce to the incoming administration. Instead, his plan was to undermine it as quickly as possible. He therefore defined the party's fundamental strategy as «unmasking» the APRA party to «remove its progressive facade» and ensure the continued expansion of the «people's war.»

Peru is burning, in the principal region, the south, center, north, Lima and the northern and southern areas around Lima. These actions, combined with our military actions such as the fire at Maruy, forced APRA's hand, as we expected, to declare a state of emergency in the capital. It did it and went even beyond what we expected, announcing a curfew.

Guzmán did not propose waiting for APRA to show its «repressive underside,» but insisted that the governing party be forced to do so. Despite the new government's initial willingness to investigate the massacres at Accomarca, Umaro and Bellavista and punish those responsible, Guzmán saw the need to provoke violent repression. «We must induce APRA to genocide,» was one of the agreements at the IV Plenary. «This is part of forcing APRA's hand. It is not advocating death, but, as Marx stated, is part of the reaction that occurs every day in a constant civil war» (PCP-SL 1986b).

An uprising by PCP-SL inmates in June 1986 in several prisons in Lima led to a massacre that dashed any hope of an anti-subversive strategy that respected human rights, which is what President García had offered. The action actually favored the PCP-SL, as the massacre not only fit into its strategy of «inducing genocide,» but strengthened the will to fight and fortified the role of the «shining trenches of combat» within the PCP-SL strategy. While there was internal criticism that the «quota» had been too high, Guzmán argued that the massacre of prisoners was a political defeat for the APRA government and, therefore, a victory for the PCP-SL.

Guzmán's evaluation of the situation contradicted the opinions of his opponents within the PCP-SL. He considered the strategy to have been a «notable, resounding and complete success,» while others held the opposite opinion. «There are reports that reveal a contradictory opinion, of people who do not see it as a success but as a minimized (sic) situation, even something black and negative. That is the case with N. in the north and H. in Cangallo, who expressed

negative judgments; in the south there is similar pessimism in Huancavelica, they express concern and don't know how to manage it» (PCP-SL 1986c).

Guzmán wanted to consolidate the concentration of power he had achieved at the IV Plenary of the Central Committee, and accused dissidents of being on the fringes and opposing the party's decisions: «The IV Plenary defined the specific political content of the First Campaign, which was to undermine the show mounted by the APRA government. Both N. and H. have shown that they do not recognize the IV Plenary» (PCP-SL 1986c). According to Guzmán, his opponents were afraid of APRA, and that fear had turned them against the party's leaders.

The discrepancies with the dissidents suddenly became a serious threat to the party: «Our mistakes redound on the party to which we belong and which allows us to participate in the glorious task of transforming our nation» (PCP-SL 1986c). The responsibility assigned to those who were suddenly considered enemies did not stop with the party; instead, the threat they posed was given a global dimension. «Our errors hamper the Peruvian revolution, the emancipation of the proletariat and harm the development of the world revolution.» The dissidents were crushed and forced to offer self-criticism three times. The Central Committee agreed «to call to attention C. [comrade] Noemí and learn a lesson so that these difficult situations are not repeated.» The incident was attributed to «situations of personal power» (PCP-SL 1986c), and the Politburo agreed not to open a full debate, but to «learn the lesson that incidents such as these generate a separation between base and leadership that exposes the revolution to serious risks, learn the lesson and never generate actions that separate the base from the leadership, because this leads to defeat.»

TABLE 4

CANGALLO-VÍCTOR FAJARDO ZONE COMMITTEE: NUMBER OF COMBATANTS IN THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY IN 1995

| ZONE          | TOTAL | PRINCIPAL FORCE | LOCAL FORCE | BASE FORCE |
|---------------|-------|-----------------|-------------|------------|
| TOTAL         | 1,471 | 48              | 205         | 1,310      |
| Sub-zone I    | 1,122 | 22              | 150         | 1,050      |
| Sub-zone II   | 114   | 11              | 15          | 80         |
| Sub-zone III  | 25    | 15              | 10          | -          |
| Reinforcement | 210   | -               | 30          | 180        |

Source: PCP-SL Politburo, documents seized by DINCOTE

*National deployment 1986-1989*

The perception of the PCP-SL as a monolithic organization that was highly structured, with smooth ties between its leadership and local and regional groups, must be nuanced by the specific conduct that local and regional situations required of local commanders.

Because of their extreme ideology, PCP-SL leaders were unable to understand the errors in their strategy. After six years of war, that blindness could be attributed to the way in which Abimael Guzmán imposed his ideas on other leaders, who presented much more critical reports and interpretations that were based on the actual situation in their regions and organizational structures.

In 1986, when the self-defense committees had turned the PCP-SL into the principal enemy and the target of their «sweeps» through villages, Guzmán does not seem to have understood the significance of that massive mobilization of peasants against the party's cause. The PCP-SL continued to see the peasant patrols as nothing more than an «armed retinue» and «canon fodder» at the service of the armed forces, and the peasants under their control simply as «masses» in service to the revolution.

The situation of the «people's guerrilla army,» according to an analysis by Guzmán in 1985, revealed a reduced military capability, which was also seen in the statistics provided to PCP-SL leaders by the Cangallo-Fajardo Zone Committee, also known as the fundamental committee of the Principal Regional Committee, Ayacucho.

Only 48 combatants formed the principal force – the force capable of attacking police stations and ambushing military patrols – of the most important zone committee within the PCP-SL. This force was a detachment of the «people's guerrilla army» and was armed with weapons. The local force, on the other hand, only had basic weapons, while the base force, or masses, were unarmed.

While the anti-subversive forces increased their control over rural areas in south-central Peru between 1986 and 1989, the PCP-SL also demonstrated that it was capable of spreading its violence to the central, northeast and southern Andean regions, as well as to the shantytowns of Lima, where it began an intense proselytizing campaign. Guzmán's tragic call to «induce genocide» became a cruel reality in new areas around the nation.

In the south-central region, the principal scene of PCP-SL activities between 1980 and 1985, the gradual increase in the armed forces' control was due to the establishment of anti-subversive bases and the consolidation of the self-defense committees, which were established in areas that had originally opposed the committees, such as the provinces of Vilcashuamán and Cangallo.

To counteract the military offensive, Guzmán proposed a series of actions:

[...] this third campaign is very important, it must be a clear demonstration that Ayacucho continues to be the center of the armed struggle, that it continues and challenges the government and the armed forces; the armed forces will eat their words and the new government will be forced to apply an iron fist. In that



way we will remove the «democratic» facade, it will be unmasked and they will once more debate how to combat us (PCP-SL 1985b).

Guzmán was referring to the third campaign of the great leap, the plan to «develop the people's war» that the PCP-SL had scheduled for July through November 1985. It was to end with the «great leap sealed in gold» in 1986.

The peasant patrols stepped up their activity in the jungle area of the Apurímac River Valley, where the PCP-SL was trying to use its «retreats» as a way of dealing with the constant attacks by self-defense patrols, strengthening its «camps,» continuously mobilizing its forces and increasing its pressure on the «masses» and its violence against most of the people in the valley.

In the provinces of Huancavelica, which are in the south-central region, the partial pacification that resulted from the establishment of anti-subversive bases in rural areas was similar to the situation in Ayacucho. In an analysis of the reports from the PCP-SL committees mentioned above, Guzmán wrote that the principal base in Huancavelica «was surrounded, see how to recover it.»

An example of how Guzmán deceived his mid-level leaders was the report that he gave to the Huancavelica zone committee after the events in Cayara: «Erusco is the largest ambush so far, 30 members of the armed forces dead, the sinister response of useless hate unleashed on the masses.»<sup>30</sup>

By 1986, the south-central region was not the only theater of war. The conflict had spread to other areas of the country, particularly the central region, the Huallaga Valley and Puno.

Abimael Guzmán gave clear instructions to the Center Regional Committee in 1985:

[...] we must reclaim this principal axis [...] Develop the work around mining; develop the peasant invasions, breaking the fences and letting their livestock graze; destroying the production units, razing the SAIS so that they have no capital and can no longer repair the system. This will allow us to move a large number of peasant masses. If they are unable to move their livestock by breaking the fences and completing the invasion, then we will burn the pastures (PCP-SL 1985b).

Beginning in 1987, there was a rapid increase in the levels of violence in the central region, exceeding that of Ayacucho. The high Andean zones of Canipaco and Cunas, and the Tulumayo basin on the eastern slopes toward Satipo, became the principal scenario of the «destruction of the old state,» with an increase in attacks on police stations, and threats and assassinations of local authorities. In January 1988, the first «people's committee» was installed in Chongos Altos (Canipaco), and the example spread throughout the high Andean region. In Alto Cunas, subversives destroyed the SAIS and public institutions, such as PROCAD in San Juan de Jarpa. The murder of authorities and other leaders, as well as people who were considered well-off or abusive, was frequent.

<sup>30</sup> Meeting of the Huancavelica Zone Committee, September 21, 1988.

In Tulumayo, on the eastern slope of the Andes, the PCP-SL started building «people's committees» in three districts in 1988. By 1989, however, the presence of the «principal force» became more violent and overbearing. The demand for goods became frequent and the PCP-SL's measures more drastic. This created the conditions that eventually led the PCP-SL to lose control.

In the Mantaro Valley, where the main cities are located, and in the mining zone of the Junín department, the conflict took on different characteristics. «People's committees» were not established, probably because the zone had strong ties to markets. The areas of violence were the cities and mining camps, while the principal target of sabotage was the electricity grid that supplied the country from the hydroelectric plant in Quichuas, Tayacaja, on the Mantaro River.

There were numerous attacks on public institutions in the city of Huancayo. The National University of the Center of Peru was the scene of intense proselytizing, which was accompanied by acts of agitation and armed propaganda in surrounding shantytowns. The organization also began calling armed strikes, which were added as a fifth form of struggle to the four that already being used: agitation and propaganda, sabotage, selective assassination and guerrilla combat.

The increased violence in led the government to declare a state of emergency in the department of Junín on December 30, 1988, giving the Army responsibility for combating subversion.

The PCP-SL attempted to take advantage of a number of mining union conflicts in 1988, assassinating union leaders who opposed the organization. Guzmán proposed concentrating the party's efforts in the Mantaro Valley, although he recognized that the PCP-SL had been dealt serious blows in the region:

Where are we after the first part, in which we were hit hard and which led to the process of 1989 and 1990? Was it simply in Cerro and, above all, in taking Yanahuanca and Chaupihuaranga? What should we think? Was it just a small thing? Did it make sense? Yes it made sense, because it was part of our development. Have we progressed? Of course. Was it good? They forced us to advance. Later, in the second phase of our work in the center, when we took the provinces of Concepción, Jauja and Huancayo, the higher regions, [...] did that not imply working in the Mantaro Valley? They hit us hard, committing genocide, forcing us to pull back and retreat. They beat us, but did they wipe us out? No. Were they able to stop us from moving to other places and developing? No. We expanded to a much wider area with greater prospects [...] they have not wiped us out and since they have not annihilated us, there is no definite defeat (PCP-SL 1991d).

Concerning his comments about «taking of the provinces of Concepción, Jauja and Huancayo,» Guzmán specified that he was referring to the «upper regions,» the high plains of those provinces where the PCP-SL attacked the SAIS. The party had much less success in the lower regions of those provinces, where there were prosperous small haciendas, and in the cities, particularly Huancayo, where the PCP-SL placed particular emphasis on the national university. The

PCP-SL took over the university on November 29, 1987, and began to developing its organization and propaganda machine the following year, creating a spiral of violence that would last until 1993.

One of the most important areas for the PCP-SL's organizational development at this time was the central jungle, which was home to colonists and indigenous people, particularly the Asháninkas, a major lowland indigenous people with 50,791 members, according to the 1993 Census. The Asháninkas represent nearly one-fourth of the country's lowland indigenous population.

By October 1988, the department of Junín and the province of Oxapampa had been put under a state of emergency. The PCP-SL had organized numerous «people's committees» in the Ene River Valley, where it had «support bases» for its incursions. It expanded to the districts of Río Tambo, Pangoa and Mazamari, installing checkpoints in key areas to monitor river traffic, and near Puerto Ocopa, capital of the Río Tambo district, which allowed access to the three large valleys (Ene, Tambo and Perené). The Shining Path had a presence throughout the Satipo province. While its first settlement was linked to colonists,<sup>31</sup> the PCP-SL gained strength in certain native communities, especially Asháninka communities, enrolling the population, often though force, and razing communities that resisted.

In the northeastern region, particularly in the Huallaga Valley, the history of the PCP-SL demonstrates the unique characteristics of its ties to coca-growing farmers and the rise in the price of illicit drugs made from the coca leaf. The Upper Huallaga is one of the few areas where the PCP-SL managed to control an extensive amount of territory for a long period of time, between eight and 12 years. It is also the zone with the highest number of deaths after Ayacucho, with the worst violence registered in the provinces of Leoncio Prado (Huánuco) and Tocache (San Martín).

The presence of drug-trafficking organizations in the region forced the PCP-SL commanders to develop a policy of coexistence that included charging fees for planes ferrying drug shipments, protecting drug shipments and eventually forming alliances for territorial control. Beginning in 1987, the PCP-SL started to create «liberated zones,» forcing the police to retreat from their stations. It forced the drug traffickers to disband their hit squads and created a system to regulate drug trafficking and ensure that farmers received a fair price for their coca.

In 1987, as drug trafficking continued to spread, the PCP-SL launched a second phase, which included the assassination of political leaders, mayors, community leaders and public authorities, as well as the destruction of public buildings, bridges and other infrastructure, and takeovers of towns and cities. It also held «people's trials» to publicly assassinate opponents. In the final stage of this phase, subversive activities extended to two provinces in the Loreto department. Aguaytía, capital of the province of Padre Abad, in the department

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<sup>31</sup> In this context, the term *colonist* refers to the non-indigenous population, especially people from the Andes who began migrating to the central jungle region in the 1960s, when the state supported «colonization» of the jungle, promising incentives and access routes, such as the Marginal Highway.

of Ucayali, became the PCP-SL's center of operations. At the start of the 1990s, an estimated one-third of the principal and local forces of the «people's guerrilla army» were active in the region.

In the southern Andes, a new front in the war was opened in 1986 in the highlands of Puno, where the PCP-SL attempted to take advantage of tensions between communities and cooperatives created through the agrarian reform. These tensions increased at the start of the García government. The bishops of Puno met with García and demanded a solution to the land problem to keep the tragedy that was unfolding in Ayacucho from being avoid repeated in their department. In 1986, the government passed a supreme decree restructuring the cooperatives and ordering the redistribution of land. President García pledged to redistribute 1.1 million hectares of land to communities. The initiative, however, was blocked by sectors that would lose out in the deal, and the situation grew more explosive. Besides the questions raised by technicians in charge of carrying out the land redistribution, there were also problems caused by the creation of «communities in formation,» phantom entities created to circumvent the demands of peasant communities. At the end of 1985, tired waiting for the central government to act, peasants began a wave of land occupations in Azángaro and Melgar, which lasted through 1986. It was in that social context that the PCP-SL decided to attack cooperatives, just as it had in the north (La Libertad and Cajamarca) and center (Junín) of the country.

Subversive actions in Puno were concentrated in the provinces of Melgar and Azángaro — where the largest number of deaths occurred — and intertwined with the land takeovers sponsored by the Departmental Peasant Federation of Puno. The destruction of cooperatives and harassment and murder of local authorities continued in 1986 and 1987.

Meanwhile, the PCP-SL column led by *Comrade Anselmo* was practically eliminated in April 1987 as a result of the murder of Zenobio Huarsaya, a peasant leader and left-wing mayor from the community of Salinas. His murder, which provoked widespread opposition to the PCP-SL among peasants, helped lead to the military defeat of the PCP-SL column. Nevertheless, only a year after the elimination of *Anselmo's* column, the PCP-SL set up a new column in Melgar and Azángaro, which began operating in May 1988 with the goal of destroying the SAIS. That column took over communities and hamlets to execute «enemies of the people» and authorities who refused to step down. Using the same tactics it had applied in other areas, the PCP-SL created a power vacuum and began its plan of building the «new power.»

In January 1989, the PCP-SL column began an offensive to finish off the cooperatives and destroy the Waqrani Institute of Rural Education, a training organization run by the Ayaviri Prelature. On January 20, the column attacked the Sollocota SAIS, but it was defeated by the local police.

The PCP-SL's control also spread in the department of Apurímac, especially the highland regions. Assassinations were recorded in the province of Aymaraes beginning in 1987, and there were attacks and confrontations with security forces in the provinces of Antabamba and Cotabambas. The Shining Path set up «people's committees» in Cotabambas, which became the first province in the southern Andes to be placed under a state of emergency to combat the

PCP-SL, which had been assassinating lieutenant governors, peasant leaders and livestock rustlers.

Subversive activity in the department of Cusco was also aimed at creating a power vacuum so that the organization could fill the void with its new power. In Metropolitan Lima and the surrounding area, there were two clear examples of increased PCP-SL actions in 1985: the attack on Domingo García Rada, president of the National Elections Board, on April 24, 1985; and a blackout followed by sabotage, including car bombings near the presidential palace and Palace of Justice, on June 7, as outgoing President Fernando Belaúnde was hosting a state visit by Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín. It was the first time the PCP-SL had used car bombs.

As noted above, the People's Support Committee began playing a much more important role in Lima at this time. In addition, the 1986 prison massacres seriously shook the Metropolitan Committee and allowed the People's Support Committee to displace it as the principal force.

In June 1986, there were coordinated uprisings by inmates accused of terrorism in the Lurigancho, El Frontón and Santa Bárbara prisons. The uprisings ended with the intervention of the armed forces and the massacre of inmates. The history of the prison uprising and subsequent massacre began unfolding a year earlier. As the PCP-SL started the campaigns of the «great leap,» inmates in the Lima prisons, following orders from party leaders, turned the jails into «shining trenches of combat.» On July 13, 1985, inmates in the El Frontón, Lurigancho and Callao prisons launched simultaneous uprisings, demanding that the government consider them «special prisoners.» While they pressed for special benefits, the real reason for the uprising was to protest the decision to transfer inmates to a new maximum-security facility, Canto Grande, which would have disrupted the communication network they had created within the prisons. On October 4, the tension led to an intervention by the armed forces, which left 32 inmates dead in the Lurigancho prison.

In keeping with their plan to «induce genocide» and «unmask the fascist government of García Pérez,» PCP-SL militants began a wave of selective assassinations. On October 24, 1985, they killed Miguel Castro Castro, warden of El Frontón. On January 15, 1986, a confrontation between inmates' relatives and the Civil Guard during the inauguration of the Canto Grande prison left one person dead and 14 injured. On January 31, a Civil Guard captain was assassinated, and on February 5, retired Army Commander Rubén Izquierdo, who had worked for the intelligence service, was killed.

The seriousness of these events led the government to declare a state of emergency in Lima and Callao on February 7.

That decision was seen as a «success» by the PCP-SL leaders, who announced that «we have forced him [President García] to declare a state of emergency in the capital of the republic» (PCP-SL 1986c). According to their calculations, the genocide they were expecting would soon begin and the government «would have to impose terror on the poor neighborhoods, because in Las Casuarinas they will not knock on the doors, they suck up [to people

there]. If this kind of a plan is developed, it would imply [...] a more favorable situation for us» (PCP-SL 1986c).

In the wake of those events, selective assassinations became more frequent. Between January and May 1986, PCP-SL militants in Lima killed Navy Officer José Alzadora, who had been stationed in Ayacucho (March 14); Ica Prefect Manuel Santana Chiri (March 24); Navy Admiral Carlos Ponce Canessa (May 5); and retired Civil Guard Major Felipe Delgado, who had served in Ayacucho (May 9). On May 26, subversives attempted to assassinate Alberto Kitasono, APRA's national secretary.

After a peak in 1986, PCP-SL actions declined until 1988. The fewest attacks in the capital during the 1980s were registered during this period. Between November and December 1988, to commemorate the birthdays of Guzmán and Mao, the Shining Path began a new stage. The launch of new actions could have come earlier, but the arrest Osmán Morote on June 11, 1988 revealed the fragility of the PCP-SL's security systems in Lima.

The PCP-SL's main presence in Lima between 1986 and 1988 was through the work of the People's Support Committee. This organization, which until 1985 had only carried out tasks related to militants' health, legal assistance and some propaganda campaigns, was transformed into a «party committee» and came under the direct control of the party's leadership. Guzmán's decision to strengthen the People's Support Committee stemmed from the weakness of the party's structure in Lima, the importance of the city in the Shining Path's plan to create a front and the central committee's doubts about the «Metro.»

The People's Support Committee grew notably beginning in 1985, when, on orders from the leadership, it militarized and created its own detachments and militias. It had a pyramid structure and each level was divided into three parts: Party, Army and Front.

In the northern provinces of the Lima department (Cajatambo, Oyón) and the southern provinces of Ancash (Ocos, Bolognesi), which was home the Mid-Northern Zone Committee, the initial work of reconnaissance and establishing contacts grew into actions aimed at taking direct control of territory and creating a power vacuum by killing authorities and attacking police stations. Nevertheless, as with other areas, that stage ended with increasing conflicts between communities and local PCP-SL commanders after the principal force withdrew.

#### Massive flight forward: 1989-1992

From the start of the «people's war,» the PCP-SL developed a deliberate and systematic personality cult around its leaders. Unlike other historic processes, however, Guzmán himself played a key role in creating the cult, declaring that «the head of the revolution» (himself) was an irreplaceable guarantee of final victory. The personality cult was similar to the ones that grew up around Stalin and Mao Zedong, for whom Guzmán publicly proclaimed his admiration. When referring to «President Gonzalo,» the PCP-SL's propaganda machine employed only superlatives: «the greatest living Marxist on the earth» or «the fourth sword

of Marxism.»<sup>32</sup>

In addition, the style of the party's debates, which were based on a «clash between two lines» in which the «correct line,» that of the proletariat, crushed the bourgeois «erroneous line» and supporters of the latter were publicly humiliated and forced to offer self-criticism, reinforced Guzmán's supremacy as party leader.

The clash between two lines is transcendental, it is the class struggle within the party, the motor of the party, because it is the contradiction within the party [...]

How do we proceed? Reviewing our party experience, we are going to adopt the methods used in the IX Plenary when we approved the ILA [...]

A first method is piercing it and the next is separating it. The first step, piercing, means piercing and defining it within the party, which will be done by the following people, Comrades Nicolás, Juana, Sara and Augusto. The order implies responsibility, they must destroy the positions, destroy them among themselves so that there is no trace of the gang, and then define the position to the party. The second, separating and adopting a position, will be done by Feliciano, Noemí and Arturo. The order implies responsibility, they need to separate positions to ensure that there is no trace of convergence. They must rip to pieces the nefarious criteria presented here and supported in the past and take a position. After this, they will be judged by the Congress (15 votes, because four will not offer an opinion). The Congress will decide if the comrades supporting the first or second methods have resolved the problem. If the problem is not resolved, the Congress decides who signs the accords (PCP-SL 1988e).

The figure of «President Gonzalo» was basically divine. The party militants sacrificed their individuality to him through «letters of subjugation» in which they promised in writing to offer their lives for the party's cause and its maximum leader. This unconditional support produced a kind of religious bond between the cadres and their leader. A party militant jailed in Lima said, when discussing the historic significance of the party leader, that he «takes over the ego, moves the soul and enchants the spirit, giving the individual, as part of the whole, a reason to live. As an individual I am nothing, but with the masses and applying Gonzalo Thought, I can be a hero; physically dying for the revolution, I will live eternally» (Roldán 1990: 116).

Toward the end of 1983, Abimael Guzmán was transformed into «President Gonzalo» for three basic reasons: He was president of the Central Committee, president of the National Military Commission and president of the Organizing Commission of the New Democratic Republic. «President Gonzalo» replicated the structure of the Chinese Communist Party, in which Mao Zedong was president before taking power.

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<sup>32</sup> The first three swords were Marx, Lenin and Mao; «Doctor» Guzmán (the title was constantly highlighted in party literature) was the rightful successor. Although Guzmán maintains that there are no party documents referring to him as the «fourth sword,» that designation was widely used by party militants and in the propaganda tools of the time, including *El Nuevo Diario*.

The providential role played by «President Gonzalo» was consecrated by the PCP-SL within the party's name. In January 1983, the party's official name became the «Communist Party of Peru, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist-Guiding Thought.»<sup>33</sup> That definition was fundamental for addressing any ideological discrepancy that might arise. The basic way of handling differences was to turn to the party's orthodoxy, invoking fidelity to the *scientifically established* revolutionary principles. In that view, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory is science, and scientific understanding is supreme; everything else is wrong.

*The First PCP-SL Congress in 1988: «Gonzalo Thought»*

The First PCP-SL Congress was held in 1988 under the absolute leadership of Guzmán. Eight years after launching the armed struggle, the PCP-SL held its first congress in Lima in three sessions: one at the end of January and beginning of February 1988, the second in August-September 1988, and the third and final session in June 1989. Abimael Guzmán called the party leaders together for a congress in the midst of the armed conflict, when he believed that conditions were ripe for consolidating his role as «indisputable head of the PCP-SL» and for approving the declaration by which «Gonzalo Thought» would contribute to the Peruvian revolution and, according to his logic, world revolution.

The surviving members of the Central Committee that had launched the armed conflict participated in the first session of the First Congress, which was called the «son of the people's war and the party.» They included Augusta La Torre and Elena Iparraguirre, who were members of the Permanent Committee, as well as leaders who had proven themselves in the field, such as Óscar Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*, who was in charge of the «Principal Regional Committee.» Also present were the heads of the regional committees and the party's principal organizations. Approximately 30 people, including participants and «supporters,» attended the session. At the end of the third session of the First Congress, the party «selected» 19 full members and four alternates for the Central Committee. The end of the Congress was videotaped, and Guzmán and the rest of the national leadership can be seen doing «Zorba's Dance,» from the movie *Zorba the Greek*.

Based on a review of documents, the fundamental objective of the PCP-SL's First Congress was to reaffirm Guzman's leadership and elevate «Gonzalo Thought» to party dogma, a proposal that produced significant debate among the participants. Guzmán, referring to himself in the third person, presented the thesis that he was the bearer of a new kind of thinking that would allow for a «scientific» understanding of social and political phenomena, as well as the development of the revolutionary struggle in the country and in other nations. Guzmán's central ideas about «Gonzalo Thought,» or his own way of thinking,

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<sup>33</sup> In the years leading up the armed struggle, Abimael Guzmán claimed he had given the PCP-SL an ideological identity, strategy and tactic by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the specific conditions of the Peruvian revolution, which he called "the path of Mariátegui and its development." He would later talk about "guiding thought."



were presented during the first session of the party congress. It is enlightening to see that Guzmán himself presented «Gonzalo Thought» and called on the other participants to accept it as a continuation of the «guiding thought» used earlier.

When the document on the general political line was written and addressed in the CP, I maintained that the principal problem of this document is Gonzalo Thought. I reconfirm this. The majority of you here present have been in open conflict [...]. Gonzalo Thought is the creative integration (I have not come here to talk about desire and whoever sees this as personal desire is a bastard), the fusion of the universal truth that today is the Maoism for which we labor, the Maoism against which they clash. Nothing is chance, everything has a cause. That they have clashed with Maoism, that is the limit of stinginess, the stupidity of class.

In summary, as a transcendental and fundamental issue we need to approve the Foundation of Party Unity: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought, General Political Line and Program, and that is what we are going to approve even if the heavens were to split open, that is something I am absolutely certain that we will do.<sup>34</sup>

In addressing the Congress, Guzmán returns to this idea over and over:

We need a CC [...] committed to studying the theory indicated by the party, because that is the way we will penetrate the united formation we must have. Why? Because Marx, Lenin, Mao: Are the leaders of the world revolution, and whoever belongs to the party is a subsidiary.

A leader is a necessity [...] leaders are chosen in intense struggles [...] but a leader is only a symbol of a revolution or the world revolution. An example: the prisoners of war in the Spanish Civil War kept up their optimism looking at an image of Lenin, these are things we must understand.

The First Congress allowed the party to move from «Guiding Thought» – the improved continuation of Mariátegui’s thinking and its development» – to «Gonzalo Thought.» There were criticisms, but they were beaten down by Guzmán.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Guzmán’s presentation at the first session of the First Congress.

<sup>35</sup> “If we look at, for example, the Interview [of the Century] the debate can be centered initially on the first part and everyone has an opinion. There are ideas that clash with each other, they are separated and differentiated, isolated so that they can be reduced for attack, and in this way the scope of education is broadened. They need to offer self-criticism as many times as is demanded by the assembly. They need to see the ideological, historical and social roots of their errors and deviations, and how to correct them. And those who criticize must also offer self-criticism and show that they are different from the others; those implicated could generate an LOD (línea oportunista de derecha, or opportunistic right-wing line), because each one will offer something to structure it.

This is not a simple struggle between two lines, but a way developed so that it could be lived by the militants. It is aimed at ideas, at remolding militants to the party’s life in general; one has to adjust one’s own ideas, to see what blocks the BUP (base de unidad partidaria, or foundation of party unity), consider the circumstances, see the contents of the mistake and find the social, historical and class reasons for it; [analyze] the attitude, how the class struggle is unfolding and see oneself not as an individual, but as part of a class. Apply what President Mao teaches us: A conflict of ideas.” Speech by Guzmán during the second session of the First Congress, 1989.

Compare President Gonzalo to Mariátegui and President Gonzalo to President Mao Tse Tung [...] First, it is absurd to compare historical figures, we could never compare Marx with Lenin or with President Mao [...]

To raise Mariátegui to oppose Gonzalo Thought is to fail to understand that in the world there exists Maoism [...] I have said that only through President Mao have I been able to gain a greater understanding and appreciation for Mariátegui.

Another thought [...] implies that there are other ways of thinking, and that runs counter to Gonzalo Thought.

A higher fusion [...]. Other fusions? There is no other. Mariátegui is not, because he is the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with reality, and it is President Gonzalo who has proposed similarities between some of the theses presented by Mariátegui and the laws established by President Mao.<sup>36</sup>

The formalization of «Gonzalo Thought» as an extension of the existing «isms» was the first step. Guzmán's idea, we now know, was to later approve «Gonzalism,» and institute it as a universally accepted doctrine within revolutionary theory. The PCP-SL, therefore, would be the birthplace of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and «Gonzalism.»

*Ism* has a clear meaning. Thought is nothing more than a collection of ideas, and *ism* is a doctrine that correctly interprets all the material in its three forms: nature, class struggle and understanding. It is not a problem of terminology, the problem is whether or not it has universal truth; if it is an *ism*, it has it [universal truth]; if it is not an *ism*, it does not.

The First Congress discussed and approved «Gonzalo Thought,» not only as an application of a «universal truth,» which is Maoism, but as the bearer of «creative aspects» that could become «a contribution to world revolutionary doctrine,» a necessary condition for it to one day become «Gonzalism.»

In other words, the implicit objective of the PCP-SL Congress was to affirm the leadership of Abimael Guzmán, who was no longer just the head of the party, but its ideological inspiration, opposed to debate because his words were irrefutable. With his thought now party dogma, the only thing militants were allowed to do was repeat what «President Gonzalo» said.

For the PCP-SL, the Congress that began in 1988 was the end of a long process of creating an omnipresent leadership based on an internal dictator. From that time on, «President Gonzalo» had sole power to choose party leaders, independently of any formal process.

In the first session of the Congress, the leadership was defined after the reports from the different committees and base groups were presented. That transcended party structures, as Guzmán not only saw himself as the leader of the party, but as the bearer of a way of thinking that was the culmination of the praxis of millions of communists in the world and which revealed the laws that

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<sup>36</sup> Guzmán during the first session of the First Congress.

guided the development of nature, society and the thinking of all people. Gonzalo was the absolute leader of the PCP-SL and secretly hoped to become a reference point for true communists around the world who had been left without a leader after Mao's death.

Some of the provincial leaders present at the Congress stated that Guzmán's proposal was a negation of Mariátegui, and that by placing himself above Mariátegui, Guzmán also putting himself before Mao. The Congress was the scene of a debate in which those who opposed Guzmán's proposal, which was camouflaged as an initiative of the Politburo, were forced to undergo a process of «self-criticism» using the «piercing method,» facing fierce criticism so that they would «recognize» that it had been an error to question the canonization of «Gonzalo Thought.»

The other significant points approved at the Congress indicated that the PCP-SL was moving further away from reality. If reality had been taken into account, Guzmán would have been forced to do two things: First, go to the countryside, because «the leadership must direct the war,» and the PCP-SL's war was in the countryside (he only needed to recall Mao in Yenan); and second, present a plan that would have permitted an alliance of forces strong enough to govern the country once the party came to power.

The First Congress did approve a plan, but it was extremely general and basically repeated earlier proposals, such as «struggle against the bourgeois,» «totally and completely destroy the armed forces of the enemy» and «destroy the bureaucratic, landowning state.» In addition, the final agreement to achieve «strategic equilibrium» was defined as a military offensive without taking into account the force needed for this or a plan for the future.

After the First Congress, the PCP-SL further defined the party with the tag «principally» added before Gonzalo Thought in the official name, «Communist Party of Peru, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Principally Gonzalo Thought.»

Adopting position:

The participants of the I Congress of the Communist Party of Peru adopt the following position:

For Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Gonzalo Thought, for the Congress, for the fundamental documents of the party and assuming the solemn commitment to study, debate and apply them, for the brilliant success of the Congress, for the development of the people's war in function of world revolution, recognition and subjugation to the leadership of President Gonzalo, unifying center of the party and guarantee of its triumph, subjugation to his leadership and the party (1988e).

Adopting «Gonzalo Thought» as the new orthodox principle created complications for the PCP-SL at the international level, specifically with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista*, MRI), an organization of small Maoist parties around the world that offered the PCP-SL some support for its international propaganda even though

it maintained discrepancies with the thesis of «Gonzalo Thought».

Finally, one of the conclusions of the First Congress would have crucial implications for the course of the armed conflict:

We must move from a guerrilla war to a war of movements. It is with this great plan that has been definitively approved, not only its greatness but also its objectives and development, that we will achieve strategic equilibrium.<sup>37</sup>

One of the visible consequences of the First Congress was the regaining of the PCP-SL's presence in Lima. After a noticeable decline in its actions in 1987-88, a new phase began in 1989 and increased in strength until it peaked in 1992.

Determining factors in the renewal of the PCP-SL's actions in Lima were the adjustments made to its internal organization and the decision to «move forward» after the Congress approved the decision to fight for strategic equilibrium. The party had started to implement the fourth military plan, «develop support bases,» and as part of that strategic framework it launched the Revolutionary Movement for Defense of the People (*Movimiento Revolucionario de Defensa del Pueblo*, MRDP) in August 1987.

The PCP-SL saw the «movement» as consolidating the different organizations active in Lima to provoke coordinated actions (armed strikes) and move ahead with what they defined as the «incorporation of masses.»

The fundamental strategy for urban areas was organizing the work with the masses. This was to be carried out by the MRDP through an unending war against «revisionism.» The «foundations for discussion of the general political line,» developed at the First Congress in 1988, stated:

Organize the masses so that they go beyond the legally established order, struggle to destroy the old order and not maintain it. These are the three instruments of the revolution: party, which incorporates few; army, which incorporates more; and state-front, which gathers the masses by leaps and progressively into people's committees in the countryside and in the Revolutionary Movement for Defense of the People in the cities. In this way, break the electoral tradition of the revisionists and opportunists, which ignores the peasants and does not take into account what is most important in the cities, power through the war (PCP-SL 1988a).

In this way, the PCP-SL had to take advantage of the demands being made by the population and infuse them with the party's political objectives: «We must develop the struggle in function of Power, this is the political principle of work with the masses» (PCP-SL 1988a).

The same document went on to highlight the role of the proletariat and the immediate political objective for that sector: «we cannot leave them in the hands of revisionism or opportunism.» It was necessary to «sweep away the

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<sup>37</sup> Third session of the First Congress, 1989.

colossal mountain of trash.» It emphasized that the shantytowns had always been important to the PCP-SL, reflected in a 1976 directive that stated: «take neighborhoods and shantytowns as bases and the proletariat as leaders.»

That meant «mobilizing, politicizing, organizing and arming» the people for «combat.» In other words, the masses needed to be educated for the «people's war.» In relation to the cities, the document stated:

In the cities, the work of the masses is carried out through the army and what matters is the struggle for power, with local struggles as a necessary complement in function of power, obviously including diverse armed actions to solidify new forms of organization. We must strengthen the Revolutionary Movement for Defense of the People (MRDP), gathering the masses of workers, peasants, neighborhood groups and petit bourgeoisie, neutralizing the mid-level bourgeoisie and incorporating the democratic forces in favor of the war. The objective is to lead the masses to resistance and elevate their struggles to the people's war to block, undermine and attack the old state and serve the future insurrection by preparing a specific people's war as a complement in the cities. We will use the dual policy to develop our own form, which is the most important, and penetrate all kinds of organizations. We will apply the strategy of *combat and resist* (PCP-SL 1988a).

According to the document, there was a clear connection between the accelerated campaign in the highlands and the work of the PCP-SL in the capital. While the information presented above demonstrates that the PCP-SL was still too weak to sustain a high-intensity conflict in the city, its ability to mobilize around specific political objectives appears to have been greater at this point than at any time in the past.

PCP-SL militants began to exert a visible presence in unions, neighborhood associations, student organizations, sporting clubs and other groups. In the same way, it strengthened its generating organizations, always using the slogan, «combat and defeat revisionism and reformism that oppose the people's war.»

This was particularly evident in the industrial zone along the Central Highway. The PCP-SL attempted to influence the unions by having members of the generating organizations run in internal union elections. The efforts to elect union leaders failed, however, because of the strong presence of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers and the United Left among workers in the area.

In mid-1987, after a phase of recruiting supporters through a campaign of discrediting union leaders, who were accused of «conciliatory revisionism,» the PCP-SL began more direct actions that ranged from handing out pamphlets at factory entrances to sabotaging the plants (as in the case of Nylon, Rayón, Bata, Nissan and others along the Central Highway) and accusing union leaders of being «traitors.» In addition, the subversives attempted to spark confrontations between the union movement and security forces by infiltrating protest marches and strikes to promote violence. At the same time, the PCP-SL tried to create its own union base and recruit the heads of the union «struggle

commands» for joint actions. The party called its first armed strike along the Central Highway on January 19, 1989.

Lima, in the words of Guzmán, was the «drum» of the PCP-SL actions, it was like a sound box with national and international reverberations, which is why it became the principal scenario for the party's high-impact activities. It is also known that Guzmán and the rest of the PCP-SL's central leadership never left Lima, which allowed them direct links to the Metropolitan Committee and the People's Support Committee.

#### *1990-1991: «Strategic equilibrium»*

After solidifying his leadership in the First Congress, Guzmán proposed an objective for the PCP-SL that would have a direct influence on the armed conflict: He forced the Congress to approve what he had outlined in several documents as «strategic equilibrium.»

[...] we began and solidified the armed struggle (ILA 80), today we begin conquering power in all the country. We call this strategic equilibrium and we specify it and highlight it more than ever before: «Equilibrium and preparation for the counteroffensive; the enemy is regaining positions to maintain its system so we must prepare the strategic offensive to build the conquest of power.» We have to insist on this, on how to solidify equilibrium with the enemy (PCP-SL 1991d).

The proclamation of «strategic equilibrium» in the revolutionary war was very important to Guzmán:

We are, since the Congress, proposing to build the conquest of power and we are building this conquest. Strategic equilibrium is a political fact, not a mere statement; we are building the conquest of power [...]. We have also embarked on «preparing the strategic offensive by 'Building the Conquest of Power,' given that strategic equilibrium leads to the next stage, our strategic offensive [...] We insist, it is a material fact, real, it exists in matter, in society, in the class struggle in this country, in the people's war and it is reflected in ideas. Make the people know it and live it: We have entered the stage of strategic equilibrium (Guzmán 1988).

This idea did not take into account the changes in the armed force's anti-subversive strategy – which had shifted from indiscriminate repression and razing communities in the «red zones» to selective assassinations through intelligence work and the policy of winning back the population under the PCP-SL's control – or the magnitude of the peasants' rebellion against the party. It also ignored the weight of the self-defense committees throughout the country, which were stronger at this point than in 1983-84 because they were receiving weapons from the state. In fact, the initial alliance between peasant communities and the PCP-SL had been broken in much of the countryside, and peasants were forming alliances with the security forces at different levels and with varying amounts of independence depending on the particular characteristics of the regions.

This reality went unnoticed by the PCP-SL leaders, for whom the party was the authentic representative of the interests of the proletariat and the peasantry. For Guzmán and the top leadership, if the peasantry was rising up against the PCP-SL that was a consequence of the intervention of outside agents, the *yanaumas* («black heads»), who were coerced and instigated by the military.<sup>38</sup>

According to Guzmán, the PCP-SL had reached «strategic equilibrium» because it had always maintained the initiative and had carried out its political and military plans. Guzmán was incapable of seeing anything that contradicted his plans, including the selective elimination of PCP-SL militants and sympathizers that was part of the military's new anti-subversive strategy. For Guzmán, this was only a desperate move by the state to attempt to contain the victorious spread of the «new power.»

After the First Congress, the PCP-SL implemented the plan to achieve «strategic equilibrium» by increasing the number of subversive actions. That plan, however, would lead to the party's defeat. In the words of *Feliciano*: «We left the Congress and we had to carry out operations, operations, operations» — ambushes on military patrols and attacks on military outposts that escalated the armed confrontations. The PCP-SL, however, did not have the forces to combat the military in each regional committee. The PCP-SL's bases or committees were able to survive as long as they were not mobilized or were used only to attack other communities or recruit new followers. To achieve «strategic equilibrium,» however, the armed columns of the «people's guerrilla army» were forced to carry out constant attacks, which led to numerous losses for the Principal Force in each region. That dynamic eventually forced *Feliciano* to take refuge in the Ene River area in 1992 in order to survive.

In short, Guzmán introduced a change that had massive consequences for the political line just as the PCP-SL was entering a critical phase from which it would not recover.

It is relevant to note that among the more than 100 theses put forth by Mao Zedong on the «people's war,» only one refers to «strategic equilibrium,» defined simply as a transition period from a defensive to an offensive strategy. For Guzmán, however, «strategic equilibrium» became the central point of discussion and the key element for the PCP-SL. What was implied by that decision? According to Guzmán, it meant a different kind of military action in Ayacucho, which would include assaults on cities such Huanta and Ayacucho, as well as an increase in actions in Lima. The aim of his strategy was to surround the cities from the countryside, but taking «the countryside as a base and the city as a complement.» In order to achieve strategic equilibrium in the countryside, the emphasis had to shift from the Fundamental Zone Committee

<sup>38</sup> Note the similarity between this situation and the one that existed at the start of the war, when President Belaúnde blamed the violence on the presence of outside agitators trying to destabilize Peru. In an interview on the Callao Naval Base, Abimael Guzmán, when asked about the use of coercion with the masses and the precariousness of the number of followers he attracted, stated that, according to President Mao, the active support of the masses was only needed immediately before taking power. Asked about his authoritarianism, he said that the question reflected a lack of knowledge of how to interpret the objective interests of the «masses».

— the provinces of Cangallo and Victor Fajardo — to the Ayacucho Zone Committee — Huamanga, Huanta and La Mar — while in Lima the party needed to build the «people's committees for struggle,» which were equivalent to the «people's committees» in the countryside. Raucana and María Parado de Bellido, shantytowns along the Central Highway, would be models for developing revolutionary support bases in the city.

At the start of 1989, the regional PCP-SL leaders reported serious difficulties caused, among other things, by the new relationship between the armed forces and the self-defense committees and the peasants' opposition to the PCP-SL's directives. Despite these reports, Abimael Guzmán forced the PCP-SL Congress to adopt his proposal to «fight to achieve strategic equilibrium» as the central element of the new military plan.

The notion of «strategic equilibrium» as an imminent possibility can be found in Abimael Guzmán's political and military analysis throughout the armed conflict. Guzmán broke the elemental norms for understanding conflict with the armed forces, since he knew the PCP-SL had not achieved equilibrium with the state's security forces. Years later, Guzmán would state that «strategic equilibrium» was not centered on conflict with the security forces, but instead on destroying the governance of the nation. In 1993, when he proposed conversations for a «peace accord,» which produced an internal division within the PCP-SL, he stated that the organization was incapable of taking power: «we prepared to induce the participation of Yankee imperialism. Did we think we would take power in three or four years? No. And we did not think that Lima would become the center of combat» (PCP-SL 1993a).

The evolution of Guzmán's ideas about «strategic equilibrium» are nothing more than a reflection of his cynicism and the manipulation he demonstrated during and after the First Congress.

[...] from the point of view of power, we achieved a great leap. What was our goal? The People's Republic of Peru [...]

From the point of view of the development of the people's war, we evolved this way: From guerrilla war to a war of movements (with four key moments) and we reached strategic equilibrium. As a consequence, through the plan followed and completed, including the initial plan and the three campaigns of the people's war, we achieved strategic equilibrium and began preparing for insurrection in the cities.

Considering the plan to surround the city from the countryside, the initial plan, principally strategic equilibrium and the development of the third campaign, we proposed transferring the center of our efforts from the countryside to the city. How has this worked? It must be studied very seriously taking into account concrete realities above all (PCP-SL 1993a).

From the military standpoint, his assessment was equally subjective: «We are building the conquest of power. Why has this become more urgent? We have passed the four key moments in the leap from guerrilla warfare to the war of movements and this demonstrates how the process is unfolding» (PCP-SL 1993a). This position assumed that the subversive organization had a regular



force (an army) that was capable of moving from irregular actions or «strategic defense» (armed propaganda, sabotage, attacks, terrorism, guerrilla warfare) to the first stage of a regular war, the *war of movements*, with regular confrontations with security forces that included a military based on divisions (artillery, logistics, engineering, etc.), even if it was not capable of defending territory and had to combine actions with «guerrilla» tactics. «Another of the changes is that guerrilla war becomes a war of movements, which is the principal war, but this does not exclude guerrilla warfare as the fundamental action in the immediate term» (PCP-SL 1993a). This would be the prelude to the final stage of the revolutionary war, the «strategic offensive,» in which armed actions would take on the characteristics of a *war of positions* and the subversives would be in a position to defend territory.

For Mao Zedong, the transition from countryside to city as the principal scenario of war is associated with highly developed military and political work in the countryside. The idea of «surrounding the cities» and the fall of cities is the final stage of the war, the prelude to the final victory. As is evident, these conditions were not present in Peru at the end of the 1980s. On the contrary, the massive development of self-defense committees throughout most of the country and the peasant rebellion against the PCP-SL's «people's power» were a clear setback for the subversive organization compared to the conditions in the mid-1980s.

Abimael Guzmán's proclamation of «strategic equilibrium» represented a kind of flight to the future. The PCP-SL had to deal with the loss of strength in the countryside, given that massacres of peasant communities were no longer useful for stopping an organized, armed rebellion against them by the peasantry. Guzmán's response was to intensify armed actions in the city.

In 1993 and already behind bars, Guzmán reinterpreted the «offensive» in Lima – reflected in the number of car bombs detonated in the city between February and July 1992 – as an attempt to force the United States to intervene in Peru. With that objective, he gave the PCP-SL militants a sense of false expectation, encouraging them to continue their actions because «power was just around the corner.»

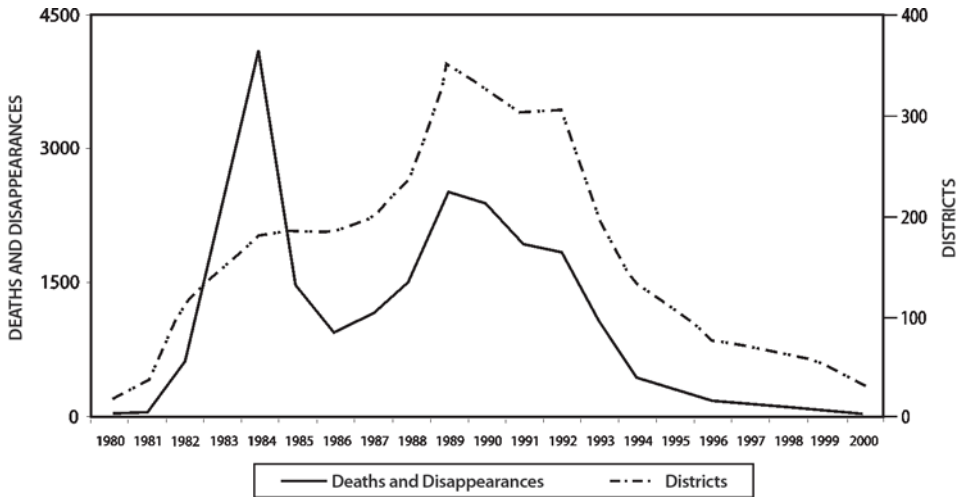
As part of his fantasy, before his arrest Guzmán proposed changing the names of the PCP-SL's principal structures: The EGP would become the People's Army of National Liberation, ready to fight the U.S. invasion; the Republic of the New Democracy would become the People's Republic of Peru, given that the Unified Front built to fight the imperialist army would include the nation's bourgeoisie. For that reason, according to Guzmán, the massive car bombing on Tarata Street in Lima's Miraflores district was a mistake, because it undermined the PCP-SL's ability to recruit the nation's bourgeoisie.

The fifth military plan, «develop support bases to serve the conquest of power,» which was launched after the First Congress, obeyed the order to achieve «strategic equilibrium» and move from the «guerrilla war» to the «war of movements.» Actions were no longer carried out by columns but by «battalions,» even though these existed in name only. A Shining Path battalion may only have

had five armed fighters from the principal force and 40 peasants from the local or support force. *Feliciano* summarized this stage with one phrase: «Abimael Guzmán was fighting a Nintendo war.»<sup>39</sup> He talked about fictitious battalions and campaigns, and forced the «people's guerrilla army» in different areas of the country to call on its «strategic reserves» to fight the armed forces on unequal footing.

FIGURE 2

PERU 1980-2000: SHINING PATH MILITARY PLANS AND THE SCOPE OF ASSASSINATIONS COMMITTED BY THE SUBVERSIVES, BY YEAR



What led Guzmán to declare that the «protracted war» – the stage of «strategic defense» – had concluded, cutting short the «war of one hundred years» that he had proclaimed in 1980? The principal factors were the organization's actions in Lima and its setbacks in the countryside. Between 1988 and 1989, the self-defense patrols were extending throughout the country to take on the PCP-SL. The party's advance in the countryside was thus curtailed by massive resistance that could not be broken by razing communities or assassinating peasants who no longer took its orders. Peasants established alliances with the armed forces and, in many cases, turned to them for support and training to combat the PCP-SL.

The second reason was the worsening social crisis and the evident signs of decay within the Peruvian state, which Guzmán saw as an opportunity to provoke the collapse of the state and force U.S. military intervention. This hypothetical intervention would allow the PCP-SL to transform the «guerrilla war» into a «war of national salvation.»

<sup>39</sup> CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, May 28, 2002.

A third reason that pushed the national leadership to proclaim strategic equilibrium was the expectation created among PCP-SL militants that «the party» would take power in the first few years of the 1990s.

Economic collapse and the unraveling of Peruvian society that occurred during the second half of the APRA government – expressed most vividly in hyperinflation, a moral crisis caused by accusations of rampant corruption and the bankrupt state – led Guzmán to think that the moment had come to take power. When he realized that he was wrong, he attempted to provoke a U.S. military intervention, announcing the start of the fifth military plan, «develop support bases to serve the conquest of power,» which was the final stage before the triumph of the revolution. The next stage, «construct the conquest of power,» was the sixth and final military plan.

Based on the number of victims in the internal armed conflict, the second «peak» coincided with Guzmán's order to reach «strategic equilibrium» as the immediate step before the «strategic offensive» that would lead the party to power. The Shining Path columns unleashed a much harsher campaign to control the population in areas where militants were active, especially the central region and southern Andes, becoming more intolerant and violent. The cycle repeated itself, with a large number of deaths (although fewer than in 1984-85), and the PCP-SL was either expelled from or defeated in those regions.

In short, the conflict slowly moved from rural areas in the highlands to the cities and the jungle areas of the Huallaga and Ene valleys. Significantly, the event that closed this period, Abimael Guzmán's arrest, took place in Lima, the city the PCP-SL leader had never left throughout the entire conflict.

#### *Regional scenarios 1989-1992*

During this period, the PCP-SL was lying in wait in Ayacucho, carrying out «exemplary» actions in communities that organized self-defense committees. The PCP-SL, however, had lost much of its support among the local population and did not have the firepower to take on the armed forces. It did have armed columns that were constantly on the move to avoid attacks and still had the capacity to launch ambushes, such as the attack in Challhuamayo on June 19, 1992, when it dynamited a vehicle from the municipality of Huancasancos, killing 17 people.

In the rural zones of the northern provinces (Huanta, Huamanga and La Mar), the Shining Path attempted to regain lost ground, constantly attacking the civil defense patrols between 1989 and 1990.

One of the worst massacres occurred in January 1990, when 48 people were killed by the PCP-SL in Acosvinchos. Two other massacres during this time were perpetrated by the Army: In May 1990, the Army destroyed the village of Yahuar Machay (Ayahuanco), killing 47 people; and in January 1991, 18 corpses were found after an Army incursion into San Pedro de Cachi. Those were the last major destructive actions in the region. After that, the violence in northern Ayacucho was basically confined to more urban areas.

In the Purímac and Ene Valley, PCP-SL militants began seeking refuge

in Viscatán and along the Ene River in 1992 to escape a military offensive. They staged sporadic attacks on nearby communities. That was the area to which *Feliciano* fled. The proximity of drug traffickers in the area allowed the PCP-SL to obtain the economic resources that it would use to survive in the coming years.

In the central region, in the highland areas of Cunas and Canipaco, as well as in Tulumayo, a cycle of violence similar to that of Ayacucho in 1984 and 1985 was unleashed. Communities that had once enthusiastically embraced the PCP-SL and were under the party's control began forming alliances with the armed forces. The highest numbers of deaths and disappearances in the central regions during the armed conflict were recorded in 1989. It was within this context that the PCP-SL attempted to take control of the Mantaro Valley.

This was an extremely violent period in the urban areas of the valley, especially in the city of Huancayo: 82 percent of the deaths reported to the CVR in the Mantaro Valley occurred during these years. The PCP-SL columns turned to the cities after they were forced out of highland communities. Acts of sabotage and armed propaganda multiplied in the second half of 1989.

The National University of the Center of Peru continued to be a focal point of violence for all the players involved. People connected to the university and accused of belonging to the PCP-SL were the victims of disappearances and extrajudicial executions by security forces and paramilitaries.

In 1989, the PCP-SL launched a major offensive aimed at decapitating the mining unions in the region, which they were never able to control. The principal objective of the subversives, however, was the destruction of the SAIS. They destroyed the SAIS in Cahuide, distributing land and livestock to member communities.

Guzman's idealized vision of an autarkic peasantry that was removed from the marketplace and only interested in subsistence was not based on reality, not even in the most backward zones of Ayacucho and certainly not in the central highlands, where peasant communities had some of the strongest ties to the market economy.

The real result was that 17 communities in the Altos Cunas region reached an agreement with the military and organized peasant patrols in 1990. Shortly thereafter they would be among the first communities to receive weapons handed over personally by then-President Alberto Fujimori.

The self-defense committees slowly took control of the region and eventually expelled the PCP-SL. In Alto Canipaco alone in 1992, the Army registered 1,568 civil defense patrol members, who had adopted military-style organization and discipline. Social order was restored and the communities once more elected their own authorities. The war was over for them.

In the central jungle, the armed conflict expanded throughout Asháninka territory along the Ene and Tambo rivers. The PCP-SL's control over this zone resulted in the destruction of communities throughout 1989. According to reports received by the CVR, 62 percent of the deaths and disappearances recorded in the central jungle region occurred between 1989 and 1992. The region was strategically important to the PCP-SL. The Tambo, Ene and Pichis rivers were a

natural corridor that allowed the subversives to connect their work in the Ayacucho jungle and Apurímac River Valley with the Huallaga region. The area was also the natural refuge for PCP-SL militants when they had to retreat from the central highlands. The PCP-SL's presence in the region, however, was not only based on the coercion and terror inflicted on the indigenous communities. As had happened in other regions, a large number of Asháninkas voluntarily joined the PCP-SL, believing that the subversives offered an effective strategy to help them defend their communities and territories from colonists invading the region. The PCP-SL wielded total control, using even small children to carry out dangerous tasks as part of the process of forming future combatants.

The Shining Path reached its peak in the region between 1989 and 1990. The collapse of its power would come after the arrest of Abimael Guzmán and the subsequent weakening of the party structure. The escalation in abuses by the PCP-SL began to provoke a reaction among the indigenous population, which the subversives answered with increased violence. On August 18, 1993, in an incursion in hamlets along the Sonomoro River, PCP-SL militants murdered 62 Asháninka men, women and children and left another 2,500 homeless.

The violence unleashed by the subversives and the state security forces had a common thread: The level of brutality in the interventions was proportionate to the isolation of the communities and the physical and symbolic distances that separated them from the centers of power. The indigenous populations in the central jungle were as isolated as the people living in the regions of Chungui and Oreja de Perro in Ayacucho, and the suffering in both regions was tragically similar.

An estimated one-fifth of the Asháninka people were displaced by the war, and their traditional social structures were seriously affected. The Asháninkas were also victims of the armed forces. There are multiple accusations of human rights violations, abuses that were allowed because of the ethnic and racial prejudices that viewed enlisted soldiers from the highlands and coast as superior to the «savages» – or «*chunchos*» – of the jungle. The impunity permitted because of these prejudices was compounded by general suspicion that the Asháninkas, most of whom lacked the required national identification cards, supported the subversives.

In the northeastern region, the PCP-SL attempted to use its solid bases in the Upper Huallaga to extend to the Central Huallaga and dominate the southern part of the Bellavista and Mariscal Cáceres provinces. Faced with the need to solidify its territorial hegemony, the PCP-SL focused on the Ponaza and Miskiyacu valleys in the Central Huallaga. The subversives suffered a serious setback in July 1991, when they failed in an attempt to take the city of Tingo María by assault. The case is exemplary of what had been happening since the creation of the political-military command in the Huallaga in 1989, which increased military control at bases in Uchiza, Santa Lucía, Tocache, Madre Mía, Tulumayo, Nuevo Progreso, Pizana, Punta Arenas and other areas, and a new military strategy that prioritized fighting terrorism over eliminating coca crops. The self-defense committees also began to spread in the region. As of 1992, the strategy of encouraging the population to help in the war on terrorism had

another important element, the repentance law. The new law not only reduced the number of subversives, but also increased the amount of intelligence information in the hands of state agencies.

The third phase for the PCP-SL in the region began with the arrest of Abimael Guzmán in September 1992 and legal norms that allowed militants to quit the party by «repenting.» That legislation became an escape route for many PCP-SL militants, who had been pressured by their commanders and forced to take part in a final offensive for which they were unprepared. In addition, the price of coca began to fall in 1989, and by 1995 it was at levels that did not allow farmers to cover the costs of planting it. But the fundamental reasons for the collapse of the PCP-SL in that region, as in others, were abuses and its attempt to control all aspects of peasant life, which led to resentment among peasants, followed by the subversives' isolation and eventual defeat.

As in other regions, the efforts by the armed forces and the military-supported self-defense committees not only took territory away from the PCP-SL, but also increased the violence affecting the population, as well as the number of victims. During those years, the Navy was in charge of combating subversion in Ucayali from the base in Aguaytía.

The conflict took a different path in the southern Andes. In the highland provinces of Cusco (Canas, Canchis and Chumbivilcas) and the department of Apurímac, the number of victims reached a high point in 1988. The violence began to diminish after that, with the PCP-SL retreating after the installation of anti-subversive bases in Antabamba and Haquira.

The subversive organization continued selective attacks on members of the peasant civil-defense patrols, which the PCP-SL saw as enemies even though they were originally created to prevent livestock rustling. The party also carried out selective assassinations of local authorities and continued to create its people's committees to install the «new state.»

Subversive activity continued to expand in Puno, with 65 percent of the deaths registered during the 20 years of armed conflict occurring at this time. The PCP-SL's principal force was located in the center of the province of Azángaro, deploying from there to Melgar, Carabaya and Lampa. Despite its activities and the murder and intimidation of authorities, the PCP-SL never managed to control the rural zones, where it came up against the Peasant Federation, left-wing parties and the social outreach programs of the Catholic Church. The PCP-SL was unable to establish «people's committees» in Puno and had to depend on a network of sympathizers. While this network allowed it to operate in a large area, it had the same weakness as the central leadership – the network collapsed as soon as the principal leader was removed from action. The network, however, was strong enough to offer the support needed for the PCP-SL to stage a series of attacks in May 1989.

In January 1990, the PCP-SL's principal column suffered a decisive loss, failing to destroy the SAIS in Sollocota during an attack. That failure led not only to the collapse of the principal column, but to the unraveling of the support network. Similar military defeats were complemented by police intelligence work, which allowed the security forces to arrest sympathizers who were len-

ding support to the PCP-SL.

The resolution of the struggle for land in favor of the peasant communities helped isolate the PCP-SL. The government gave 1,274 communities in Puno nearly 2 million hectares of pastures. As a result, the communities were more interested in registering their new lands than in attacking police stations.

The call for strategic equilibrium had greater importance in Metropolitan Lima, because the plan was aimed at transforming the city into the principal target of subversive activity. According to various PCP-SL documents, Lima was never considered the principal front; Guzmán himself states in several documents that he was unable to control the activities of his own base groups. Although *Gonzalo* never left Lima, sometimes months would go by without him having contact with the Lima regional structure, and he learned what the subversives were doing in the capital ... by watching television. The Shining Path's offensive in Lima, in accordance with the plan for reaching strategic equilibrium, was out of his control, and he apparently was aware of that.

The starting point for this new period in the capital came on November 3, 1989, during the development of the first campaign of the fifth military plan, «develop bases to serve the conquest of power.» During this campaign, called «promote the development of support bases,» the Revolutionary Movement for Defense of the People organized an armed strike in Lima under the banner «develop the boycott of the 1990 general elections.» This was the start of the major terrorist offensive against the city.

Three areas of actions – unions, universities and shantytowns – and one method – armed strikes – were the PCP-SL's focus in Lima as of 1989.

In the unions, the subversives attempted to take control of strikes called by workers. The goal was not to help the workers attain their objectives, but to radicalize the protests as a way of creating conditions to «feed» the «people's war.» The PCP-SL contributed to this by assassinating managers the companies involved. The result was that the unions were destroyed without having achieved a positive response to their members' demands.

In the universities, especially San Marcos National University, the PCP-SL launched an intensive campaign to win recruits who would spread the party's message and, eventually, become part of its military detachments. At the La Cantuta Teachers College, the local organization was part of the PCP-SL's zone structure and, as such, was involved in military actions.

The PCP-SL's activity expanded to the shantytowns on the outskirts of the city, in the areas known as «cones.» The main target was the Eastern Cone, where the subversives engaged in intensive proselytizing, following years of systematic penetration of shantytowns in the area. The most important activity came in 1990, when the party formed the Committee for the People's Struggle of Raucana, a land takeover promoted by the PCP-SL where it planned to install an open people's committee that would announce to the world the «new power» in Lima and the imminent triumph of the revolution. The PCP-SL also intensified its work in Villa El Salvador, in the Southern Cone. At the start of the 1990s, the Maoist organization had gained significant ground in Villa El Salvador and it began to control traditional organizations, such as the Self-Governing Urban

Community, Women's Federation, and Association of Small and Micro Enterprises. The PCP-SL's objective in Villa El Salvador was to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of peaceful strategies for social change, undermine the left-wing parties the PCP-SL saw as its principal rivals and enemies, and guide social struggles toward an inevitable confrontation with the state. In the Northern Cone, the PCP-SL took advantage of shantytowns created by people fleeing the political violence in the countryside, attempting to use them as «masses» for its political goals.

The armed strikes were planned, organized and carried out by the organizations that formed the Revolutionary Movement for Defense of the People, of which the People's Support Committee was the main group. Days before an armed strike, PCP-SL militants laid the groundwork by sabotaging or burning buses to intimidate public transportation workers.

In 1992, the violence reached its high point. To reach strategic equilibrium, the PCP-SL needed to instill a general climate of fear in Lima, the country's economic and political center and its most visible point. The actions in the city had to come from the so-called «steel belt» formed by the shantytowns ringing Lima. Widespread terror was needed downtown and in the city's middle-class and business districts

In the neighborhoods that formed the cones, the PCP-SL not only stepped up propaganda activities, but increased pressure on local leaders (harassment, assassinations) in an effort to take over grassroots groups, something it had failed to accomplish with the unions. The CVR's research on Lima's three cones found that the PCP-SL, through its facade organizations, infiltrated neighborhood assemblies in an attempt to influence participants and gear debate and actions toward a radical extreme. In the Northern Cone, the Maoist group attempted to infiltrate the new shantytowns with militants who posed as couples or families when lots were distributed. The increased PCP-SL presence in neighborhood groups, combined with its violent actions and assassinations of local leaders opposed to the party, came when the climate was favorable because of the hyperinflation that had marked the end of García's presidency and the structural adjustment program instituted by the new administration of Alberto Fujimori.

Efforts to influence neighborhood groups were more successful in Villa El Salvador than in Huaycán, the two self-managed communities with the greatest levels of grassroots organizing. In Villa El Salvador, the PCP-SL increased its activities throughout 1989 and 1990 with acts of sabotage and propaganda, including burning buses and bombing the police station, local office of the ruling party and power and water utilities. Militants waged intensive propaganda campaigns in markets and schools, and intercepted trucks carrying food, distributing their cargo to residents. On February 14, the day of a PCP-SL «armed strike,» María Elena Moyano, president of the Women's Federation, called a peace march. The march attracted few people, but the PCP-SL responded by detonating a 500-gram dynamite charge at the home of former Villa El Salvador Mayor Michel Azcueta. The next day, a PCP-SL assassination squad shot María Elena Moyano and dynamited her corpse.



Why was Moyano eliminated? It is very good that this reactionary was unmasked. She was eliminated not because she was a grassroots leader, but because she was a declared an open agent of imperialism (PCP-SL 1992).

In Huaycán, a shantytown in the Eastern Cone that was created as a self-managed community under the municipal government headed by the United Left, the PCP-SL found it very difficult to take root among the population despite the constant pressure of propaganda actions aimed at creating fear and projecting an image of strength. Its actions included unannounced marches, passing out fliers and taking over municipal loudspeakers to broadcast its message. In the early 1990s, the PCP-SL increased its presence in the hills above Huaycán and its columns could often be seen moving through the area. It intensified its propaganda campaigns and tried to gain legitimacy with the population by assuming security tasks that state was not carrying out.

The subversive organization had more success in Raucana, another small shantytown in the Eastern Cone. To maintain order, the PCP-SL imposed strict rules and punishment that some people viewed as positive. This public control by the «committee for the people's struggle» (similar to the «people's committees» in rural areas) lasted until September 1991, when a military base was installed. The base remained in place until 2000.

Nearly all of Lima's poor districts experienced PCP-SL violence and were victims of attempts to take over local organizations. The subversives killed 27 community leaders in 1992 alone. In commercial districts and upper- and middle-class neighborhoods, the only relationship between residents and the PCP-SL was violence, and its only objective was terror. The only tactics used were assassination squads, car bombs and armed strikes.

There was a decline in the levels of violence between August and September 1989, apparently as the subversives prepared a campaign against the municipal elections held in November of that year. Subversive actions began to increase again in October, but there was another downturn in December, which would last until March 1990. The number of actions began to increase once more as the May 1990 runoff elections approached. That upswing would last until August 1990. The principal targets of that campaign were shopping centers and public transportation vehicles. The highest levels of violence were recorded in Lima in 1992. The car bomb that exploded on Tarata Street in Miraflores on July 16, 1992, with the resulting death and destruction, was the most visible and dramatic action.

#### *Guzman's arrest*

The event that would lead to the end of the armed conflict transpired in Lima amid this climate of spiraling violence. On September 12, 1992, after years of painstaking work by the Anti-Terrorism Bureau (*Dirección Contra el Terrorismo*, DINCOTE), Abimael Guzmán Reinoso was arrested in Lima.

The arrest of the PCP-SL's top leadership followed a series of blows against the subversive organization by the security forces. The arrests, along

with the «repentance law» and the call for a «peace accord,» led to a considerable decline in subversive activity.

Between 1990 and 1992, the DINCOTE's Special Intelligence Group (*Grupo Especial de Inteligencia*, GEIN) made a series of arrests that were crucial in dismantling the PCP-SL's central operations and its Metropolitan Lima commands. While the subversive group attempted to demonstrate through armed actions that it had not been weakened, the continual blows against it by the police took their toll.

On June 1, 1990, the GEIN got its first major break with a raid on a house in Lima's Northern Monterrico neighborhood, where officers seized books, archives, a model of the El Frontón prison and other documents belonging to the PCP-SL's central committee. The raid on the house, which apparently served as a «museum,» allowed the police to detain 31 members of the PCP-SL, including Sybila Arredondo. It was later learned that the PCP-SL had held the First Congress in the house in 1988 and 1989. Among the documents seized was a list of five pseudonyms, contact points and telephone numbers of key leaders of the main PCP-SL organizations. The police were able to identify Luis Arana Franco, *Manuel*, who ran the César Vallejo Preparatory Academy. Earnings from the academy were used to support the party leadership. The raid also helped identify Yovanka Pardavé, *Olga*, and Jenny Rodríguez, *Rita*. All PCP-SL militants «moved» after the raid except one, who used the name *Ricardo*. By tailing him, the police were led to Arana Franco.

Through Arana Franco the police identified Angélica Salas, *Lucía*, as well as Nelly Evans. Through Angélica Salas, officers located a PCP-SL house on Buenavista Street, in the Chacarrilla del Estanque neighborhood of the San Borja district, as well as another safe house in the Balconcillo neighborhood of La Victoria. On September 19, the police struck at the subversive organization's propaganda apparatus and arrested Deodato Juárez Cruzatt. He had been arrested in March 1995 with Tito Valle Travesano, Sybila Arredondo and other PCP-SL militants, but was released for lack of evidence.

On January 31, 1991, anti-terrorism officers raided several safe houses used by the PCP-SL, including the one on Buenavista Street. At the house, they arrested Nelly Evans and seized a videotape of Guzmán dancing. The tape would later be shown publicly by President Fujimori on national television. The raids enabled officers to determine the identities of the members of the PCP-SL Central Committee.

On May 8, 1991, the anti-terrorism bureau dismantled the People's Intellectual Group, and in a June 1, 1991, raid on Casma Street, in the Rimac district, officers arrested the people who formed the Metropolitan Committee, including Mariela and Juan Carlos Rivas Laurente, Rosa Carmen Paredes Laurente, Pastor Cocha Nevado, Rosaura Laurente Ochoa and Juan Manuel Yáñez Vega.

The police dealt the party another blow on June 22, 1991, arresting Tito Valle Travesano when he arrived from Ayacucho. Along with Valle Travesano, whom police officers had been expecting for six months, they arrested Yovanka Pardavé. On June 23, Víctor Zavala Cataño was arrested in the Santa Luzmila

neighborhood in the district of Comas. These arrests virtually dismantled the leadership of the People's Support Committee. On November 27, 1991, officers arrested four people, breaking up the Support Committee's Defense Department. Months later, on February 26, 1992, the police struck at its Health Department, arresting 19 subversives in an operation known as Hippocrates I. The Health Department was headed by Francisco Morales Z., a medical student at San Marcos University.

On April 14, 1992, police launched an offensive to dismantle the network in charge of publishing *El Diario*, a PCP-SL newspaper. Officers raided several buildings in the Lima districts of San Juan de Miraflores and Surquillo, arresting 23 militants, including Jorge Luis Durand Araujo and Danilo Blanco. On June 21, 1992, officers dismantled the party's logistics and economic units in a raid on the César Vallejo academy. They arrested 11 teachers and seven administrative staff members, including Arana Franco. During a riot at the Canto Grande prison in May 1992, which was put down by security forces, a number of inmates were killed, including Yovanka Pardavé, Tito Valle Travesaño, Janet Talavera and Deodato Juárez Cruzatt.

The final chapter in this sequence was the arrest of Abimael Guzmán, Elena Iparraguirre and Laura Zambrano in September 1992.

#### THE PCP-SL AFTER THE ARREST OF ABIMAEI GUZMÁN

Guzmán's arrest was catastrophic for the PCP-SL. The myth of the PCP-SL's invincibility was destroyed and the image of success that Guzmán had cultivated was undermined even further by the circumstances surrounding the arrest. It is important to recall that DINCOTE officers had raided two safe houses where Guzmán had lived for some time, seizing important information about him and his life. No one imagined at the time that the feared «President Gonzalo» did not have a strong armed command protecting him. In the operation that ended with Guzmán's arrest, DINCOTE officers were surprised when they met no resistance.<sup>40</sup>

The fall of the man the PCP-SL militants called «President Gonzalo» worsened the party's internal political conflicts and unleashed public conflicts with the best-known representatives of the PCP-SL in Europe. Those conflicts continue today.

Guzmán was presented to the world press on September 24, dressed in a striped prison suit and held in a cage. From the cage, he called on PCP-SL militants to go forward with the planned revolutionary actions:

[...] we will continue carrying out the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the People's War to Take Power, we will continue developing the VI Military Plan to Construct the Conquest of Power.

We must form the People's Liberation Front, we must form and develop a People's Liberation Army from the People's Guerrilla Army. This is what we must do and this is what we will do!

<sup>40</sup> According to statements by Guzmán at the Callao Naval Base, he did have a security detail. The problem was that it needed to be mobilized, which was impossible because of the surprise nature of the raid.

Slightly more than four years had transpired between Guzmán's arrest and the decision to adopt «Gonzalo Thought» as the orthodox doctrine of the PCP-SL. This contributed to the crisis that the arrest triggered within the party, given that in the PCP-SL it was necessary to use the orthodox doctrine to distinguish between the «correct line» of the proletariat and the «incorrect line» of the bourgeoisie, as well as to «separate the chaff from the wheat.» Since the First Congress in 1988-89, this orthodox doctrine had officially been «Gonzalo Thought.» Guzmán's arrest, therefore, deprived the PCP-SL of its ideological guiding force, which was considered infallible, and forced the militants to use a «thought» whose creator was jailed and isolated. The final blow, however, came two years after his arrest, when Guzmán asked President Fujimori to negotiate a peace accord.

The new PCP-SL leadership did not change the organization's way of acting, but its terrorist actions were no longer effective. The party needed to adopt more violent and authoritarian practices to remain viable, which only deepened its isolation and forced militants to seek refuge in areas far removed from the centers of power. In addition, the continued terrorist acts helped unify the population; no longer paralyzed by fear, people mobilized against terrorism. In the years that followed, the organization was hit by the desertion of militants, which was stimulated by the «repentance law» that encouraged members to abandon the party.

The strategic change proposed by Guzmán, who announced that the war must end because of the new conditions, and that the struggle was for a peace accord, surprised the party's leadership. Two months before his change was made public, the PCP-SL's Central Committee issued a public communiqué reaffirming its «full, voluntary and unconditional subjugation to the just, correct and magisterial leadership and firm embrace of the glorious, historic and transcendental discourse of 24-IX-92» (PCP-SL 1993b). The Central Committee reaffirmed its commitment «to the Third Plenary of the CC, personally led by President Gonzalo, whose victorious application demonstrates its glorious, historic and transcendental character, second only in importance to the Congress» (PCP-SL 1993b).

The decision by the PCP-SL leadership to continue applying the plans of the «people's war» was simply aimed at following the instructions that «President Gonzalo» had issued from his cage. Based on Guzmán's discourse, the leaders still at large decided to:

Develop the second campaign to Construct the Conquest of Power under the banner of «Defense of the Leadership, Down with the Genocidal Dictator!» This follows the First Campaign, for which we must salute the Peruvian people, the combatants of the People's Liberation Army and all the armed militants who have applied Gonzalo Thought against wind and tide» (PCP-SL 1993b).

The PCP-SL leaders who were still free had no way of knowing that this position, which had been announced to the world, was no longer part of the plan being followed by «President Gonzalo.» Even when the caged Guzmán launched his discourse about continuing the people's war, he had already

completely changed his position and had adopted a new line in which he denied everything he had held to earlier. This can be seen in the following testimony from Elena Iparraguirre:

The public presentation in DINCOTE was aimed at maintaining action to keep up morale and protect against dispersion. On San Lorenzo Island and in the custody of the Navy and separated [from Elena Iparraguirre], on October 20, 1992, President Gonzalo began calling on authorities to discuss a solution (PCP-SL 2003).

According to the document cited above, only one month after his arrest, Guzmán was asking the government to negotiate the end of the war and hold conversations to sign a «peace accord.» The organization's militants, unaware of their leader's actions, considered his call to continue the war «a great political, military and moral victory for the Party and the Revolution, dealing a massive blow to Yankee imperialism and the genocidal-traitor Fujimori dictatorship» (PCP-SL 1993b). During the following years, while Guzmán negotiated with Vladimiro Montesinos, the government's «academic interlocutor,» to reach an accord, the still-active PCP-SL leaders talked about the glorious victories of the «people's war» and the unstoppable progress of the Peruvian Revolution while the organization created by Abimael Guzmán was in its final phase.

#### Days of uncertainty

The unimaginable change in Abimael Guzmán put to the test the faith of his followers, who could not believe that he was contradicting everything he had once preached. In the document, «Let us begin to tear down walls and unleash the dawn,» dated March 28, 1980, Guzmán wrote: «Those who are called to stand up, rise up in arms, embedding this in their will, respond: We are ready, guide us, organize and we will act! *Either we comply with what we have promised to do or will be laughingstocks, liars and traitors* (emphasis added). In the «Interview of the Century,» published in July 1988, Guzmán rejected any possibility of negotiating under the current conditions in Peru:

[...] in diplomatic meetings the only things signed at the table are those gained in battle, because *no one hands over what has not already been lost* (emphasis added), which is obviously understood. One could ask, has this moment arrived in Peru? No, this moment has not arrived, so what reasons are there for dialogue? Dialogue is only aimed at stopping, undermining the people's war, nothing more. I insist [...] this is our condition: complete, total and absolute surrender [of the state], but are they willing to do this? What they want is our destruction, and dialogue is nothing more than cheap demagoguery (Guzmán 1988).

The PCP-SL propaganda units attempted to minimize the blow, proclaiming that «Gonzalo Thought is free!» The idea was to put into practice what Guzmán had said from his cage. The leadership at large held to that position until Guzmán was shown on national television in October 1993, calling

on the government to start peace conversation to end the war. That had an enormous impact on the PCP-SL militants who were still free, sowing confusion among the ranks.

Huge mistakes made by the terrorist organization allowed for the dismantling of the national leadership and the collapse of the PCP-SL. First, as we have been noted, was the proclamation of «strategic equilibrium» – which implied a level playing field with the state – when the reality was much more adverse. The second element was the organization's growth, which brought with it the increased possibility of infiltration, which is what effectively happened. Third was the decision to send party and support militants into the battlefield, which led to the arrest of some leaders and the seizure of valuable information by the security forces starting in mid-1990. The videotape of the closing session of the First PCP-SL Congress not only allowed the police to identify the members of the Central Committee who had been unknown until then, but also provided current images of the historic leaders, such as Abimael Guzmán. Finally, the scene from that video that showed the PCP-SL leader dancing were extremely useful for the psycho-social campaigns developed by the government as part of the anti-subversive strategy.

Nevertheless, Abimael Guzman's arrest was not only the product of errors committed by the PCP-SL. Those mistakes coincided with a significant change in the anti-subversive strategy developed by DINCOTE, particularly the intelligence work by the GEIN, which opted for the painstaking process of identifying PCP-SL leaders to reach into the heart of the organization instead of being satisfied with periodically presenting arrested mid-level leaders before television cameras. GEIN Commanders Marco Miyashiro and Benedicto Jiménez played a key role. Police General Antonio Ketín Vidal allowed the team to work, encouraging it and providing the necessary resources. The events of September 12, 1992, were the culmination of that change in the anti-subversive strategy. (Abimael Guzmán, however, maintains that his arrest was not the result of good police work, but of a tip from the director of the César Vallejo academy, Luis Arana Franco, *Manuel*, who provided the funds, as we have noted, to maintain the party leaders.)

«Gonzalo Thought» without «President Gonzalo»

The fall of Abimael Guzmán deprived the PCP-SL of the principal element of its political-ideological arguments. «It is through a persistent, firm and astute struggle between two lines, defending the line of the proletariat and defeating all contradictory lines, that 'Gonzalo Thought' was forged,» according to a party text cited above. They were convinced that they were creating an invincible philosophy that would guarantee absolute unity in the PCP-SL leadership and avoid schisms. The only options for dissidents were extreme self-criticism or disappearance. Óscar Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*, offers a harsh opinion about this structure: «Guzmán [...] imposed a totalitarian dictatorship on the Shining Path, and so-called 'Gonzalo Thought' does not allow criticism. Those who did

criticize suffered drastic sanctions and even death if they tried to leave the movement. He was the only one allowed to 'theorize' (offer the line) and the rest of us had to 'apply' it» (Ramírez Durand 2003).

Guzmán overestimated his ability to convince his followers. The change he demanded of PCP-SL militants when he proposed the peace accord was too sweeping to receive unanimous support. It is possible that this lack of objective judgment was a result of the personality cult that he had successfully cultivated in the organization, a cult that made even him believe that his words had a kind of demiurgical power.

While a considerable number of the party's political leaders were arrested at about the same time as Guzmán, the organization's military apparatus remained relatively intact. The DINCOTE had already dismantled the organization that published *El Diario*, the Association of Democratic Lawyers and the People's Support Committee, all considered «generating organizations of the party.» The collapse of the People's Support Committee was a decisive blow to Guzmán, who had made that organization more important than the Lima Metropolitan Committee in political management in the capital.

In May 1992, Yovanka Pardavé, Tito Valle Travesaño and Deodato Juárez Cruzatt were killed in the uprising in the Canto Grande prison. Guzmán later told General Ketín Vidal that his «best children,» referring to Valle Travesaño and Juárez Cruzatt, were killed there. Guzmán was arrested with Elena Iparraguirre, *Miriam*, who a member of the Permanent Committee as were Guzmán and Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*. Laura Zambrano was arrested with them. Ramírez Durand stated that his incorporation into the Permanent Committee to replace Augusta La Torre, Guzmán's wife deceased wife, was purely formal, as he could not participate in meetings or decisions because he was active in the countryside. The Permanent Committee, therefore, was run only by Abimael Guzmán and his new romantic partner, *Miriam*.

A few weeks after Guzman's fall, police arrested Martha Huatay, who was in charge of reorganizing the PCP-SL leadership. The leaders of the Southern Zone Committee (Arequipa) and the Northern Zone Committee were also caught.

In the following months, the PCP-SL attempted to show that the blow had not been very important, launching a bloody offensive in the interior of the country. The organization, however, was unable to carry out the offensive that it had threatened to coincide with the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the Americas. The arrest of Abimael Guzmán and a significant number of PCP-SL leaders was accompanied by the seizure of abundant party materials and several computers containing data on the organization. The PCP-SL had to undertake an urgent reorganization process to avoid even greater blows. Óscar Ramírez Durand reorganized the leadership with cadres who were still at large, but the police continued to strike at the organization and its actions diminished noticeably, leaving it with only two areas of operation, the Upper Huallaga and Ene River valleys. *Feliciano* was arrested in 1999 and *Artemio*, the head of the Huallaga Front, accepted Guzman's call for a peace accord. Strategic equilibrium had been only an illusion: «Guzman's

political line,» according to *Feliciano*, «had led the PCP-SL down a dead-end path. That is something that neither he nor his acolytes want to recognize. It was his own sectarian and ultra-leftwing policies that led to arrest of the leadership and the failure of the project» (Ramírez Durand, 2003).

#### Guzmán, Montesinos and the «peace accord»

The letters Abimael Guzmán wrote to President Fujimori offering to negotiate a peace agreement were used by the government, which took advantage of them to ensure victory in an referendum on the new Constitution that was drafted after the coup in April 1992. The first letter, which Fujimori made public during a presentation before the United Nations in New York on October 1, 1993, had a major impact and guaranteed victory in the referendum. In the letter, Abimael Guzmán openly praises the Fujimori administration. That praise, however, raised suspicions even with the daily *Expreso*, the strongest defender of the Fujimori government, which questioned the way in which the negotiations were being handled:

Guzmán agreed to put something in his letter that was not essential to its stated purpose. One does not have to be wise to see that in addition to the principal objective, there is another: consolidate the campaign for the «yes» vote [in the referendum]. From his Marxist standpoint, Guzmán legitimizes the April 5 coup, which is absolutely ridiculous. Obviously, Fujimori did not need Guzman's approval. Guzman's approval of the National Intelligence Service is also unnecessary. Modesty dictates that we highlight that the peasant self-defense committees and the resistance of the population, which decided the outcome of the war, were already under way before Fujimori took power (*Expreso* 1993).

To be recognized as a negotiator, Abimael Guzmán had to acknowledge not only President Fujimori, but also Vladimiro Montesinos. In a text dated February 7, 1993, and written at the Callao Naval Base, Guzmán called Montesinos «a person with versatile convergent concerns, a sharp and inquisitive mind hungry for results, who makes fine instrumental use of his multi-faceted professional training as a soldier, lawyer and sociologist. This and his special talent for issues related to power have allowed him to understand the people's war, an indelible mark in Peruvian history» (PCP-SL 2003). The most important letter recognizing Montesinos, however, was signed by Guzmán, Elena Iparraguirre, Laura Zambrano, Osmán Morote, Eduardo Cox, Martha Huatay, Víctor Zavala and others on November 3, 1993. The letter reads:

For this reason, we express our recognition of Dr. Montesinos, for his broad knowledge and astute understanding, and his tenacious effort and dedication, from our point of view, to the cause of peace whose progress requires decisive action from President Gonzalo as head and Comrade Miriam as leader of the Communist Party of Peru's Central Committee. With them and the other signatories as militants, we state that the Party will always remember the fundamental role you [Montesinos] played and continue to play in carrying



out in the historic, complex and difficult task of obtaining a Peace Accord and applying it for the benefit of the Peruvian people, nation and society (PCP-SL 2003).<sup>41</sup>

This letter was one of the results of an operation negotiated between Guzmán and the National Intelligence Service in which PCP-SL leaders were transferred from the Yanamayo prison in Puno to the Army Intelligence Service installations in Lima between September 15, 1993, and January 8, 1994, so that Guzmán could convince them to follow the new line he had proposed. The strategy was successful, and on October 28, 1993, the government released a letter signed by Osmán Morote, Martha Huatay, Rosa Angélica Salas and María Pantoja. In the letter, these PCP-SL leaders supported the initiative started by «President Gonzalo» and his partner, Elena Iparraguirre:

As militants of the Communist Party of Peru, subject to its leadership and Central Committee, and with full awareness and understanding of the undeniable historic need, we support the letters written by President Gonzalo and Comrade Miriam that were sent to the president of the republic, Engineer Alberto Fujimori Fujimori, asking him reach a Peace Accord, whose application would end the war that the country has lived through for more than thirteen years. We accept this petition as our own and reiterate it.<sup>42</sup>

According to Guzmán, only a week after his arrest he realized that the «people's war» would not be successful, which was why it was necessary to negotiate a peace accord to preserve the party by allowing for an orderly retreat. Iparraguirre came to the same conclusion on her own. They realized that they shared the same idea when they were allowed to speak briefly. On October 20, 1992, in the prison on El Frontón island, Guzmán asked the Navy officers guarding him to tell the government that he wanted to begin peace negotiations.

What led Guzmán to ask for peace talks? A «call» to the «Comrades of the Party, Combatants of the People's Army and the Masses,» which was dated September 22, 1992, but never circulated, contains parts of the letters that he would send to Fujimori. In it, Guzmán takes credit for the successes of the 13 years of war. He later praises the government for its accomplishments, «especially after the events of April 5, 1992.» He goes on to call on his militants to analyze the current situation and the foreseeable future, outlining the reasons why a peace agreement should be negotiated:

New, complex and very serious problems have arisen in world politics, in the country and in the war in which we are involved, questions that pose fundamental problems for the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, and it is precisely at the leadership level where the party has received the sharpest blow [...] in essence, the people's war is an issue of political leadership. The

<sup>41</sup> This letter, dated September 13, 1993, reiterates the recognition of Montesinos offered by Guzmán and Elena Iparraguirre in the name of the PCP-SL. According to Guzmán and Iparraguirre, this testimony was taped and filmed by the National Intelligence Service.

<sup>42</sup> This text was cited by daily newspapers on October 29, 1993.

question of leadership is decisive and in our case it cannot be resolved quickly. As a consequence, the events show that prospects for the people's war will not develop but will only be maintained.

Based on this, under current circumstances the Party, and mainly its leadership, faces a new and major decision, and just as we worked to forge the start of the people's war yesterday, today we must fight for a peace accord with the same conviction and resolution. This is an undeniable historic necessity, which demands that we suspend the actions of the people's war, except in questions of defense, with the corollary that the state also suspend its actions (PCP-SL 2003).

Guzmán would later refer to his arrest with the other members of the PCP-SL leadership as a «strategic turn» in the development of the «people's war.» Although Guzmán refers to new and complex problems «in world politics, the situation in the country and the war,» these conditions are unimportant when compared to his own arrest. In an interview with the CVR, Guzmán said that if all the members of the PCP-SL had been arrested but he had remained at large, he would have been able to rebuild the leadership and continue with the war. In the opposite scenario, with him behind bars but the rest of the leadership at large, it still would have been impossible to continue the war.

Guzmán's position was presented to the jailed members of the PCP-SL leadership brought together by the National Intelligence Service at the Callao Naval Base starting on October 8, 1993. They agreed to accept his position. During the following weeks, the party leaders worked as a team to formulate the «new great decision and definition,» which basically involved calling for the peace accord and planning for the Second PCP-SL Congress. Guzmán paid particular attention to drafting the texts so that they would convince the militants still at large that the new line not only expressed the interests of the party and the proletariat, but was in accordance with the dictates of the cosmos:

What should we do? Transform the negative into positive, pull what is good from the bad and strengthen our optimism and defeat our pain, pessimism and doubts [...] It is not about my life, but about the needs of the Party, the revolution, your life is nothing more than matter that is beautifully organized. It is only that, matter, and matter in a small quantity if we compare it to the immense eternity of matter in motion, so place your life at the service of the Party [...] this is the class position, not the other that is centered on the I, which is the position of the bourgeoisie (PCP-SL 1993a).

Guzmán was aware that such a radical change from his long-standing position that negotiation meant capitulation would meet with great resistance within the party, but he believed he would win over at least a minority (he would have been satisfied with 10 percent) that would eventually grow into a majority.

We know that they can reject our position and that this would mean serious problems for the Party. They could expel us or apply the highest penalties, but we believe that we have once again put the Party in motion, that the struggle between two lines will sharpen and in six months the left will retake the correct

path. We believe that our opinion corresponds to the objective reality, it is not the product of some elaborate abstract discussion, and therefore it will be accepted (PCP-SL 1993a).

In the meantime, conversations were held that would lead to the two letters Guzmán sent to Alberto Fujimori and Guzmán's presentation on television surrounded by Elena Iparraguirre and four other members of the party leadership. Guzmán proposed an end to military actions and that the «people's guerrilla army» dissolve and destroy its weapons. The people's committees and the peasant «masses» were to do the same, and in exchange they would receive a general amnesty and all the «prisoners of war» would be released. He offered himself and Elena Iparraguirre as a guarantee of the accord.

Once again, Guzmán's vision was unrealistic. While he always insisted that the negotiations reflect the correlation of forces, he proposed a peace accord that did not reflect the situation in the country. After the blows it had received, with its organization in disarray, leaderless and demoralized and faced with a new offensive by the state, the PCP-SL was in no position to demand negotiations on equal footing. Moreover, because of his break with *Feliciano*, Guzmán had no way to guarantee that *Feliciano* would end hostilities. Offering himself and *Miriam* as a guarantee for the accords, given that they were already in prison, was offering the state something it had already achieved. If Montesinos continued negotiating under those conditions, it was purely to achieve results that could be presented to the general public so as to ensure a victory in the referendum on the new Constitution, written after the April 5, 1992, coup to legitimize the Fujimori dictatorship. That was achieved with the letters written by Guzmán, which the government used to its full advantage.

Fujimori read the first letter at the U.N. on October 1, 1993, responding with a complete and direct 'No' [to the peace accord]. The second [letter] was released in Peru with manipulative positive comments. Instead of helping the comrades analyze it, this led them to believe that it was a trick and they opposed it. They also refused to let us publicly defend our position, which is something on which we had agreed (PCP-SL 1993a).

Montesinos suspended the conversations after Fujimori won the referendum, and «from there we entered a period of waiting or standstill.»<sup>43</sup> In December, Guzmán requested that the talks be restarted on the grounds that this «would convincingly demonstrate [...] that in no way were the talks, as the opposition has attempted to state, purely for electoral reasons or transitory.» He also proposed calling on militants to suspend military actions and, more importantly, «designate comrades in different trenches [prisons] around the country, beginning with Lima, to push for the peace accord by mobilizing inmates and their families to obtain public statements that the party and the

<sup>43</sup> This and the following quotes are from the 1993 PCP-SL text: "Guideline for conversations for a Peace Accord" included in PCP-SL 2003.

masses have taken up the struggle for a Peace Accord.»

Montesinos' only concession was to allow imprisoned PCP-SL leaders to move around the prisons so that they could convince militants to fall in line behind Guzmán's proposal. His goal was to force a schism within the PCP-SL, which he achieved.

The final result of the conversation only surprised Guzmán and the militants who had adopted his position. «Finally, after a series of calls from Fujimori to give up and repent, campaigns by the armed forces that included fliers dropped in the emergency zones reading 'Gonzalo gave up, turn yourself in,' and constant attacks in the media, in December 1993 Fujimori declared 'war on terrorism' as an answer.» Fujimori's response came the same month that Guzmán attempted to jumpstart the conversations. That effectively ended the negotiations: «This led to a freezing of talks throughout 1994.»

Montesinos briefly restarted the conversations in mid-1995 to force Margie Clavo Peralta, one of the most important leaders of the «Proseguir» faction of PCP-SL leaders still at large, and two other leaders who had recently been arrested, to support Guzmán's position. Guzmán and Iparraguirre got Clavo to join them and hoped to use this to reinitiate the peace talks and strengthen their position within the PCP-SL. They proposed that to «achieve the pending objective,» Clavo and the two other detainees be forced «to publicly offer self-criticism for 'continuing' and assume the call for the 'end' of the people's war [...] through a peace accord.»<sup>44</sup> Guzmán and Iparraguirre also proposed that they and the other leaders in prison issue a public message, sign an official declaration ending the war and hold a new meeting of the leaders in favor of the peace accord. Along those lines, Guzmán sent a message to militants by way of his father-in-law, who lived in Sweden, proclaiming Clavo's change of position as «a success of the party, of the proletariat line led by President Gonzalo and the Central Committee,» and calling for «the party to officially and publicly ask the government to begin direct talks.»<sup>45</sup> Montesinos agreed only to the first point. The issue was put to rest after Clavo and the other two detainees were shown in televised interviews renouncing their position of continuing the people's war.

It is clear that the idea of a «Struggle for the Peace Accord» was stillborn. Nevertheless, far from admitting that he had been deceived, Guzmán embarked on the organization of his line, «position ourselves for the struggle between lines [between 1993 and 1999] so that the new strategy is accepted by the entire party.» That led to a schism in the PCP-SL between those in favor of the «peace accord» and those who decided to continue the war, a position known as «Proseguir» (carry on). Óscar Ramírez Durand, the most important leader of this dissident faction, is frank in his opinion:

About the 'peace accord,' you know that this never existed. Montesinos fooled

<sup>44</sup> "Letter from Abimael Guzmán and Elena Iparraguirre to Doctor Vladimiro Montesinos. Callao Naval Base Prison, September 5, 1995" (PCP-SL 2003).

<sup>45</sup> "Concerning the self-criticism of Comrade Nancy and other comrades who maintained the 'Proseguir' line. Callao Naval Base Prison, November 25, 1995." (PCP-SL 2003).

Guzmán as if he were a newborn baby. He [Guzmán] sold out to the dictatorship so that he could live in prison with his girlfriend [...] The dictatorship never wanted to dialogue with those who were still in the armed struggle, because this served as a pretext for them to continue stealing from state coffers and maintaining the anti-terrorism legislation to repress the people (Ramírez Durand 2003).

As achievements of the negotiations during those months, Guzmán and Iparraguirre point to some changes in prison conditions for PCP-SL inmates «and a certain amount of room for the militants in other jails to meet.» Guzmán and Iparraguirre were allowed to meet for «several hours a day to work together» on a history of the organization and were given access to documents in the party's archives that had been seized by DINCOTE, as well as Marxist texts from Guzmán's library. The «interlocutor» [Montesinos] brought them newspapers and magazines when he visited and also allowed them to watch television news programs. Those conditions, suspended in 1994, were reinstated in 1995, and in 1997 they were given a radio and allowed to receive various publications, including *Le Monde* and *Newsweek*. Montesinos may have opted to maintain these privileges as a way of keeping Guzmán from altering the status quo that had been achieved (PCP-SL 2003).

For Guzmán, the principal achievement in the conversations with Montesinos was «having spread a great new strategy for the future IV stage of the party [...] and the documents supporting this were allowed out. From this new great strategy followed a new political line, a new general and tactical policy and specific policies» (PCP-SL 2003). He trusted that the militants who were still at large would accept his peace plan, but did state:

[...] they never made any of the responses public, except for a few superficial and subjective comments that it was a «trick» and [...] they prohibited the documents that left the prisons from being read, and they did not discuss the letters that were published [...] Later, in an illegitimate event, they agreed that all those in favor of the accord were «capitulators» who «were on the margins» and that it could not be Comrade Gonzalo or Miriam, because they were «driven crazy» and «brainwashed» on the Naval Base (PCP-SL 2003).

According to Guzmán, these were simply pretexts by the leaders still at large for rejecting the proposal made by the imprisoned party leaders:

[...] If they believed that it was trick, why didn't they politically unmask this creature that was supposedly created by the SIN? Later, if it were capitulation, why didn't they expel the capitulators and «the snitches» they mentioned? And if anything had been done to affect the health of the leaders, why didn't they denounce that and demand that health authorities and national and international defenders verify it, or at least check with the International Red Cross? (PCP-SL 2003).

In Guzmán's interpretation of events, the conduct of the «Proseguir» leaders demonstrated that «they were part of an opportunistic right-wing line that wanted to change the leadership, line, party and nature of the war, usurping the name of President Gonzalo and the PCP [to] create the schismatic block that

led to the division in 1993 and developed a covert plan to disregard the leadership, waiting for the moment and conditions to apply it» (PCP-SL 2003). Following the Stalinist tradition, Guzmán said the dissidents were right-wing elements that had always been present and had taken advantage of this opportunity «to spring into action» (PCP-SL 2003).

After Montesinos convinced Guzmán to write the two letters to Fujimori and had the other leaders agree to his «great decision of definition,» the other leaders were returned to their prisons to begin implementing the new party line. Guzmán and his partner remained on the Callao Naval Base, preparing their documents. Óscar Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*, was arrested in July 1999, basically bringing to an end the PCP-SL's armed action. With that arrest, Guzmán believed that the «peace accord» was now inevitable and formulated a new line, in place since 2000, calling for «a political solution to the problems derived from the war.» The new position recognized that there was no correlation of forces that would force the government to sign an accord. Guzmán proposed a series of alternatives that could lead to an end to the war, and even stated that they might not depend on him.

**From the «peace accord» to the «political solution of the problems stemming from the war»**

The position adopted by Abimael Guzmán in 1993, as well as his party's political line, can be explained by the changes that the leaders who had met on the Naval Base introduced into the fundamental positions of the PCP-SL. Of particular importance is the revision of the history of world revolution.

In the document on this issue, Guzmán implicitly recognized that the start of the armed struggle in 1980 was a mistake. This detail merits special attention. In 1979, when the PCP-SL was debating the start of the people's war, Abimael Guzmán stated: «Marxism elevated to the great peak of Mao Zedong's thinking has given us a new situation. *We are entering the strategic offensive of world revolution, the next fifty to one hundred years will see imperialism and the exploiters swept away*» [emphasis added] (PCP-SL 1979d). The start of the armed struggle was part of a revolutionary offensive on an international scale. This position was maintained until Guzmán was arrested. Even 10 years into the war, in 1989, he stated:

[...] on the economic front [revisionism, imperialism and world reaction] maintain that capitalism has found the solution to its problems, that it is not marching toward destruction; they want the people of the world, the proletariat, to believe that capitalism is eternal. Politically, they want the people to remain dull, to think that they are stupid and that the system of bourgeois dictatorship is not heading toward ruin, that the bourgeoisie is not decaying but flourishing so as to perpetuate the bourgeois dictatorship (PCP-SL 1989c).

Guzmán changed his ideas after his arrest. The document that he signed at the Callao Naval Base with his followers shows that a mistake was made in

his characterization of the world situation from a secular perspective. In a change from earlier documents, this one claimed that the «revolutionary wave» of which the PCP-SL's people's war was part had actually ended with the defeat of the Cultural Revolution in China in 1976, four years before Guzmán launched his war. The PCP-SL began the people's war in 1980 during a period of reflection and not as part of the «strategic offensive of world revolution» that «President Gonzalo» had preached (PCP-SL 1993a).<sup>46</sup>

## THE TÚPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Although on a much smaller scale than the PCP-SL, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, MRTA) was also unquestionably responsible for the violence suffered by Peru in the final decades of the 20th century.

The MRTA began its «revolutionary war» in 1984, four years after Peru had returned to democracy and when the principal left-wing parties, despite their revolutionary rhetoric, were supporting the democratic process, participating in elections and even holding elected offices.

To launch its subversive plan, the MRTA organized what it called the Tupac Amaru People's Army (*Ejército Popular Tupacamarista*), which, unlike the PCP-SL's armed groups, included armed, uniformed columns concentrated in camps away from populated areas. The MRTA claimed to respect the Geneva Conventions in its armed actions and its treatment of «prisoners.» The CVR, however, found that the organization committed serious crimes and human rights abuses, particularly assassinations and kidnappings. The MRTA was responsible for 1.8 percent of the deaths in the internal armed conflict.

### BACKGROUND

The MRTA's origins can be traced to a schism within APRA in the 1950s, when a group of young members led by Luis de la Puente broke with the party. Unhappy with the way the party was moving away from its radical roots and with the pact it had made with the conservative government of President Manuel Prado (1956-62), the dissidents formed Rebel APRA (*APRA Rebelde*).

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 encouraged a wave of radical politics throughout the continent and influenced Rebel APRA, which changed its name in 1962 to the Revolutionary Left Movement (*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria*, MIR) and became part of a continental movement that believed in socialist revolution through armed struggle. In June 1965, the MIR launched a brief revolutionary adventure that ended with the death of Luis de

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<sup>46</sup> The document cited (PCP-SL 1993a) states that this period of reflection would last three decades, and that the world revolutionary movement would become active again around 2010. It was therefore necessary to pull back and wait. The «peace accord» proposal is framed within this thesis.

la Puente and the principal leaders over the next few months.

In the following years, the survivors spread to a series of small organizations that kept the MIR name. Those groups evolved over the next decade and took different leanings, but they maintained the common objective of «reinitiating the armed struggle.» Two of these groups, MIR-Rebel Voice (*MIR-Voz Rebelde*, MIR-VR) and MIR-Fourth Stage (*MIR - IV Etapa*, MIR-IV), had a presence in various organizations and grassroots movements by the end of the 1970s. It was, a much smaller fringe group, however, MIR – The Militant (*MIR - El Militante*, MIR-EM), that would join another organization a few years later to form the MRTA.

The other group grew out of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (*Partido Socialista Revolucionario*, PSR), which was founded in 1976 by radical Christian Democrat youth and military officers who supported the nationalism and reforms of General Juan Velasco Alvarado's government (1968-1975). The PSR organized on two levels: a public front that successfully took part in electoral politics starting in 1978, and a clandestine front, known as the «Orga,» which undertook conspiratorial actions and ran the party apparatus. Members of the «Orga» quit the party in 1978, accusing those in the public front of undermining the insurrectionist wing. They founded the Marxist-Leninist PSR (*PSR Marxista-Leninista*, PSR ML).

The 1979 victory of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua breathed new life into Latin America's left-wing guerrillas and had a major impact on the Peruvian left, which faced a difficult choice. Until 1978, nearly all the left-wing parties believed that armed struggle was a legitimate way to take power and most considered electoral politics synonymous with «reformism» and an abdication of the revolutionary cause. The call for elections to a Constituent Assembly in 1978 and general elections in 1980 forced many of the parties on the left to enter into a kind of transaction in which they decided to run candidates while maintaining that this was just part of a larger revolutionary strategy, or «[...] a tactical mechanism to accumulate forces for the objective, which is revolution.»<sup>47</sup>

Between 1978 and 1980, PSR-ML and MIR-EM participated in different efforts to unify the left, including formation of the United Left. Nevertheless, on May 18, 1980, the date of the presidential elections, both organizations released a public statement claiming that «the prolonged pre-revolutionary situation had not changed, because the causes were structural [and] implied preparing for a revolutionary war» (MRTA 1990: 15). The communiqué did not take into account that the majority of voters had opted for moderate, not radical, political options. In June – just weeks after the PCP-SL announced the start of its war – the PSR-ML and MIR-EM agreed to join forces to prepare «the conditions to unleash the revolutionary war» (MRTA 1990: 67). One of these conditions was achieving «the broadest unity possible with left-wing parties and organizations.» Over

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<sup>47</sup> CVR. Interview with Alberto Gálvez Olaechea, former MRTA militant. Huacariz Jail, Cajamarca, July 19-20, 2002.



the next two years, they attempted to convince other groups — especially the two other MIRs (MIR-VR and MIR-Fourth Stage), which had joined to form MIR-Confluence (*MIR Confluencia*, MIR-C) — to coordinate efforts to «reinitiate the armed struggle.»

Nevertheless, MIR-C and Revolutionary Vanguard (*Vanguardia Revolucionaria*, VR) were not interested in joining forces with the others, and in 1984 they established the Unified Mariateguist Party (*Partido Unificado Mariateguista*, PUM). For the PSR-ML and MIR-EM, their reticence confirmed the lack of a «clear revolutionary plan» that had «strongly influenced reformism in the left» (MRTA 1990:25).

#### Preparation for and start of armed actions (1982 - 1986)

On March 1, 1982, a dozen PSR-ML and MIR-EM leaders met in a central committee and concluded that «the conditions for reinitiating revolutionary violence» existed. That judgment was influenced by the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and the guerrilla offensives in El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as the surge in the armed conflict in Colombia. A national event, however, was the decisive factor, according to Peter Cárdenas, a former MRTA militant. «We were in a clandestine meeting in Lima, there was a blackout and we could not continue. We watched the news and found out what was going on. We could not sit back with our arms crossed when this was happening in the country.<sup>48</sup> Cárdenas was referring to the PCP-SL attack on the prison in Huamanga on March 2, which took place in the middle of the PSR-ML – MIR-EM meeting. During the meeting, participants agreed that the central task was to develop the armed struggle (MRTA 1990: 39). In addition, they adopted the name Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, agreeing «to keep the name secret until the new party structure is prepared to support the MRTA with weapons in hand» (MRTA 1990: 40).

Throughout 1983, the MRTA worked on «accumulating forces,» which included assaults to obtain funds and weapons, political-military «homogenization» schools, and sending militants to different parts of the country. The next step was starting «armed propaganda» actions, such as the dynamite attack on the U.S. Marines barracks in Lima to protest the U.S. invasion of Grenada.<sup>49</sup> The movement also began «the construction of movements of masses that would be incorporated into the revolutionary war process» (MRTA 1990: 43-44).

The first meeting of the MRTA Central Committee was held in Lima in January 1984. The participants agreed to undertake «urban guerrilla actions» and form a «guerrilla army» in the countryside. In addition, they would make the organization known through «armed propaganda.» To that end, on January 22, 1984, an MRTA group attacked the police station in Villa El Salvador, in

<sup>48</sup> CVR. Interview with Peter Cárdenas Schulte. Callao Naval Base, August 27, 2002.

<sup>49</sup> The attack took place on November 16, 1983. Actions of this nature, characteristic of the MRTA, were not always related to the country's internal armed conflict. For example, on April 21, 1986, in solidarity with Libya in the wake of a U.S. bombing raid, the MRTA exploded a car bomb at the U.S. ambassador's residence in Lima.

## THE MRTA'S USE OF KIDNAPPING

### FROM ISOLATED ACTS TO A SYSTEMATIC PRACTICE

The CVR has obtained evidence that allows it to conclude that between 1984 and 1996, the MRTA carried out dozens of individual and collective kidnappings for extortion. The number of kidnappings may be much higher, because the statistics used here were based on cases that were filed and investigations undertaken by the security forces. In many cases, the kidnappings were not reported in the hope that the victim would be released quickly or out of fear that the family members could be accused of collaborating with terrorism because they paid the ransom demanded for the release of their relatives.

Kidnappings occurred in various cities in the departments of Lima, San Martín, Junín, Loreto, Arequipa and Amazonas. The principal scenario was the department of Lima, where 65 percent of the kidnappings occurred. Other important areas were the departments of San Martín and Junín, with 14 percent and 9 percent, of the abductions, respectively. The departments of Amazonas, Arequipa and Loreto each registered approximately 2 percent of the kidnappings.

The practice of kidnapping for extortion varied significantly in scope during the period studied. Between 1984 and 1987, the number of kidnappings was small, but significant. The MRTA began by kidnapping José Onrubia Romero, a local businessman. No other cases were reported until 1987. Kidnappings fell off again in 1988.

The number of kidnappings increased yearly between 1989 and 1992. The increase was linked to the implementation of a political-military plan approved by the MRTA in 1988. The plan included various operations to be carried out by a special squad of the MRTA Special Forces.

The number of kidnapping dropped in 1993, thanks to a police operation in October that led to the arrest of a large group of MRTA cadres who formed the kidnapping unit of the subversive organization's Special Forces. Seriously weakened, the organization attempted to regroup and prepare for new kidnappings in 1995. The number of abductions increased again that year. The MRTA received another blow toward the end of 1995 from officers of the National Anti-Terrorism Bureau who raided a home in Lima's La Molina district, arresting a large number of MRTA members and seizing a major cache of weapons.

Finally, at the end of 1996, with most of its members and leaders in different jails around the country, the subversive group carried out what would be its last mass kidnapping, which was aimed at forcing the release of the prisoners. Kidnapping was a systematic practice between 1988 and 1995.

### KIDNAPPING AS PART OF A PLAN

The abductions between 1984 and 1987 were done for political and economic gain, but do not seem to have been part of a general plan.

Starting in 1988, however, kidnapping became part of the subversive group's policy. The decision to use abduction to obtain money was made at the second

southern Lima. The media gave wide coverage to the appearance of a new subversive group. As the armed actions increased, the MRTA began to gain a certain presence in factories and in the shantytowns ringing Lima. In Junín, the MRTA was active at the National University of the Center of Peru, as well as in some poor neighborhoods in Huancayo and Jauja. At the end of 1983, approximately 20 MRTA militants were transferred to Paucartambo, Cusco, to organize an armed column. That column, however, was routed on November 27, 1984, a reversal for the group that also reflected local opposition to the subversive movement.

In February 1985, during its Second Central Committee meeting, the MRTA reaffirmed that Peru was living through a «pre-revolutionary» period. That view, however, did not reflect what was happening in the nation. A representative of the United Left had been elected mayor of Lima and the left-wing coalition controlled other important departmental capitals. The PUM was one of the strongest parties in the IU, with a strong presence in various grassroots organizations. Despite its radical rhetoric, the party did not demonstrate any intention of joining the armed struggle. Finally, APRA appeared headed for certain victory in the 1985 general elections. Thus, while broad sections of the population were expressing themselves through political options within the democratic system, the MRTA was attempting to «ripen» the «pre-revolutionary period» to create a «revolutionary situation.»

In the April 1985 elections, the MRTA presented a minimal political platform, calling for an end to relations with the International Monetary Fund, an increase in the minimum wage, amnesty for all «political prisoners» and an end to the states of emergency (MRTA 1990: 71). It also called on voters to spoil their ballots. The proposals were accompanied by an attack against then-Labor Minister Joaquín Leguía and the dynamite bombing of a Kentucky Fried Chicken franchise in Lima in March 1985. A month after the elections, in May 1985, the organization published *MRTA and the Peruvian Revolution*, in which it defined its so-called «revolutionary war of the people.» The principal objective of its strategy was «the conquest of political power [...] that would be achieved in a more or less prolonged revolutionary war» (MRTA 1990: 75). At the start of the war, the MRTA attempted to «accumulate and develop revolutionary, ideological, political and military forces» and focused its work on «[...] the construction of a vanguard organization capable of uniting the masses of workers and guiding their struggles within the general perspective of the struggle for power, as well as leading the armed struggle and incorporating the masses of the working people» (MRTA 1990: 75).

In June 1985, after actions in the cities of Chiclayo, Chimbote, Huancayo and Lima to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the founding of MIR's guerrilla force, the MRTA decided that the «armed propaganda phase had been successfully completed» and that they were ready to begin «the harassment phase with guerrilla characteristics» (MRTA 1990: 79). Two actions marked the start of this phase. On July 12, MRTA militants attacked seven police stations simultaneously in Lima, and on July 25 the organization exploded a car bomb

Central Committee meeting in 1988. “[...] The MRTA needs to strengthen its political and military preparation, because we foresee moving to a new stage in the class struggle. We have therefore drafted a plan that consists of [...] f. Obtaining a war chest to resolve the needs imposed by party tasks. We will begin by capturing one of the heads of the “12 Apostles”<sup>1</sup> (MRTA 1990: 127).

The subversives decided to launch their kidnapping plan by abducting Carlos Ferreyros (1988) and Héctor Delgado Parker (1989), wealthy businessmen with ties to the government. The MRTA began training a special group to be in charge of abductions. According to one former MRTA militant:

There were times in 1988 when we were poor, with no money for anything. What little money we managed to get was earmarked for priority sectors. [...] We had attempted some bank robberies and other assaults, but the results were not promising. Modernity also ruled that out, because banks don't keep a lot of cash on hand. The only way was through kidnapping. [Economic necessity] led us to kidnapping. There was a process and all that. At first we thought about major, important kidnappings, at least a few people at a time. [...] If you could grab two, the heads of the most important economic groups in the country, you would be able to fill the pot. A special group was formed for this, which took more than a year.<sup>2</sup>

Over the next few years, the practice continued because of the need to obtain funds to maintain the organization and acquire weapons. One former MRTA militant stated:

Víctor Polay<sup>3</sup> got caught and we didn't have a war chest. What were we supposed to do after his arrest? We had been okay, but then we were in trouble. We had the idea that to wage war, you have to accumulate a war chest. We had robbed some banks and some of the combatants had carried out common crimes and kidnapping. There were many kidnappings. That's a simple tactic that has also been used in other countries. That source of income enabled us to buy weapons on the black market, which is easy to do. There were times when the situation was tough, but others when the cadres, the combatants, had some comforts despite the difficult living conditions in the jungle or the mountains, where it is very cold.<sup>4</sup>

#### A SPECIALIZED UNIT

One of the MRTA's units was the “Revolutionary Military Force,”<sup>5</sup> which included the

<sup>1</sup> The “12 Apostles” was the name given by the media to the country's wealthiest businessmen, who had strong ties to the government.

<sup>2</sup> CVR. BDI-II-P461. In-depth interview, September 2002. MRTA commander, former UNCP student now serving a sentence in a maximum-security prison.

<sup>3</sup> Víctor Polay Campos, the head of MRTA, was arrested February 3, 1989, at the Tourist Hotel in Huancayo, Junín. He was sentenced to 20 years and imprisoned in Castro Castro.

<sup>4</sup> CVR. BDI-II-P532. In-depth interview, September 2002. MRTA militant serving a sentence in a maximum-security prison.

<sup>5</sup> According to Article 6 of the MRTA by-laws, which were approved at the second Central Committee meeting in August 1988, the “Revolutionary Military Force” was a political-military structure whose objective was direct confrontation with and defeat of the armed forces (MRTA 1988: 59).

at the Education Ministry, causing damage but taking no lives. This was the first time they had used this kind of terrorist action.

Nevertheless, when García was inaugurated on July 28, the MRTA's maximum leader, Víctor Polay Campos, wearing a ski mask, held a widely covered press conference during which he announced the suspension of MRTA military actions considering that the people «had overwhelmingly deposited their hopes in the APRA party» (MRTA 1990: 95). Miguel Rincón, an MRTA leader, recalled that at the time «the MRTA leadership believed it was correct to offer the government a truce, demonstrating its flexibility and willingness to dialogue to find solutions for our country and avoid a bloodbath; the response was negative and the dirty war against us continued and intensified» (2002: 14).

The suspension of military actions was accompanied by a call for dialogue with the government and compliance with a several conditions, including «release of all political prisoners [...], formation of a Peace Commission and establishment of [a] minimum level of justice» (MRTA 1990: 99). In this way, the MRTA attempted to win the sympathy of the population that had voted for APRA and the IU. It also wanted to differentiate itself from the PCP-SL and consolidate its political presence as an armed organization that took the initiative «in the political playing field with open, mature and politically aware attitude» (MRTA 1990: 81).

The unilateral suspension of armed actions caused concern among MRTA militants. For some regional leaders, the move was a decision made only by the leadership in Lima. «One day they come out and say, 'We're offering a truce.' But how, when did we talk about this? In addition, we had a long anti-APRA tradition and this left a bad taste in our mouths» (Mateo<sup>50</sup>). The suspension of armed actions, however, allowed the MRTA restart its efforts to create a guerrilla column. It also sent a military command to Colombia at the end of 1985, forming the America Battalion together with Ecuador's *Alfaro Vive ¡Carajo!* and Colombia's *M-19*. The commandos took part in armed guerrilla actions in Colombia (MRTA 1990: 89-91).

The MRTA held its Third Central Committee meeting in Lima on February 9 to 14, 1986, making a positive assessment of the events of 1985 and stating that the organization had «conquered important political space in the national arena and even on the international front.» Despite its visibility in the local press, the MRTA did not have significant influence in the political world, nor did it lead important social movements. The prison massacres occurred a few months later, on June 18 and 19. On August 7, Polay, again wearing a ski mask, offered a second press conference to announce the end of the truce: «Starting today, the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement considers the government of Alan García the enemy of the people» (MRTA 1990: 105). The «restart of hostilities» was accompanied by a call to form a «front for democracy, justice and peace» that would bring together all the «democrats, patriots, progressives, grassroots sectors of APRA, IU and armed organizations» to confront and defeat the

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<sup>50</sup> CVR. Interview with Mateo, the pseudonym of a former MRTA leader imprisoned in a maximum-security prison. August 2003.

“Special Forces.”<sup>6</sup> This group was “[...] an elite unit formed by officers and combatants in charge of rear-guard activities against the enemy.”<sup>7</sup>

The “Special Forces” operated in rural and urban areas and had been trained to carry out “commando-style”<sup>8</sup> operations (MRTA 1988: 17).

In the MRTA’s by-laws, Article 32 states that the organization’s internal structure consists of various departments, each with its own leader and structure, which report to the General Command<sup>9</sup> (MRTA 1988: 60). A former MRTA militant described it this way:

In the case of the commandos, the structure was like that of the English SAS. Special operations that are carried out autonomously and not linked to the army structure. It is [...] under the political leadership. There were several units, including recovery teams, kidnapping teams, intelligence operations teams and even a team for police actions, if necessary. There was a suburban branch, which was combination of the Urban Militia and the Command Structure.<sup>10</sup>

The “General Command,” meanwhile, was subject to the decisions of the principal political-military structures, which were not permanent units, such as the “Central Committee.”<sup>11</sup> That committee consisted of the “National Executive Committee” – also known as the “National Bureau” – and other appointed members.<sup>12</sup> A former member of the MRTA “Central Committee” stated:

The large-scale operations, like the assassination of Army Gen. Enrique López Albújar, the kidnapping of Delgado Parker, and attacks on towns and police stations, were decided by the MRTA National Bureau, and each Regional Bureau was in charge of carrying out the plans according to their possibilities. The political objectives and campaigns were decided and planned by the Central Committee.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In describing the “Revolutionary Military Force,” the MRTA by-laws do not expressly mention the “Special Forces.” “The MRTA Military Forces are made up of the Tupacamarista People’s Army, the urban and rural commands, the Tupacamarista militias in the countryside and cities, and the rural and urban self-defense groups” (Article 5). Nevertheless, a document entitled, “Military Guideline,” which was also prepared at the second Central Committee meeting, states that the “Special Forces” are a component of the “Revolutionary Military Force” (MRTA 1988: 57-59).

<sup>7</sup> MRTA. MRTA by-laws, Article 21 (MRTA 1988: 59).

<sup>8</sup> Article 22 of the MRTA Statute defines the commandos as “[...] the basic tactical combat unit within the revolutionary military force [...] they are military units with a high level of professional training and combat-readiness. Their work is direct conflict with the enemy. The commandos are dedicated exclusively to the military task. They possess technical-military training that ensures mobility, speed and solid actions [...]” (MRTA 1988: 52).

<sup>9</sup> According to Article 23 of the MRTA Statute: “The General Command is the permanent political-military organism within the M.F. [Military Force] of the MRTA” (MRTA 1988: 52).

<sup>10</sup> CVR. BDI-II-P532. In-depth interview, September 2002. MRTA militant serving a sentence in a maximum-security prison.

<sup>11</sup> Article 21 of the MRTA by-laws states: “The maximum political and military bodies of the party to which the Military Forces are subordinate are: The National Congress, National Convention and Central Committee” (MRTA 1988: 60).

<sup>12</sup> MRTA. MRTA by-laws, Article 30 (MRTA 1988: 53).

<sup>13</sup> Statement to police by Alberto Gálvez Olaechea on June 10, 1991, in the DIRCOTE office (Police Report 119-DI-DINCOTE, June 14, 1991).

«militarization» of the regime (MRTA 1990: 107). The front was never formed.

#### UNITY WITH THE MIR, SPREAD OF MILITARY ACTIONS AND POLITICAL WORK (1986-1988)

The 18 months that followed the end of the ceasefire were considered successful by the MRTA for several reasons, including the unity reached with the MIR-VR, the establishment of the first guerrilla front in San Martín, and a National People's Assembly that brought together unions and grassroots organizations with some links to the MRTA.

The initial conversations in 1982 with MIR-C had failed, but the group had a crisis in 1983. While one sector joined the PUM, another, made up mainly of militants of MIR-VR, insisted on the need for armed struggle. In 1985, this group organized the Revolutionary People's Commands and carried out a few armed propaganda actions. Alberto Gálvez Olaechea, head of the MIR-VR, recognizes that the advance of the PCP-SL was one of the elements that contributed to this decision:

We, as militants of MIR, a group with a guerrilla history and rituals honoring our heroes, were not immune to a cause that raised questions for us and forced us to define ourselves. Talk became obsolete, and actions were what spoke. Those of us who would later converge to form the MRTA were pushed to do it, to some extent, by the [PCP-] SL (Gálvez 2003: 23).

The conversations between the MRTA and MIR-VR took a positive turn in 1986. On December 9, after the First Unified Central Committee meeting, the two groups announced that they were joining forces. While the MRTA had a more developed military structure, the MIR-VR had more political experience in San Martín, Lambayeque, Ancash and La Libertad, as well as some military experience with the CRPs. The MIR-VR agreed to accept the MRTA name, as well as Víctor Polay as the secretary general.

The MRTA chose the department of San Martín for its first guerrilla front, because the MIR-VR had been working for some time to establish itself among corn and rice farmers, teachers and the Front to Defend the Interests of the People of San Martín (*Frente de Defensa de los Intereses del Pueblo de San Martín*, FEDIP-SM) in the department's northern provinces. A total of 60 guerrillas, 30 each from the MIR-VR and MRTA, formed what was known as the Northeastern Front. Responsibility for the front fell to Víctor Polay, which caused the first tension with the MIR-VR.

The attack on Tabalosos (Lamas) on October 8, 1987, marked the start of the political-military campaign called «Che Lives.» Ten days later, an MRTA column took over the town of Soritor (Moyobamba). Neither action, however, had national repercussions. The next campaign was known as «Túpac Amaru Liberator.» On November 6, 60 guerrillas took the town of Juanjuí (Mariscal Cáceres), and the following day the same column assaulted the town of San José de Sisa (El Dorado), meeting no resistance. The organization got the national publicity it was seeking through a TV interview with Víctor Polay. The

The “Special Forces,” under the direction of the “General Command,” were in charge of various activities, including planning and carrying out kidnappings in coordination with the MRTA’s highest-level political-military commands.

The unit’s special training enabled the MRTA to carry out detailed, imperceptible surveillance of its victims and reach a high degree of precision and speed in carrying out the kidnappings.



government responded shortly thereafter, declaring a state of emergency in San Martín and sending a large contingent of soldiers after the MRTA column, which managed to escape.

On December 9, the MRTA decided to end of the «Túpac Amaru Liberator» campaign and decentralize its forces. One group was sent to the eastern region, another was dispatched to the central region, and 37 guerrilla fighters remained in San Martín. According to Sístero García, *Ricardo*,<sup>51</sup> the column that remained in San Martín was discovered by the Army in a short time and collapsed within weeks. The reconstruction of the Northeastern Front was slow, and it was not until the early 1990s that the subversives were once again able to carry out any significant actions. By 1991, the Northeastern Front had been rebuilt and included approximately 400 armed fighters.

Despite the setbacks, the MRTA was upbeat about the «Che Lives» and «Túpac Amaru Liberator» campaigns, which they believed confirmed their conversion into a real «option for power» (MRTA 1990: 136). That assessment overestimated their military force and underestimated the power of the state, as well as the strength acquired by the PCP-SL. This overly optimistic view also came shortly before the arrests of Gálvez Olaechea and Lucero Cumpa, who was in charge of operations in Metropolitan Lima and a member of the Central Committee. Although it was at its height, the MRTA began demonstrating the characteristics that would mark its actions in the coming years, including a fluctuation between successes and failures, inability to achieve sustained growth in any area of the country or sector, an image of an armed group supported mainly by volunteers, and the risks and confidence placed in media coverage of its actions as a way of accumulating political strength.

As the Northeastern Front began operations, the First Congress of the National People's Assembly (*Asamblea Nacional Popular*, ANP) was held in Villa el Salvador, bringing together union organizations and radical sectors of the IU-UNIR, PUM, PCP-Unity and the UDP, an organization linked to the MRTA at the time. According to Miguel Rincón:

Together with the *compañeros* from PUM, we led the group that wanted the ANP to become a real opportunity for centralization [...] with a plan that not only included the most important demands of the people, but that also incorporated revolutionary objectives that would open the way for the people to struggle for power (2002: 15-16).

MRTA militants had participated in preparatory meetings for the ANP since 1986, attempting to link the mobilizations of sectors within the ANP to the armed struggle. The paradox here is that the organization's strength increased as the union movements lost importance on the national level. Hit hard by the crisis in industry because of the collapse of the import-substitution model and the violence that the MRTA itself was helping to stir up, the organizations in the ANP in 1987 were only a pale shade of the groups that had stopped the country

<sup>51</sup> Former MRTA leader who took advantage of the repentance law.

with massive national strikes in 1977 and 1978.

Without a clear evaluation of these weaknesses, the Second Unified Central Committee of MRTA was held in 1988. The meeting reiterated the apocalyptic assessment of the national situation and, influenced by the victories of the Northeastern Front, agreed to open other guerrilla fronts because «[...] in Juanjuí we realized that we must have the audacity and decisiveness to offer a national plan with weapons in hand; there is no other way.»<sup>52</sup> The MRTA therefore began to restructure the Northeastern Front and opened an Eastern Front (Ucayali, Pasco and Huánuco) and a Central Front (Junín and the jungle region of Pasco). At the same time, some cadres were sent to explore the possibility of reopening a front in the southern part of the country and to strengthen the organization's work in urban areas. It was also indispensable to tighten up the organization and finance its «war expenses,» and the group opted for kidnapping, arguing that the «costs of the war» should be paid by the «high bourgeoisie and imperialism» (Descó 1989: 244).

The kidnappings were perpetrated in Lima by «special forces.» During their captivity, businesspeople were kept in «people's prisons» – small, unhealthy cells – and were under constant supervision. The first kidnapping was carried out in September 1987 (Jiménez 2000: 868). Months earlier, the first internal «settling of scores» came in a reprisal against former MIR-VR militants of the Northeastern Front who were unhappy with the unification and had launched their own military plan. An MRTA «revolutionary tribunal» determined that they were traitors, and located and executed them on October 30, 1988. The Cusquén Cabrera siblings were also accused of «counter-revolutionary crimes.» Rosa Cusquén, accused of treason and of being a police informant, was killed on June 1, 1988, in the Arzobispo Loayza Hospital in Lima, where she was recovering from wounds she had received in the first assassination attempt two months earlier.

Meanwhile, the Eastern Front began operating without adequate knowledge of the terrain or sufficient prior proselytizing and organizing. After a few initial successes, on December 8, 1989, a subversive detachment assassinated Alejandro Calderón, president of an important Asháninka organization (*Apatywaka-Nampitsi-Ashaninka del Pichis*, ANAP), for allegedly having committed a counter-revolutionary crime when he was a young man. The MRTA accused Calderón of having informed police authorities of the whereabouts of Máximo Velando, a MIR guerrilla leader, in 1965. Calderón's murder led to the formation of the so-called «Asháninka Army,» which expelled the MRTA from its territory. While the MRTA admitted that killing Calderón was a mistake and withdrew its fighters without any combat,<sup>53</sup> the damage was done. The offensive launched by the Asháninka Army and state security forces dismantled the Eastern Front. «In 1991, there was no Eastern Front, there was no one. It disappeared as quickly as it had appeared,» (*Lucas*<sup>54</sup>). The survivors moved to the Central Front.

<sup>52</sup> CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, 2002.

<sup>53</sup> In July 1990, Víctor Polay recognized the “mistake” (MRTA 1990: 19).

<sup>54</sup> CVR. Interview. Lucas is the pseudonym of a jailed MRTA leader. August 2003.

The central region was of particular importance in the MRTA's strategy. In September 1998, shortly after the Second Unified Central Committee meeting, the organization attempted to reinstall an armed detachment in the region. While the detachment had to deal with a hostile reaction from the PCP-SL from the start, it moved forward with its plans and began armed actions in February 1989. After some successes aimed at establishing a national presence and positioning the organization as an alternative to the PCP-SL and the armed forces, the MRTA decided to take the city Tarma as a way of regaining the ground it had lost in San Martín. The MRTA column was made up of 67 armed subversives, nearly all of whom were drawn from the highland and central fronts. On the morning of April 28, on the border between the districts of Huertas and Molinos (Jauja), two trucks carrying the MRTA detachment came upon a military patrol. The shootout left 58 MRTA militants dead.<sup>55</sup>

The blow received in Molinos basically ended the MRTA's work in the central region, but the organization's leadership did not fully understand the impact of what had happened. «We did not have a clear idea of the magnitude of this loss [...]. We thought we would recover quickly [...] with some actions, with some kind of campaign [...] the truth is, however, that the blow was so great that it deprived us of many things» (*Mateo*). For Gálvez Olaechea, what happened in Molinos demonstrated a tendency in the MRTA that «prioritized immediate actions over more consistent, long-term work» (2003: 36). In response to Molinos, on January 9, 1990, the MRTA assassinated a retired general and former defense minister, Enrique López Albújar, shooting him while he was driving his own car without a security detail. Víctor Polay said that the «execution» had been «[...] agreed upon by the revolutionary tribunal as a response to the murder of MRTA prisoners and injured combatants in Los Molinos» (1990: 19). The action appeared to corroborate what Manrique (1989: 175-80) had stated about the probable «Senderoization» of the MRTA, which was also reflected in the organization's decision to murder its own members in Chiclayo, Tarapoto and Lima.

A period of rebuilding the Central Front began with the transfer of small contingents of armed militants from urban areas. While this effort coincided with the start of the peasant revolt against the PCP-SL and the increased presence of the armed forces, a few detachments began operating again in early 1991.

#### REBUILDING THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP, HARDENING THE LINE AND RUPTURE (1989-1992)

On February 3, 1989, three months after the conflict in Molinos, Víctor Polay was arrested in Huancayo. The problems caused by his capture were exacerbated by the arrest of Miguel Rincón in Lima on April 16.<sup>56</sup> As a result, Néstor Cerpa Cartolini took over leadership of the MRTA. Because most of its captured leaders

<sup>55</sup> According to information provided by the Army, six soldiers were also killed. In addition, seven people living in surrounding villages were detained and disappeared. Three others detained by the Army were later found dead and are believed to have been executed.

<sup>56</sup> Gálvez Olaechea was arrested in August 1987, and Peter Cárdenas and Hugo Avellaneda were arrested at Jorge Chávez Airport in Lima in February 1988. Lima.

were in Lima's Miguel Castro Castro prison, the MRTA began constructing a tunnel into the prison that would take three months to build. On July 9, 1990, 47 inmates would escape through the tunnel. The escape once more thrust the organization into the national spotlight, inspired its militants and burnished the image of its battered leadership.

With the reincorporation of Víctor Polay and Alberto Gálvez, the MRTA held its Third Unified Central Committee meeting in September 1990. The event did not go smoothly. After Alberto Fujimori's surprising victory in the run-off election earlier in the year, Polay entertained the idea of negotiating a political solution to the armed conflict with the new government. The proposal, however, was not discussed at the meeting.<sup>57</sup> The delegates did discuss major current events in light of the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and peace accords in the rest of Central America. The MIR-VR representatives maintained that the socialist current was undergoing a profound crisis and that the «international rear guard» had broken down completely. In addition, PCP-SL's actions had undermined «revolutionary violence,» which was now rejected by the population. They claimed that the victory of Ricardo Belmont in the Lima mayoral election in 1989 and Alberto Fujimori's presidential victory in 1990 demonstrated «the collapse of traditional parties and politicians and a people without ideologies, pragmatic and skeptical» (Gálvez 2003: 39). These factors required that the MRTA change tactics and opt for a political solution. Polay, however, offered a different assessment. «We believed that [retreat] was not the most appropriate response, because it meant leaving the playing field open to the [PCP-] SL.»<sup>58</sup> It was therefore necessary to «[...] impose dialogue on the government, turn ourselves into a belligerent force for dialogue. We needed to show the public that the MRTA had achieved a level of development and that it was necessary for us to sit down at the table and negotiate with the government.»<sup>59</sup>

The Central Committee decided to strengthen the Northeastern Front and open fronts in the north and south «so that conversations with the MRTA would be inevitable.»<sup>60</sup> With this objective in mind, several of the subversive who had escaped from Miguel Castro Castro prison were sent to different areas of the country and numerous members of its political structures and support groups were incorporated into the military structure. This allowed the MRTA to consolidate the Northeastern and Central fronts quickly.

Nevertheless, internal tensions were heightened with the election of

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<sup>57</sup> For Gálvez Olaechea, Polay's decision not to present the idea was meant to "guarantee the support of ideological hard-line factions [such as] Cerpa and Rincón and push out the MIR-VR" (2003:39).

<sup>58</sup> CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, March 13, 2003.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. Nevertheless, through the intervention of Rep. Gerardo López (Cambio 90), who was kidnapped and later released at the end of September 1990, they proposed dialogue to Alberto Fujimori. The proposal was rejected.

<sup>60</sup> CVR. Interview with Victor Polay. Callao Naval Base, March 13, 2003.

the new National Executive Committee. Of the six members, four were from the original MRTA (including Polay Campos and Cerpa Cartolini) and two were from the MIR-VR (Gálvez Olaechea and Rodolfo Klein Samanez). The election broke an agreement between the two groups on the composition of the ruling committee. In addition, the responsibilities for the regions and military fronts were given to the MRTA delegates. The Northeastern Front went to Cerpa, who replaced the MIR-VR's Sístero García, *Ricardo*. The same thing happened with the Southern and Central fronts.

Despite these differences, in the following months the MRTA stepped up its actions in various parts of the country with renewed military strength, culminating with the second assault on Juanjuí on December 24, 1991. According to the leaders of the subversive organization, the number of people willing to join the MRTA was greater than the group's ability to incorporate them. For example, *Francisco* stated: «[...] there was a lack of leadership. There were masses, there were combatants, but one leader cannot take charge of 100 people and there were hundreds of people. We didn't know what to do.» The lack of commanders led some of the militants to take charge although they had little training. That led to tactics that included collecting bribes from drug traffickers in San Martín, assassinating dissidents, treating kidnapping victims with extreme cruelty and, in general, accentuating the militaristic approach.

In August 1991, subversive commandos assassinated Orestes Dávila Torres, *Germán*, who had been Cerpa Cartolini's right-hand man. Months later, in January 1992, Andrés Sosa Chanamé, a former MRTA militant from PCP-Unity was murdered. These revenge killings led to Gálvez Olaechea's resignation from the MRTA in early 1992. He recalls, «[...] those who had been Robin Hoods at the beginning hardened their positions with the blows of the war and the law of an eye for an eye became a powerful temptation» (2003: 52). According to Polay, however, the image that the MRTA members «were killing each other» was a consequence of the intelligence service's manipulation of the media and comments by former militants that were exaggerated and did not reflect reality; «[...] furthermore, in the case of Beto Gálvez [Olaechea], he was arrested and after a few months in jail he announced his resignation.»<sup>61</sup>

The kidnappings perpetrated by the MRTA during this time grew increasingly brutal. One victim, Pedro Antonio Miyasato, was found dead on April 22, 1992, and the body of David Ballón Vera found was found on February 23, 1993.

The differences between the MIR-VR and MRTA militants were irreconcilable. Gálvez's resignation in January 1992 was followed by that of Sístero García and 120 combatants of the Northeastern Front. The national MRTA leadership ordered the arrest of Sístero García, but he was saved by the Army. It is estimated that the MRTA lost approximately 400 fighters during these internal conflicts, as well as in armed confrontations with military forces. It also lost the military control it had exercised over some areas of San Martín.

After the April 5, 1992, coup, many MRTA militants, especially on the

<sup>61</sup> CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, 2003.

Northeastern Front, took advantage of the repentance law and began turning in other militants. The coup also reopened debate over the viability of the armed struggle. Some militants insisted that it was time to stop the war, but once again the idea of doing this «from a position of strength» prevailed. According to Miguel Rincón, «[...] the retreat needed to be gradual, inflicting strong blows to show the country and the world that the struggle continued [...] show the dictatorship that it was not moving ahead with free rein and, with this, organize our retreat.»<sup>62</sup>

The strategy was difficult to implement, because Gálvez Olaechea's second arrest at the end of 1991 was followed by a series of other blows. Peter Cárdenas Schulte was arrested on April 9, 1992. Two months later, on June 9, Víctor Polay was arrested again in the Lima district of San Borja. By mid-year, only two members of the leadership committee, Néstor Cerpa and Miguel Rincón, were still at large. Cerpa again took charge of the MRTA. After the arrest of Lucero Cumpa on May 1, 1993, in Tarapoto, the remaining members of the detachment in San Martín agreed to accept the repentance law. The Northeastern Front disappeared. The MRTA's actions were limited to the Central Front and its actions in Lima diminished.

#### EPILOGUE

The rest is epilogue. According to Gálvez Olaechea, «the conflict came down to a war of apparatuses in which the stronger apparatus, the state, won» (2003: 53). Given the extreme situation, the MRTA began planning large-scale actions that would place it on the national map. Cerpa and Rincón were aware that the MRTA was not going to take power, even more so after Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán announced from his prison cell that he was in favor of a peace accord. Instead, they opted to create a «situation of strength» that would allow them to negotiate the release of their militants, the suspension of hostilities and eventual incorporation into legal political life. According to Miguel Rincón, «[...] it was necessary to rescue the revolutionary cadres to continue the revolutionary struggle, but the government had closed all possibilities for legal or political resolutions.» The militants' release, therefore, «would only be achieved through a position of strength»<sup>63</sup>

With that goal in mind, they planned an assault on Congress, but the plot was discovered beforehand, in November 1995, and ended with the arrest of Rincón and 17 other subversives. Nevertheless, on December 17, 1996, Néstor Cerpa Cartolini, the remaining leader still at large, led a group of 14 subversives in an assault on the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima during a reception attended by more than 600 people. Most of the hostages were released within a few days, but 72 people remained prisoner for 136 days.

<sup>62</sup> CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, March 25, 2003.

<sup>63</sup> CVR. Interview. Callao Naval Base, April 8, 2003.

Finally, after more than four months of different levels of contact between the kidnapers and the government, special forces launched a rescue mission, "Chavín de Huántar," on April 22, 1997. All but one of the hostages were freed. In addition, two of the commandos were killed, as were all of the MRTA militants. That episode marked the end of the subversive organization.





## CHAPTER 3

### THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE VIOLENCE

The civilian governments that held power in the first decade of the violence responded inadequately to the threat posed by the Shining Path and MRTA in the 1980s. Initial mistakes in assessing the problem were followed by a lack of political will to design and apply a comprehensive strategy that would respond to the complexities of the problem. The tragic result was that the organizations expanded and imposed their violence on a considerable amount of national territory. This was complicated by the decision of the various administrations to cede control of the anti-subversive fight to the armed forces without civilian authorities taking sufficient steps to ensure respect for the fundamental rights of the population. With the exception of some notable cases, these administrations renounced the civil and democratic authority won through free elections, allowing a broad section of the Peruvian population to be placed under military rule.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT FERNANDO BELAUNDE TERRY AND THE POPULAR ACTION PARTY

The CVR recorded 7,795 deaths and disappearances during the government of President Fernando Belaunde Terry as a result of the violence unleashed by the PCP-SL. This number represents 35 percent of the total number of victims from the entire period of violence, as reported to the CVR. The CVR also found that of the 7,795 victims reported between 1980 and 1985, the subversive organization was responsible for 48 percent, while 45 percent were attributed to state security forces.

By the end of Belaunde administration, 32 provinces were under a state

of emergency, with fundamental rights suspended. A nationwide state of emergency was declared on six occasions during his administration.

The department of Ayacucho, where the PCP-SL began its «armed struggle» in May 1980, was under a partial or complete state of emergency beginning in October 1981. On January 1, 1983, the armed forces took charge of maintaining internal order in the department. The highest number of deaths and disappearances registered during the years of violence were recorded in this department in 1984. Ayacucho also had the highest number of human rights abuses recorded by the CVR.

The CVR has confirmed that massive human rights abuses occurred between 1983 and 1985, with the rural population of the central Andes suffering the brunt of the violence. This was the result of the constant increase in terrorist actions perpetrated by the PCP-SL, as well as the response from the armed forces, which, as has been noted, were given broad powers over the anti-subversive fight as of December 1982.

#### THE CONTEXT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT

Fernando Belaunde, an architect and candidate of the Popular Action (*Acción Popular*, AP) party, was elected to the presidency for a second time on May 18, 1980. His party controlled a slight majority of the seats in the Senate (26) and an absolute majority of the seats in the House of Representatives (98).<sup>1</sup>

There are certain elements of the national context when the AP took over the government that must be understood. It was precisely the moment when it was necessary to combat the Shining Path's initial actions.

First, the country that Belaunde was elected to govern had grown quickly compared to 1968, when he was overthrown in a military coup. The military government that ran the country for 12 years instituted a development model that was based on state intervention in the financial, production, distribution, commercial and service sectors of the economy, focusing specifically on redistributing wealth and enforcing policies of «social participation» in private and public companies. As a result of that model, in 1980 the Peruvian state had vastly increased its control over the nation's wealth, as well the bureaucracy needed to manage it.<sup>2</sup> Reforms were introduced during that period that transformed Peruvian society, giving sectors that had long been excluded a voice in the public sphere.

Second, the parties that had once formed the political system were weakened by 1980. This weakness was due to the 12 years of rule by a military government that had limited the scope of political parties, as well as political and civil rights, and used selective deportations to silence the opposition. The

<sup>1</sup> The 1979 Constitution created a 60-member Senate and a 180-member House of Representatives. The majority won by AP in both houses was increased by its alliance with the Popular Christian Party.

<sup>2</sup> The public sector work force grew from 225,714 to 424,611 employees between 1969 and 1978. On the economic model of the military dictatorship and the growth of the state, see Wise (2003: 119-158).

parties were also extremely slow in adapting to the social transformation in the country that preceded the return to democracy, failing to adequately adapt their structures, ideologies and platforms to the new context.

The ruling party shared this weakness. During the years of military rule, the party's political activity had decreased substantially.<sup>3</sup> It is important to highlight, however, that AP chose not to participate in the 1978 Constituent Assembly, preferring to focus on rebuilding its party organization. That deprived the party of the chance to take part in the debates over the new Constitution. Most of the parties that participated in the 1980 elections had elected delegates to the assembly.

Third, the new government took office while the relationship between a civilian government and the armed forces was still unclear and did not meet democratic standards. Belaunde's decision to keep the commanders of the three military branches – Army, Navy and Air Force – in place during his first year in office reflected the military's high level of autonomy in defense and national security issues, its control of the National Defense System, which was inherited from the dictatorship, and its maintenance of the military budget. Belaunde also chose to keep the three military ministries, War, Navy and Aeronautics, throughout his term.

A final characteristic of the political transition was the climate of social unrest. In 1980, there were 739 strikes involving 481,000 workers; in 1981; there were 871 strikes involving 857,000 workers; and in 1982; there were 809 strikes involving 572,000 workers.

Rounding out the picture were a brief border conflict with neighboring Ecuador in 1981, massive economic losses from the El Niño phenomenon in 1983, and the international debt crisis, which severely affected the country's productive sector and finances, in the early 1980s.

#### INITIAL RESPONSES TO SUBVERSION

The CVR has found that the armed subversive actions using terrorist methods, which were initiated by the PCP-SL, provoked two responses from the AP administration. The first consisted of allowing the police forces – Civil Guard, Republican Guard and Investigative Police of Peru – controlled by the Interior Ministry to deal with the problem. The second response was to leave the anti-subversive fight in the hands of the armed forces with little civilian control. In both cases, particularly the first, the administration made serious mistakes in assessing the subversive threat.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> During the military government, Popular Action held only two party congresses to elect general secretaries.

<sup>4</sup> The choice between the police and military options was part of a much broader debate within the AP government. One side, led by Sen. Javier Alva Orlandini, wanted to increase the party's influence over the government by naming prefects, sub-prefects, governors and other low-level bureaucrats, as well as exercising the party's strength in Congress. The other side, represented by the Cabinet chief and finance minister, Manuel Ulloa Elías, pushed for ensuring macroeconomic stability by guaranteeing technocratic management of the economy and following the guidelines of multilateral financial organizations.

## First actions and assessment

The Shining Path's first actions were carried out in Ayacucho and Lima. The best known is the subversives' attack in Chuschi, Ayacucho, on May 17, 1980, when they burned the ballot boxes that were to be used in the general elections the following day. For the PCP-SL, that action marked the start of the «armed struggle.» On June 13, 1980, militants of the PCP-SL's Classist Workers and Laborers Movement (*Movimiento de Obreros y Trabajadores Clasistas*, MOTC) exploded «Molotov cocktails» in the municipal offices in San Martín de Porres, a Lima district. On June 15, another explosive device was set off at the tomb of General Juan Velasco Alvarado, the first military president. Those attacks occurred while the armed forces, under the leadership of General Francisco Morales Bermúdez, were still running the country.<sup>5</sup>

The first obstacle to efficiently dealing with subversion was a deficient assessment of the problem and the confusing label given to the group responsible for these acts of terrorism and sabotage. The government had two principal theories about subversion, neither of which included a direct examination of the PCP-SL.<sup>6</sup>

### *The international plot theory*

Some members of the AP government saw the appearance of the PCP-SL as an expansion of international communism. This interpretation, influenced by the ongoing Cold War, considered communism part of an extensive international network that was well financed and organized, and capable of implementing revolutionary strategies around the globe. Foreign Relations Minister Javier Arias Stella stated that while there was no proof, «there was highly suspicious evidence of some kind of foreign intervention in the acts of sabotage.»<sup>7</sup> More than a year after the PCP-SL began its actions, President Belaunde said that the attacks were part of «a plan led, organized and financed from abroad.»<sup>8</sup> He would later state that «[...] this is a fight between democracy and totalitarianism. They want to undermine and wipe out democracy, and they have international backing to do it.»<sup>9</sup>

These comments were not supported with evidence, and according to information obtained by the CVR, members of the administration admitted

<sup>5</sup> There is still debate over whether the Morales Bermúdez government left behind files on the incipient PCP-SL activity. The CVR believes that the answer to that question does not have a decisive bearing on an understanding of the general process, given the minimal information about the subversive organizations and its plans for the “armed struggle” that existed at the time.

<sup>6</sup> In considering this hypothesis, it is important to keep in mind that during Belaunde's first term (1963-1968), he and his party had faced a guerrilla insurgency in the Andes in 1965, which was eliminated by the armed forces in only a few months. In 1968, Belaunde was overthrown and deported by the military coup that led to the 12-year military government discussed at the start of this chapter.

<sup>7</sup> El Comercio, December 15, 1980. In Desco 1989: 371.

<sup>8</sup> El Comercio, September 16, 1981. In Desco 1989: 377.

<sup>9</sup> El Comercio, September 6, 1982. In Desco 1989: 383.

privately that they had no proof.<sup>10</sup>

### *The theory of convergence between social mobilization and subversion*

Another sector within the administration believed that there was a link between the wave of social protests, over which left-wing parties had powerful influence, and the acts of violence. The end of the 1970s and the start of the 1980s witnessed the rapid spread of social protests that were not confined to unions, but involved urban grassroots organizations, particularly in Lima's shantytowns. This wave of protests coincided with the political platforms of a significant number of left-wing political organizations that opted to participate in the democratic electoral process and promoted mobilization of the masses as a way of achieving «social democracy.»<sup>11</sup>

Some sectors within the government linked – without specifying the link – social protests with terrorist attacks. Interior Minister José María de la Jara stated that the new head of state security, PIP General Edgar Luque, had been given «the mission to see if a link exists between factory takeovers, violence, labor troubles and terrorism.»<sup>12</sup> Cabinet chief Ulloa Elías stated that there was a «coincidence» between terrorist acts and labor conflicts.<sup>13</sup> Sen. Alva Orlandini maintained that there was a campaign against the democratic system and that «the acts of terrorism in the central highlands link agitation in the workplace and the countryside.»<sup>14</sup> Besides the politicians' comments, the commander of the Civil Guard, General Jorge Balaguer, stated that left-wing groups were responsible for «altering social peace with strikes, work stoppages and subversive acts.»<sup>15</sup>

A variation of this theory attributed the first acts of sabotage and terrorism to followers of General Juan Velasco Alvarado, who had created a system of social mobilization during his government (1968-1975) as a complement to the reforms that were put in place.

### **Two ways of seeing the conflict**

In addition to these divergent assessments of the cause, the AP government also had two basic ways of dealing with subversion.

The first emphasized police intelligence work and was wary of involving the armed forces in the fight against terrorism. The other called for a firm hand in dealing with subversion, which meant involving the military.

<sup>10</sup> "Another widespread claim, both in official and media circles, is that Peruvian terrorists are receiving support from foreign countries. Cuba is most prominently hinted at, but officials decline to be specific in public, and in private admit that they have no convincing evidence. In fact, Peru's terrorists show few signs of being particularly well-equipped." Declassified CIA document, No. 344, April 20, 1982.

<sup>11</sup> *In Desco* 1981. See the overview of left-wing thinking in reference to the importance of social mobilizations.

<sup>12</sup> *El Comercio*, September 15, 1981. In *Desco* 1989: 377.

<sup>13</sup> *La República*, August 22, 1982. In *Desco* 1989: 382.

<sup>14</sup> *Expreso*, November 28, 1982. In *Desco* 1989: 387.

<sup>15</sup> *El Comercio*, September 6, 1980. In *Desco* 1989: 367.

Supporters of the different approaches were evenly divided in the administration in the last six months of 1980, but the situation changed by the end of following year. In 1982, as PCP-SL activities increased, the government position leaned progressively toward the military option. The decision to involve the military was finally made in late 1982, and the armed forces were put in charge of the anti-subversive effort in Ayacucho.

The first call for a heavy hand in dealing with the subversion came in October 1980. On October 20, Sen. Alva Orlandini proposed legislation that would elevate the crimes of sabotage and terrorism to treason. The initiative was supported by Cabinet chief Ulloa Elías, but rejected by Congress. On December 17, Sen. Alva Orlandini — who had been minister of Government and Police during the final months of the first guerrilla uprising in 1965 — proposed declaring an emergency zone and calling up the armed forces to fight terrorism. That bill also failed in Congress.

At the same time, a more moderate position was spearheaded by Interior Minister José María de la Jara. On August 5, 1980, De la Jara rejected the idea that there was a «guerrilla outbreak» and said the PCP-SL was «a group without strength.» In November, despite the increase in armed actions, he said it was an exaggeration to talk about a terrorist threat.<sup>16</sup> Finally, in June 1981, he stated that acts of terrorism had «dramatically decreased» thanks to efficient police work.<sup>17</sup>

Other party leaders, including Lima Mayor Eduardo Orrego and Rep. Francisco Belaunde, backed the interior minister's position. Rep. Belaunde stated in November 1980 that it was «an exaggeration to call childish actions terrorism.»<sup>18</sup>

On December 17, when Sen. Alva Orlandini proposed declaring an emergency zone and dispatching the armed forces, Minister De la Jara rejected the idea and stated that terrorism could be controlled «without having to suspend constitutional guarantees.» According to the minister, the work being done by the Civil Guard and Investigative Police<sup>19</sup> was sufficient, and if necessary, the ministry could call up the special police battalion known as the Sinchis.

Prior to this debate, in March 1981, the government passed Legislative Decree 046, which codified the crime of terrorism and established the procedural norms for trying someone for this crime. Article 1 of the decree defined a terrorist as one who:

[Provokes or maintains] a state of anxiety, alarm or terror in the population or a sector of it, committing acts that could endanger people's life, health or property or that are aimed at destroying or damaging public or private buildings, roads, communication systems, transportation, or the flow of energy [...] disrupting public tranquility or affecting international relations or state security [...].

<sup>16</sup> El Peruano, November 25, 1980. In *Desco* 1989: 370.

<sup>17</sup> *El Comercio*, June 21, 1981. In *Desco* 1989: 374.

<sup>18</sup> *El Diario*, November 11, 1980. In *Desco* 1989: 368.

<sup>19</sup> *La Prensa*, December 17, 1980. In *Desco* 1989: 371.

The interior minister began to change his position in August 1981, after an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Lima. For the first time, De la Jara admitted that a state of emergency could be declared if the situation worsened.<sup>20</sup>

The situation did get worse. According to documents reviewed by the CVR, 791 attacks were registered between May 1980 and October 1981. Of these, 140 – or 18 percent – were staged in September 1981. On October 11, a Shining Path column attacked the police station in Tambo, Ayacucho. After a Cabinet meeting the next day, President Belaunde declared a state of emergency in five of Ayacucho's seven provinces.<sup>21</sup> The press reported at the time that De la Jara and Vice Minister Héctor López Martínez encouraged the president to make that decision. De la Jara would resign from office at the end of October because of an incident unrelated to the subversive threat. He stepped down on October 28 after the death of a university student in Cusco, accepting political responsibility for the case.<sup>22</sup>

The CVR believes that the first state of emergency marked a turning point in the way in which Belaunde's administration addressed the problem. There was a sustained increase in the levels of violence throughout 1982, with several of the PCP-SL's armed actions having major repercussions. This led to the government to put the military in charge of controlling internal order in Ayacucho, one province in the department of Huancavelica and one province in the department of Apurímac.

Major actions during this period included: the Shining Path's attack on the prison in Huamanga, Ayacucho, on March 2, 1982, which freed its jailed militants; destruction of Allpachaca agricultural experiment center at the San Cristóbal de Huamanga National University on August 3; an attack on the police station in Vilcashuamán on August 22; an attack on the Huanta police station on October 4; and a complete blackout of Lima and Callao on August 19. The blackout in the capital led to a 60-day state of emergency in Metropolitan Lima and Callao. The state of emergency was extended in Ayacucho and Apurímac in November. Finally, on December 29, 1982, President Belaunde signed Supreme Decree 068-92-IN, which declared a state of emergency in the Ayacucho provinces of Huanta, La Mar, Cangallo, Víctor Fajardo and Huamanga, as well as one province each in Huancavelica and Apurímac, and put the armed forces in charge of guaranteeing internal order. With that, the constitutional government opted for a military response to the conflict. The decision was inevitable, but the CVR believes that it did not have to mean transferring political responsibility to the military or neglecting to institute any sort of safeguards to protect the population. Neglecting to institute oversight mechanisms was an obvious mistake.

<sup>20</sup> *El Comercio*, September 24, 1981. In *Desco* 1989: 376.

<sup>21</sup> Huamanga, Huanta, Cangallo, La Mar and Víctor Fajardo.

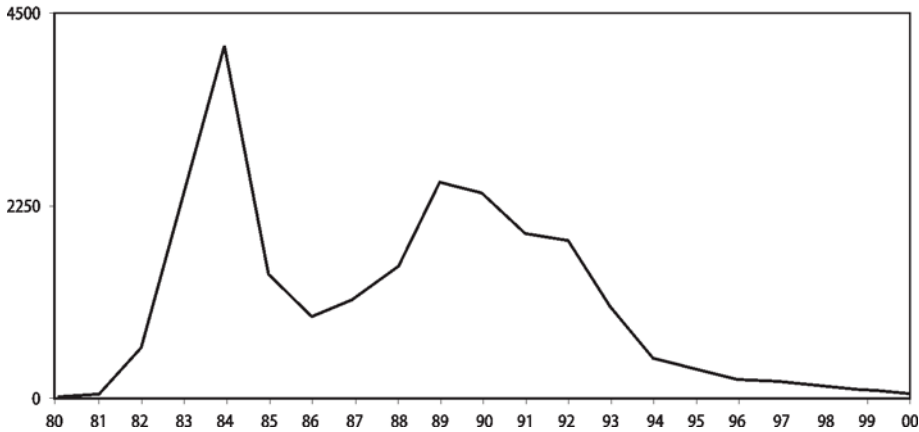
<sup>22</sup> Retired General José Gagliardi was named interior minister. He maintained many of De la Jara's policies, including defending the role of the police in fighting subversion. In September 1982, Gagliardi proposed, with no Cabinet support, the possibility of dialogue with the PCP-SL. He left the ministry at the end of 1982.

## MILITARIZATION OF THE CONFLICT

The period of greatest violence in the 20 years reviewed by the CVR began when the armed forces entered Ayacucho. The number of dead and disappeared in those years reached levels that would not be repeated in the long years of violence.

FIGURE 1

PERU 1980-2000: DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES REPORTED TO THE CVR, BY YEAR



### The Interior Ministry

One of the direct effects of the decision to call up the military was loss of control over the anti-subversion effort within the Interior Ministry.<sup>23</sup> In the remaining years of Belaunde's administration (1983-85), three ministers, Fernando Rincón Bazo, Luis Percovich Roca and General Óscar Brush Noel, were in charge of the ministry. The first concentrated his efforts on reorganizing the ministry, but resigned in April 1983 after the massacres by the PCP-SL in Lucanamarca and Huancasancos. The second, Luis Percovich, was in favor of the armed forces' involvement in Ayacucho: "[...] I personally believe that the armed forces can intervene more effectively to control these acts of violence."<sup>24</sup> He maintained that position during the 18 months he ran the ministry:

[...] the Interior Ministry does not participate in decisions concerning the anti-subversive strategy in the zone [...]. I believe that this is the correct approach. Because there is a military-political commander, intervention by the Interior Ministry would only wrest authority from the political-military

<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that at the start of the armed forces' intervention in the conflict the police continued to carry out the majority of the armed actions in the emergency zone.

<sup>24</sup> *La Crónica*, April 25, 1983.



commander and create confusion about the decisions that must be adopted.<sup>25</sup>

Percovich remained on the sidelines of the anti-subversive effort, seeing police action as complementary to the military efforts, and concentrated on controlling social agitation. He was replaced at Interior by General Óscar Brush Noel, who had been running the Ministry of War.

In summary, the CVR found that after the military was put in charge of the anti-subversive effort, the three remaining interior ministers were uninterested in developing their own anti-subversive policy and did not establish proper civilian control or oversight over what was occurring in the emergency zone. As a result, civilian authorities did not obtain information about the subversive organization's nature, strategies and tactics. The armed forces' involvement in the theater of operations in Ayacucho should have generated much greater interest from the elected civilian government in guaranteeing respect for human rights in the region.

#### The political-military commands

The armed forces were in control of the anti-subversive fight in the emergency zone in the central Andes from January 1, 1983, until the end of Belaunde's administration. The military's participation unfolded within a legal framework that vaguely defined the powers of the military commands and provided inadequate mechanisms for protecting the human rights of people living under military rule.

While the actions by the political-military commands hit hard at the PCP-SL, according to evidence reviewed by the CVR, they did not stop the terrorist attacks or eradicate subversion. Furthermore, they instituted widespread practices of human rights abuses against the civilian population in Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica at certain times and in certain places.

Supreme Decree 068-82-IN, which established the 60-day state of emergency in various provinces of Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huancavelica, did not specify the functions of the political-military command. It stated that the «armed forces would assume control of internal order» in those provinces «to re-establish public order.» While broad, the decree signed by President Belaunde did not mention the actions the civil government would undertake as a complement to military activities. Given the PCP-SL's criminal attacks on civilian authorities and officials' assessment of the threat, the government chose to hand power to the military without designing its own strategy for defense and restoration of civilian authority.

There were three military commanders in the emergency zone during the rest of the administration.

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<sup>25</sup> *Caretas*, May 9, 1984.

TABLE 1

## HEADS OF THE POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMANDS IN THE EMERGENCY ZONE

| HEADS OF THE POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMANDS IN THE EMERGENCY ZONE | PERIOD                              |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Army General Roberto Clemente Noel                             | December 31, 1982-December 31, 1983 |
| Army General Adrián Huamán                                     | December 31, 1983-August 28, 1984   |
| Army General Wilfredo Mori 1/                                  | August 28, 1984-September 18, 1985  |

1/He was an Army Colonel before being named head of the political-military command

**Year one: General Roberto Noel**

The first head of the political-military command in the emergency zone was Army General Roberto Clemente Noel. He took charge of the zone on December 31, 1982, and 2,000 soldiers were given the task of controlling the provinces declared under a state of emergency.

At the time, Noel still believed that the subversive phenomenon was a localized outbreak of guerrilla activity that could be eradicated in two months.<sup>26</sup> When he took the post, Noel said that as of December 29, 1982, there was a military tribunal in place to deal with excesses committed by police and military officers.<sup>27</sup>

Noel's period was marked by an increase in PCP-SL activity, which was a foreseeable result of the government's decision to involve the armed forces in the conflict. The period also witnessed the first violent rejection of the Shining Path by some groups of Ayacucho peasants and the subversives' vicious response to these revolts. Emblematic examples were the events in Uchuraccay on January 26, 1983, where eight journalists were killed, an event that unleashed a spiral of violence in the community that would lead to the deaths of dozens of Uchuraccay residents over the next months, and the PCP-SL's massacres in Lucanamarca and Huancasancos in April 1983.

During 1983 there were also serious cases of human rights violations by state agents, including extrajudicial executions in the communities of Totos and Chuschi, murders at the Los Cabitos military base, and the massacre of peasants in the district of Soccus, 18 kilometers from the city of Huamanga.

In interviews with the CVR, Noel stated that he had President Belaunde's backing throughout his time as head of the command. He recounted the following dialogue:

«Mr. President, excuse me, I want to ask a question, because you have changed the mission. Am I or am I not going to fight?» President Belaunde told me, «General, you go into combat with all your energy and all the support

<sup>26</sup> *El Comercio*, January 1, 1983. In an interview with the CVR, retired General Noel denied these affirmations: "I never said optimistically that we would be finished [with subversion] in two or three months. What happened was that there were moments of calm" (CVR. Interview. March 18, 2003).

<sup>27</sup> *El Comercio*, January 17, 1983. In *Descos* 1989: 571.

of the constitutional government.» «Thank you.»<sup>28</sup>

Noel said that he periodically reported on his activities:

I normally came every two or three months and coordinated with the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I went to the Presidential Palace with the minister of war and the Army commander. The National Defense Council would meet there and the president would give orders based on the information.<sup>29</sup>

Testimonies from other close colleagues of President Belaunde during this period contradict Noel's statements.

Politicians and the media denounced human rights violations during Noel's tenure as political-military commander of the emergency zone. Those accusations were interpreted by the administration as part of the opposition's strategy and not taken as a serious warning of the expanding climate of violence in the country. On July 1, 1983, left-wing Rep. Javier Diez Canseco filed a constitutional accusation with the Attorney General's Office, accusing Noel of assassination, kidnapping, illegal arrests and abuse of authority. The accusation was dismissed.

#### ***Year two: General Adrián Huamán***

General Adrián Huamán took over the political-military command on December 31, 1983. Huamán adopted a different strategy in the anti-subversive fight, prohibiting soldiers from drinking as a way of preventing abuses and ordering that disappearances be investigated by the police. In a communiqué released jointly with Ayacucho Superior Court prosecutor Jorge Zegarra, the political-military command called on people who had been victims of abuses to file accusations so that corrective measures could be taken.

The new strategy included requesting measures for improving the local people's economic and social conditions. This included, among other things, a demand for greater economic resources:

[...] in the emergency zone there is not only a power vacuum, but a lack of resources. The Army is replacing the Shining Path in terms of distribution of food and other items, but the budget does not allow for us to carry out this plan.<sup>30</sup>

The call for greater investment in Ayacucho was not heeded by the government. Huamán's proposals were slowly translated into a demand for the government to exercise greater control over local authorities. He stated in August

<sup>28</sup> CVR. Interview. August 28, 2002.

<sup>29</sup> CVR. Interview. March 18, 2003.

<sup>30</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, March 19, 1984.

The solution is not military, because if it were military I would resolve it in minutes [...] if it were only a matter of killing, Ayacucho would cease to exist in half an hour, the same thing with Huancavelica [...] but we are talking about human lives, of forgotten people who have been making demands for 160 years without a response, and we are now seeing the results [...] the solution, in my opinion, is to correct the situation that exists, that jails are not filled with innocent people, that the judges do not accept bribes [...]. Lima wants to be Peru [...]. We are dealing with the same people who allowed subversion to happen... Aren't they the same people who allowed abuses, the same judges, the same ones who allowed all this to happen? [...] The armed forces are not in charge of the political situation, only the military situation. Being in charge of the political situation means that when you come across an injustice, you can change the authorities immediately.<sup>31</sup>

The new approach taken by Huamán basically meant giving the military commanders greater political autonomy, but it did not signify any major change in the intensity of the violence. On the contrary, the highest number of deaths and disappearances recorded between 1980 and 2000 took place in 1984. There was also a notorious increase in the PCP-SL's terrorist activities. The following table, while depicting aggregate data from the entire country, demonstrates the increase in subversive activity in the emergency zone in the central Andes.

TABLE 2

PERU 1980-2000: NUMBER OF ATTACKS PERPETRATED BY THE PCP-SL, BY YEAR AND MONTH

| YEAR | TOTAL | MESES |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|------|-------|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
|      |       | Jan   | Feb | Mar | Apr | May | Jun | Jul | Aug | Sep | Oct | Nov | Dec |
| 1980 | 219   | -     | -   | -   | -   | 2   | 27  | 40  | 30  | 26  | 41  | 25  | 28  |
| 1981 | 715   | 90    | 29  | 34  | 45  | 75  | 65  | 23  | 71  | 140 | 56  | 40  | 47  |
| 1982 | 891   | 65    | 48  | 60  | 71  | 91  | 90  | 106 | 48  | 64  | 54  | 90  | 104 |
| 1983 | 1,123 | 83    | 52  | 55  | 60  | 41  | 192 | 173 | 70  | 75  | 87  | 166 | 69  |
| 1984 | 1,760 | 93    | 104 | 112 | 105 | 115 | 120 | 288 | 124 | 141 | 185 | 188 | 155 |
| 1985 | 2,050 | 153   | 188 | 118 | 261 | 131 | 261 | 203 | 132 | 155 | 160 | 129 | 281 |

Source: Desco (1989)

In response to the spiraling violence, the president and the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued an official communiqué on July 7 stating that they had given instructions «to eradicate narco-terrorism with the participation of the armed forces.» The government discounted the possibility of declaring a state of siege, but did prolong the nationwide state of emergency for an additional 30 days.<sup>32</sup>

The increase in actions and crimes by the Shining Path was answered by an increase in repressive tactics by the security forces. That led to numerous human rights abuses; 20 percent of the forced disappearances committed during

<sup>31</sup> *La República*, August 27, 1984.

<sup>32</sup> *El Peruano*, July 8, 1984.

the 20-year internal conflict occurred in 1984.

Successive accusations of human rights violations were reported in August 1984, including the assassination of the evangelicals in Callqui-Nisperocniyoc, the disappearance of journalist Jaime Ayala, the discovery of peasant leader Jesús Oropesa's body (Puquio),<sup>33</sup> and the discovery of the common graves in Pucayacu. Human rights abuses on the Los Cabitos military base continued during Huamán's tenure as political-military commander.

The CVR believes that these events, which are only a few of all that took place, should have led the government to undertake a serious overhaul of the anti-subversive strategy. This did not occur.

Huamán was relieved of his command on August 28, 1984, through a communiqué from the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces make public that for the good of the service and according to current norms, on this date the Army has named Second Infantry Division Col. Wilfredo Mori Orzo as political-military commander of the emergency zone.<sup>34</sup>

The CVR found no evidence that the replacement of Huamán was motivated by accusations of human rights violations committed while he was in charge. The widespread practice of crimes and human rights abuses that began in 1983 continued under General Mori Orzo.

## GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

It is clear that Belaunde's administration supported the actions of the political-military commanders between 1983 and 1985, despite accusations of serious human rights abuses and information that the government obviously had about these actions. The decision to involve the armed forces in the anti-subversive effort was made without taking the necessary precautions to protect the rights of the population. Civilian authorities gave the military commanders broad powers and renounced their role in impeding and punishing human rights abuses.

### Undermining rule of law

Article 231 of the 1979 Constitution, which was in place until 1993, allowed for a state of emergency to be declared «in case of disturbance of peace or internal order, catastrophe or grave circumstances that affect the life of the nation.» Such a measure was not to last longer than 60 days, and each extension would require a new decree. The same article stipulated that during a state of emergency constitutional rights related to the inviolability of home and freedom to gather and travel in national territory were suspended. These rights included

<sup>33</sup> His murder occurred outside the emergency zone.

<sup>34</sup> *El Peruano*, August 29, 1984.

inviolability of home (Article 2, Section 7), freedom to choose a place of residence (Article 2, Section 9), the right to peaceful gatherings (Article 2, Section 10), and the right not to be detained without the written consent of a judge or police officers in the case of a flagrant crime (Article 2, Section 20g).

The AP government declared a state of emergency on October 12, 1981, and as of January 1, 1983, it put the armed forces in charge of internal order.

That temporary measure took on a permanent character first in Ayacucho, then in other departments (including the capital) and finally in the entire nation. On May 25, 1983, the cities of Lima and Callao were placed under a state of emergency because of a strike by police officers. The measure was extended to the entire country for the first time on May 30, 1983. The nationwide state of emergency would be declared six more times during the remaining years of the Belaunde government.

The anti-subversive fight developed under conditions in which the population's fundamental rights were violated because there was no clear definition of the functions and attributes implied by military control and there were permanent restrictions on constitutional rights.

### Impunity

The armed forces' anti-subversive strategy in the conflict area was extremely costly in terms of human life. Some people considered this cost inevitable and publicly defended it. In September 1984, Minister of War General Luis Cisneros Vizquerria stated:

[...] we cannot understand that in a war zone, a zone that is practically extraterritorial, we must maintain rule of law. We have given the armed forces the task of eliminating the Shining Path, but when they go to pull the trigger here comes the Attorney General wanting to know if we are going to kill this man, then there is the lawyer, the journalist [...]. There is a tendency to criticize everything the military does in Ayacucho [...] there is the impression that it is the security forces that should be eliminated [...] we talk about human rights in a unilateral manner. There are no human rights in war.<sup>35</sup>

The multiple human rights violations were made public through various accusations, which the AP government saw as part of the political fight by the opposition. That position was expressed by media connected with the administration. For example, political commentator Manuel D'Ornellas stated that the discovery of common graves was «a true political gift for the extreme left,» adding that «the war that we would like to be clean, but which is obviously dirty, was officially declared by the group led by Guzmán.»<sup>36</sup> According to Javier Alva Orlandini,<sup>37</sup> President Belaunde was aware of the

<sup>35</sup> *Caretas*. No. 817, September 1984. In *Desco* 1989: 378.

<sup>36</sup> *Expreso*, August 25, 1984.

<sup>37</sup> CVR. Interview. August 16, 2002.

seriousness of the events and shared Minister José María de la Jara's doubts about declaring a state of emergency and ordering the armed forces to intervene. Nevertheless, the CVR found that after the political-military command was established in Ayacucho, and in the face of the increasing number of crimes committed by the PCP-SL and state agents, President Belaunde did not develop a policy that would guarantee protection of human rights. On the contrary, he chose to overlook accusations of human rights abuses.

In August 1983, Amnesty International sent a letter to President Belaunde maintaining that state security forces had summarily executed hundreds of people in anti-subversive operations in the Andes. Belaunde discarded the report, saying: «The letters from Amnesty International go into the trashcan [...] I don't accept them.»<sup>38</sup>

The AP government's indifference to these crimes was not limited to the executive branch, but also extended to the legislature. The CVR has found that Congress, in which AP held the majority of seats, never formed a commission to investigate forced disappearances, despite numerous accusations. In general, Congress did not fulfill its oversight role in the area of human rights. Coupled with the attitude of the executive branch, that helped create a climate of impunity that the CVR considers deplorable, because it led to the loss of thousands of lives.

The administration headed by Belaunde, however, did progress in strengthening democratic institutions. The AP government reinstated freedom of the press, which had been limited during the long years of military rule, held municipal elections and maintained a clear separation of powers. The preservation of constitutional order in these areas was a valuable tool in resisting the Shining Path insurrection, which was aimed at «the destruction of the old state.» The administration ended with a transfer of power after free and fair elections as stipulated in the 1979 Constitution.

Constitutional order, however, was weakened in one essential area: respect for fundamental human rights. President Belaunde was unsuccessful in stopping the advance of subversion and uninterested in preventing or punishing human rights violations perpetrated by the security forces, to which he had given broad authority over the anti-subversive fight.

One of the final decisions in the anti-subversive fight adopted during the Belaunde administration was the passage of Law 24150, which established the powers of the political-military command:

[...] coordinate the participation of the public and private sectors located in the emergency zone, coordinate and supervise the actions of the sectors, public agencies, departmental corporations and other public sector institutions, request the appointment or transfer of political and administrative authorities in the areas in cases of negligence, abdication, vacancy or other impediments to carrying out their functions [...].

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<sup>38</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, August 19, 1983.

The CVR considers that this norm and the broad powers granted the political-military commands were the outgoing government's stamp of approval for the military strategy that led to massive human rights violations.

### THE APRA GOVERNMENT

The testimonies received by the CVR have allowed it to identify 8,173 deaths and disappearances between 1985 and 1990. Of these, 58 percent were perpetrated by subversive organizations, while 30 percent can be attributed to state security forces. During the first year of President Alan García Pérez's administration, the number of victims declined substantially compared to 1984, the worst year of the conflict. Nevertheless, the second violent peak in the number of victims came in 1989. In addition, violent actions were registered in more areas of the country and more public authorities were killed than at any other time during the conflict, principally at the hands of the PCP-SL. The political-military commands expanded as violence spread throughout the country, implying more restrictions on democratic institutions and judicial independence.

The government and APRA's main political authorities stopped attributing responsibility for human rights violations to the military in 1986, after the massacre of Shining Path inmates during riots in prisons in Lima and Callao — mainly at El Frontón. Civilian authorities adopted an attitude of tolerance for human rights abuses, which allowed for impunity for these crimes and rights violations. Examples include the cases of El Frontón (1896), Parcco Alto and Pomatambo (1986), the Santa Rosa military base in Apurímac (1987), Cayara (1988) and the extrajudicial executions and forced disappearances that followed the confrontation between an Army patrol and MRTA column in Molinos (Junín, 1989).

APRA faced growing opposition from politicians and the media after the failed attempt to nationalize the country's banks in July 1987. Among other things, this new opposition led to an increase in the number of accusations of human rights violations involving the government and the party. Meanwhile, the Shining Path began a campaign of selective assassinations of party members, making APRA the party with the highest number of victims during the internal armed conflict.

In response, the ruling party closed ranks and distanced itself from the rest of the country's political forces and the possibility of forming alliances to guarantee greater political support. This was most obvious in Congress, where APRA lawmakers supported measures to block investigations into serious human rights violations, such as the massacre in Cayara and the participation of paramilitary groups in the anti-subversive fight. That support carried a high political cost.



### APRA and the start of the internal armed conflict

The beginning of the PCP-SL's «people's war» coincided with a reorganization of APRA and the party's role as the principal opposition to the Popular Action government. During the political transition that began with the 1978 Constituent Assembly, APRA was the country's main political force and a stabilizing factor in the political process during this time. After the death of party founder Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in August 1979, APRA faced a number of internal struggles that would lead to its defeat in the April and November 1980 elections.

APRA's opposition to AP's anti-subversive policy was clear from the onset of the conflict. Together with other political parties, APRA's congressional bloc objected to AP's proposal to declare people accused of acts of sabotage and terrorism to be traitors. The party also opposed Legislative Decree 046, passed in March 1981, which defined the crime of terrorism and established the corresponding procedural norms. It was also highly critical of the decision to impose the first state of emergency in Ayacucho as terrorist actions increased in the highlands and Lima.

In addition to opposing the various legal norms proposed by Popular Action to confront the PCP-SL, APRA also denounced human rights violations committed by the security forces. When the congressional opposition called Cabinet members to Congress for hearings on the increase in violent actions, APRA Rep. Javier Valle Riestra, president of the Human Rights Commission, was in charge of preparing the questions.

### APRA and the militarization of the conflict

The APRA administration's initial approach to terrorism must be viewed in light of its opposition to the anti-subversive policies of the AP government that preceded it, which is explained above. The AP's policy led to a «militarization» of the conflict, as the Shining Path stepped up its activities and the Belaunde administration put the armed forces in charge of combating subversion through political-military commands.

García consolidated his power as leader of the APRA during the AP government. A member of Congress, García was elected general secretary of APRA at the end of 1982, at the same time that the government passed the decree putting the armed forces in charge of fighting subversion in Ayacucho. In August 1983, García visited Huamanga to obtain first-hand information about the situation in the region. He received numerous testimonies of violations committed by the security forces. He denounced the problems and demanded that the government rectify its policy in the zone: «[...] the government cannot confuse sanction and punishment with generalized repression [...] in the name of the law, and it cannot treat all residents of Ayacucho as suspects.»<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, August 26-September 1, 1983, No. 231, P. 2.

While García said the PCP-SL was involved in unjustifiable terrorism, he nevertheless sought «historic, social, psychological and regional reasons» to explain it. He said it was a phenomenon that affected areas where «[...] the political system and the parties have no presence, where the Shining Path presented itself as an alternative and where no one is telling these Peruvians that it is a blind alley, wrong and dangerous for the country.» He went on to say that the problem was largely ignored by Peruvian society and that the violence had been separated from its causes and become «[...] charged with ideology and autonomous» (González, 1983b).

According to García, subversion had «[...] ideological components, leaders who were the central agents of terrorism; it also has militants pressured by their social context or direct coercion.» He said it was clear that «[...] what is happening in Ayacucho is not a problem to be addressed on the battlefield, but through intelligence work and development,» and actions were needed that would «remove the central leadership using a well-trained intelligence service» (González, 1983b). «The violence is deep and long-term,» he added, suggesting that a strategy for long-term combat was needed along with a strategy for governance. In reference to the violence, he said «[...] there is the need to create an adequate intelligence apparatus, prison systems that allow inmates to be rehabilitated and, most importantly, a great historic national vision that commits the entire country to nonviolence» (González, 1983b).

APRA remained critical of human rights abuses committed by the armed forces during the final years of the Popular Action government, but without the energy that had characterized its initial reaction when Noel was named the first political-military commander. Some APRA spokespeople defended Noel's replacement, General Huamán, when he was dismissed as described above.

#### THE FIRST YEARS OF THE APRA GOVERNMENT

García was inaugurated on July 28, 1985, in a favorable political climate. He not only received a solid backing at the polls, but his party won a majority of the seats in both chambers of Congress. In his inaugural address, he announced his intention to implement a socio-economic strategy to combat armed subversion. There existed, according to high-ranking APRA leaders, «[...] a belief that a government that could implement a social reform would disarm the insurgency.»<sup>40</sup> About the government's military response to the conflict, the new president said that his administration's commitment was:

[to have no] more considerations than those required by our democratic creed and Christian faith. The law will be applied with severity, even to those who violate human rights with murder, extrajudicial executions, torture and abuse of authority, because to fight barbarity it is not necessary to use barbarity.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> CVR. Interview with Armando Villanueva. October 30, 2002.

<sup>41</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*. July 26-August 1, 1985. Year VIII, No. 327

One of the concrete measures announced by García was the release from prison of people accused of minor crimes. He said that that would be done by a commission of judicial experts who would evaluate the cases of inmates serving time for terrorism and propose options that could include the release of prisoners who had participated in actions that had resulted in deaths. He also announced that the police forces would be reorganized within 90 days.<sup>42</sup>

From the start, García ratified his government's priority of implementing development policies in the country's most depressed areas, especially the «Andean trapezoid.» According to the vice minister of interior, that implied a kind of division of labor: «We discussed how the military and some civilians would be in charge of the anti-subversive fight, while the rest would work on reducing poverty, which would mean that subversion would decline. That's how we would attack it.»<sup>43</sup>

As noted above, a month and half before the change in government, Belaunde approved Legislative Decree 24150. Despite accusations of widespread human rights abuses, the outgoing president increased the power of the political-military commands. The legislative decree effectively institutionalized «the states of exception in which the armed forces control internal order» and placed in the hands of the political-military commands all activities related to internal order. The law effectively limited the power of civilian authorities in the emergency zones.

One of the problems faced by García was the history of tensions and mistrust between APRA and the armed forces.<sup>44</sup> Some of the problems had been overcome in the early 1960s, when Haya de la Torre headed the Constituent Assembly convoked by the military government. The mutual mistrust between APRA and the armed forces, which had begun decades earlier, appeared to take on new force as a consequence of the internal armed conflict. While APRA's criticism of the role of the armed forces in the emergency zone starting in 1983 was harsh, it paled in comparison to the position taken by left-wing parties. Once in office, however, APRA had to establish smooth a relationship with the military that could mesh with the «historic task» that the party planned to carry out and the lack of civilian control over the anti-subversive fight, which the military had been running for the past two years. According to former Vice Minister Agustín Mantilla:

<sup>42</sup> On August 6, the lower house of Congress approved a bill allowing the government to pass the Organic Law and Foundation Law for the Interior Ministry, the Organic Laws of each of the police forces and the Organic Law of the National Intelligence System. Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, July 26-August 1, 1985. Year VIII, No. 327, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> CVR. Interview with Agustín Mantilla. October 24, 2002.

<sup>44</sup> These tensions originated with the brutal military repression of the APRA-led insurrection in July 1931 in the city of Trujillo on the northern coast. When it was obvious that the military had put down the rebellion and retaken control of Trujillo, APRA militants executed several Army officers whom they had taken prisoner. That, along with the massive firing squad deaths of APRA militants after the uprising, fed the deep resentment between the party and the armed forces in the years to come.

[...] there were a series of stumbling blocks. The armed forces had been the government in years past and were coming out of a government that was weak and had ignored them politically, but which had allowed them to do what appeared convenient without placing any obstacles in the way. We encountered an uneasy situation. Psychologically, they were not willing to be subjugated, silenced, managed or told what to do.<sup>45</sup>

APRA was unable to establish its own guidelines for the anti-subversive fight as it did with its socio-economic policies. It did not have proposals or militants trained in security issues who could organize initiatives in that field. A former APRA lawmaker from Ayacucho stated that in the congressional bloc's first meeting with García, he asked that they discuss the anti-subversive issue, specifically how to involve Ayacucho's peasants in the war against the PCP-SL. The proposal was not discussed. In his opinion, «[...] the party did not have a position; it did not have a thesis. When we came to the government, we were blind with respect to the phenomenon of violence [...]»<sup>46</sup>

Former President García remembers that lawmaker, Alberto Valencia, and says he «[...] was right» in his early call to arm communities so that they could defend themselves against the Shining Path, but that in 1985 that idea was unacceptable to political leaders of various parties, not only APRA. According to García, besides a lack of special initiatives the party had serious limitations because «[...] everyone in APRA ran from the issue and it continued to be a military issue; that's true. If the military, police and DINCOTE can solve it, then they should do it, because we don't know how [...]»<sup>47</sup>

Despite those strategic problems, the drop in the number of victims in the first year of the government led APRA to believe that a change was occurring. That sense was strengthened by the MRTA's announcement of a unilateral truce. While there was an overall decline in the number of attacks and sabotage, the violence continued to expand beyond the Ayacucho countryside to new areas. In May 1985, only a few weeks after the APRA victory, Luis Aguilar Cajahuamán, mayor of Pasco and a newly elected member of the lower house of Congress, was murdered. His death marked the beginning of a Shining Path assassination campaign targeting APRA lawmakers, governors and local council members throughout the country that would last several years. The PCP-SL declared war on the APRA government and responded to the possibility of peace talks with murder.<sup>48</sup>

### Changes in the Interior Ministry and the Police Forces

As noted above, when the PCP-SL launched the «people's war,» the government at the time ran into a number of difficulties, including problems in the police forces. Not only were the police forces suffering from corruption related to drug

<sup>45</sup> CVR. Interview with Agustín Mantilla. October 24, 2002.

<sup>46</sup> CVR. Interview with Alberto Valencia. September 11, 2002.

<sup>47</sup> CVR. Interview with Alan García. May 7, 2003.

<sup>48</sup> "The Shining Path's declaration of war." *Caretas*, May 13, 1985. P. 16.

trafficking, but their three divisions — the Civil Guard, Republican Guard and Investigative Police of Peru — were embroiled in internal conflicts that basically paralyzed them.

In response, García announced a reorganization of the police forces. With the passage of a law restructuring the police, Interior Minister Abel Salinas headed a commission that announced a number of measures, including a purge of many high-ranking and beat officers. Besides officers who had questionable records, a number of highly qualified officers were also purged. The following year, the government undertook an effort to equip the forces, buying vehicles, weapons, information systems and other items that also improved the state's ability to fight armed subversion.

### **Alternatives for addressing human rights abuses**

Early on in the new government, in September 1985, came reports of common graves from Army massacres in Pucayacu, where seven people were killed, and Accomarca, where 69 people lost their lives. The government immediately announced an investigation and demanded reports from the commanders of the Second Military Region and the political-military commander of the emergency zone. With evidence of the massacres in hand, the government demanded the resignation of the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and fired the regional commanders and the head of the political-military command. The quick response was a marked change from the previous administration.

Sen. Valle Riestra, president of the Human Rights Commission, highlighted the obligation of those responsible for the anti-subversive effort to be accountable for human rights abuses. Beyond the investigations into the events in Pucayacu and Accomarca, it was clear that defense of human rights was a priority for the new government. Shortly after these events, the government created the Peace Commission to introduce pacification as a component of the anti-subversive policy.

The Peace Commission members included Judge Mario Suárez Castaneyra; Bishop Augusto Beuzeville; Fernando Cabieses, a physician; Diego García Sayán, a lawyer; César Rodríguez Rabanal, a psychoanalyst; and Alberto Giesecke, a scientist. Besides advising the president on issues related to human rights and pacification, the commission's task was unclear. The commission worked without any real support from the government or the political parties, and the members resigned in December. As one commissioner stated, the commission created expectations that were difficult to meet because the conditions it encountered «[...] were exclusively geared toward dealing with certain effects or manifestations of violence, such as detention-disappearance, innocent people in prison, proposals for legal norms for dealing with the problem of violence, etc.»

The president attempted to revive the effort in early 1986, reorganizing the Peace Commission with some of the original members, but without the participation of the Catholic Church. In June, the Peace Commission had a purely formal role during the uprising at the prisons. Shortly after the prison massacre,

the Peace Commission released a report on its actions and requested authority to investigate. The members resigned on July 11, 1986, and the commission was never reactivated.

### The impact of the prison massacre

By June 1986, there had been a decrease in the number of deaths in the zones that had been hardest hit. In addition, the MRTA had called a truce, which was significant even though the group was not as strong as the PCP-SL; some members of the armed forces had been punished for human rights abuses, a reorganization of the police forces was under way, and the state had initiated a program of social investment in areas that had been most affected by the violence. The economy was expanding and the government enjoyed a high approval rating.

While those circumstances may have raised hopes for an end to the violence, there were also troubling signs. The Shining Path had been hit hard in the emergency zone, but it was gaining strength in other areas with its selective assassinations. As we have noted, the PCP-SL constantly harassed the government to, as Abimael Guzmán stated, «remove its progressive mask» and force it to show its «repressive underside.» That position translated into an agreement by the PCP-SL leadership «to induce APRA to genocide» with no thought for its own cadres who would be killed as a result.

Following its plan, the PCP-SL launched a campaign to assassinate APRA members and attack party offices and public institutions. It also stepped up its ambushes of the armed forces, trying to also force them to respond with «genocide.» The PCP-SL killed Rear Admiral Carlos Ponce Canessa, a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and head of the Navy, in May 1986. After the murder, the Navy Ministry demanded reinstatement of the death penalty, and the Navy's commander general attacked the «pseudo institutions that defend human rights.»<sup>49</sup> Shortly thereafter, the PCP-SL attempted to kill Alberto Kitasono, APRA's organizational secretary, who escaped unharmed. Three APRA militants and a passerby were killed, however.

The PCP-SL also began to gain strength in the country's jails, which it considered «shining trenches of combat,» battlefields where it could continue to wage the people's war and where the plan to «induce APRA to genocide» spread. There were also precedents of prison riots that had ended with multiple deaths, such as one by inmates jailed on ordinary criminal charges in Lima's El Sexto prison in 1984, and particularly one in the so-called «British cellblock» in Lima's Lurigancho prison. The PCP-SL also took advantage of conditions in the prisons, which were neglected by the state, to take control over what went on in various cellblocks.

The situation in the prisons, which was already critical when García took office, was aggravated in the wake of the October 4, 1985, uprising in Lurigancho's «British cellblock.» The Republican Guard violently put down the uprising by inmates accused of terrorism. More than 30 inmates were killed, but

<sup>49</sup> *La República*, May 7, 1986; *Hoy*, May 7, 1986.

the government did not investigate the events. Over the following months, PCP-SL inmates began demanding guarantees from judicial authorities, and in June 1986 they filed several civil rights protection suits, alleging that their lives were in danger. Shortly before his interrogation before the Fifth Correctional Court, Shining Path leader Antonio Díaz Martínez announced that there was «[...] a new genocidal plan being prepared by the government to be applied to inmates in different jails around the country.»<sup>50</sup> The PCP-SL's tactic was to try to force the APRA government to «induce genocide» while publicly accusing it of planning do to so.

The uprising by Shining Path inmates that led to the massacre in the prisons in Lima and Callao began on June 18, 1986, with prisoners taking hostages at the Lurigancho, El Frontón and Santa Bárbara prisons. At the time, Peru was hosting a meeting of the Socialist International organization. After an initial attempt to control the situation with mediation by the National Penitentiary Institute, judicial authorities and members of the Peace Commission, the Cabinet decided «[...] that it was necessary to re-establish order in the prisons as energetically as the law allowed, preserving – when possible – the lives of the hostages and imposing authority» by assigning the task to the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces.<sup>51</sup>

The Air Force quickly re-established order at the Santa Bárbara prison. Three inmates were killed in the operation. The Army was in charge of restoring order at Lurigancho, taking over from Republican Guard. After securing the cellblock where the PCP-SL militants had rioted, authorities killed 124 inmates who had already surrendered. The Navy was in charge of El Frontón. The situation there was more violent and lasted another day because the inmates had three rifles and many homemade weapons. Three Navy officers were killed, as were 111 inmates, according to official statistics. President García partially acknowledged that a massacre had taken place by visiting Lurigancho several days later. At the time, the prison massacre was considered the most serious case involving the government.

The Cabinet's initial assessment of the events during a meeting on June 18, 1986, was correct in seeing the riot as a «provocation by the PCP-SL,»<sup>52</sup> but that judgment contradicted the decision to put the armed forces in charge of regaining control of the prisons «as quickly as possible.» In most of the six official communiqués issued during the riots and subsequent repression, the administration deliberately misinformed the country about the decision to involve the military. The Peace Commission's dissuasive role was a mere formality, as the members were unsure whether the inmates had heard the only request, made over a loudspeaker, that they reconsider their actions. Judicial and prison authorities were blocked from taking action before the military operations began. Hundreds of inmates were killed.

While the government acknowledged that extrajudicial executions were

<sup>50</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, June 13-20, 1986. Year IX, No. 371.

<sup>51</sup> Report of the Ames Commission. P. 245.

<sup>52</sup> Minutes of the Cabinet meeting on June 18, 1986.

committed at Lurigancho, the CVR has found that executions were also carried out at the San Juan Bautista de El Frontón prison. The events at El Frontón, however, could never be investigated because of a cover-up that began on June 19 with a supreme decree declaring the prisons a restricted military zone and preventing district attorneys and judges from independently examining the events.

While the government could not have predicted the extremes of the military operation, it did possess information that should have allowed it to take precautions and even order that the rioting prisoners not be killed. Instead, the government backed the actions of the security forces. During the Cabinet meeting on July 19, the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces were congratulated for having quelled the prison riot.

From that moment on, the government adopted an ambiguous position regarding its responsibility for anti-subversive policy and the armed forces' actions. Military leaders, meanwhile, further distanced themselves from the civilian government in making decisions about implementation of the anti-subversive strategy.

Despite the seriousness of the events at the prisons, García's popularity increased among various sectors of the population that demanded a heavy-handed approach to dealing with the PCP-SL. At the same time, García attempted to appear as a defender of human rights, promising to sanction those responsible. He made an impressive offer, saying, «Either they go or I go.»

The Shining Path exploited the bloody episode, which fit perfectly into its plan to force the government to commit human rights abuses. The subversive organized turned the victims into martyrs for the cause. On the PCP-SL calendar, the anniversary of the massacre became the «Day of Heroism.»

The executive branch's explanation of the events at the prisons was presented in September, when the lower house of Congress held hearings to question the Cabinet. Congress named an investigatory commission, but it did not operate during the first year. Retired General Fernández Maldonado, a United Left senator, was chosen to preside over the commission, but he refused to accept the post. The commission began operating in 1987 under the leadership of Sen. Rolando Ames, also of the United Left.

The commission's report stated that the forces responsible for putting down the riots carried out extrajudicial executions in Lurigancho, while in El Frontón the Navy bombed the Blue Cellblock knowing that there were inmates inside. The report also stated that there were efforts to cover up the crimes committed by the security forces and called on Congress to take constitutional actions against the ministers involved, as well as against President García as soon as his term ended. The report was signed by only a minority of the commission members, however, because APRA lawmakers refused to back it. Nevertheless, the report did have wide support among all opposition parties and was widely publicized.

After the prison massacre, the PCP-SL continued its campaign of selective assassinations. In October 1986, a PCP-SL command attacked Vice Admiral Gerónimo Cafferata, former commander general of the Navy. This was followed



by the murders of two APRA leaders in Lima's Huaycán and Horacio Zevallos shantytowns. The government and APRA reacted to be the events by naming Sen. Armando Villanueva party secretary again and giving him the task of organizing an «anti-terrorist plan.»

The government proposed several new laws, including one to create special courts to try terrorism cases and another to change the list of crimes that soldiers might commit in the line of duty, eliminating «excesses» as an excuse for human rights violations. The second law was aimed at increasing the credibility of the government's efforts to stem abuses. On January 15, 1987, a series of bombings caused alarm in the capital. Several APRA offices had been attacked a week earlier, when APRA's Jorge Del Castillo took office as mayor.<sup>53</sup> This wave of attacks on private and public installations ended in late January with the murder of César López Silva, a physician who served as APRA's secretary of professional issues.

The security forces moved into public universities and carried out numerous raids in Lima's shantytowns in the following months. The urgency of the situation led to reforms in the Interior Ministry's General Intelligence Bureau. The executive branch also proposed increasing sentences for crimes related to terrorism and illicit use of the media to promote subversion with a law penalizing apology for terrorism.<sup>54</sup>

Debate over creation of a Defense Ministry began at this time. The idea was that the armed forces would be represented in the Cabinet by a minister appointed by the president. The proposal met resistance in various political circles as well as in the armed forces, which publicly rejected the change, arguing that it would reduce their influence. The law creating the Defense Ministry was passed in March 1987, but it had no real impact on the anti-subversive fight. It seemed that the government no longer had the energy or conviction for such a reform. Retired Army General Enrique López Albújar became the first defense minister in October 1987.

#### APRA AND THE NATIONWIDE SPREAD OF THE CONFLICT

Terrorist attacks began to multiply in the second quarter of 1987 as the economic situation deteriorated quickly. The economic program based on price controls, subsidies and stimulation of demand had reached its limits. At the same time, President García made a surprise announcement in Congress – decreeing nationalization of the banking system. The decision sparked fierce opposition from the business sector, Popular Action and the Popular Christian Party, giving rise to the Liberty Movement (*Movimiento Libertad*) led by Mario Vargas Llosa.

The debate over nationalizing the banks was heating up when Rodrigo Franco, a young APRA militant and president of the state-run company in charge of distributing basic foodstuffs and other goods (*Empresa Nacional de Comercialización de Insumos*, ENCI), was murdered. Franco's death hardened the position of the

<sup>53</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, January 16-22, 1987. Year X, No. 402. P. 1.

<sup>54</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, February 27-March 5, 1987. Year X, No. 408. P. 1.

government and APRA and reinforced the party's idea that the war against subversion needed the support of the entire population. A month later, APRA's assistant secretary for national affairs, Nelson Pozo, was also assassinated by the PCP-SL. The government turned to the armed forces, seeking to rebuild the links that had been lost with the creation of the Defense Ministry. The armed forces, however, had already decided to undertake their own redefinition of the strategy for the internal armed conflict.

New criticism of the government's use of the Interior Ministry began to surface. After José Barsallo was appointed interior minister, opponents charged that the ministry was at the service of APRA. Paramilitary actions targeting subversive organizations also began, including an attempt to bomb the offices of *El Diario*. Personnel linked to Interior Ministry were blamed for the failed bombing. In an interview with the CVR, Barsallo revealed the mistrust in the government and the tensions with the armed forces. «[...] I knew where all the generals and commanders of the Army, Navy and Air Force were. I knew perfectly well where they were, because it was my job and I was not going to let them carry out a coup.»

The president's actions during a party meeting further increased the climate of tension and distrust between the government and the armed forces. In an attempt to encourage the party's youth, García highlighted some characteristics of Shining Path militants to justify the importance of commitment to the party. At the opening session of the Seventh National Congress of APRA youth in May 1988, the president said:

And we must recognize how the Shining Path has its militants active, committed and willing to sacrifice. We must recognize something that they have and that we do not have as a party [...] wrong or not, criminal or not, the Shining Path militant has what we don't have: mystique and willingness to give of oneself [...]. These are people who deserve our respect and my personal admiration because they are, whether we like it or not, militants. They are called fanatics. I believe that they have mystique, and part of our own self-criticism, my fellow delegates, is to recognize that anyone who is willing to face death, to give up his life, has mystique.<sup>55</sup>

### **The assault on Juanjuí**

While the MRTA had announced in 1986 that it was ending its «truce» with the government and APRA, the appearance of MRTA guerrilla columns in San Martín at the end of November 1987 took police by surprise. The Special Operations Bureau had been established just three months earlier and was not yet ready for action. The press gave wide coverage to the situation in Juanjuí in the days following the November 6, 1987, assault on the city. President García called on the media «[...] to assume an important responsibility, because if we are going to give the terrorists the importance they are looking for we will become their

<sup>55</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, July 1-7, 1988. Year XI, No. 475. P. 1.

principal collaborators.» He added: «The war will be severe and will last for a long time.» Interior Minister José Barsallo played down the attack, saying it was «a show put on by the MRTA» and repeating the comments his predecessors had used earlier in the decade to dismiss the terrorist threat. A state of emergency was declared in the department of San Martín on November 10 and the Army was sent in to control the zone. The legal left-wing parties had a strong presence in the department and there was a great deal of social unrest among the peasants.

The Front to Defend the Interests of the People of San Martín called a department-wide strike on November 17 and 18 to protest the state of emergency. The people of San Martín wanted to take advantage of the situation created by the new front in the war and the new regionalization process to press for economic and social change.

In mid-May 1988, the Army entered the community of Cayara after a PCP-SL ambush of a military patrol. The Cabinet released an official communiqué denying «an alleged massacre of peasants.» After peasants who had witnessed the massacre came forward, a commission of Cabinet ministers, representatives of the Attorney General's Office and members of Congress visited the zone. President García visited the area himself, and officials began to change their version of the massacre. One month later, a special commission set up by the Senate and headed by Sen. Carlos Enrique Melgar visited the area and began its own investigation, in addition to one already under way by the district attorney. The district attorney and the Senate commissioners received conflicting reports, and several witnesses either disappeared or were killed. District Attorney Carlos Escobar presented his initial findings, concluding that a massacre had indeed taken place. Escobar was removed from the case shortly thereafter, replaced by another district attorney who agreed with Sen. Melgar's opinion that no massacre had occurred in Cayara.

Nevertheless, a minority report from the Melgar Commission, which included much more supporting evidence, found that unarmed peasants had definitely been killed in Cayara shortly after a Shining Path ambush on a military convoy. The report stated that the political-military commander in the zone, Army General José Valdivia Dueñas, was responsible. The case was closed in 1990.

Meanwhile, Sen. Armando Villanueva was named Cabinet chief and announced that he would preside over a new inter-ministerial commission that would take over leadership of and responsibility for anti-subversive efforts. The Anti-Subversive Coordinating Commission began operating on July 3, 1988, and appeared to be a replacement for the National Defense Council, which had been dissolved after the reform of the National Defense System and creation of the Defense Ministry. The commission, however, did not produce many concrete results, and the executive branch seemed to take a back seat to the armed forces in the fight against subversion (Obando 1991:381).

In his state of the nation address on July 28, 1988, President García made a call for national unity. He denounced the unscrupulous use of information that jeopardized the security of judges and prosecutors, and proposed returning

responsibility for investigation of terrorism cases to the police and training police officers to avoid legal errors that could ultimately benefit people detained on terrorism charges. One such case had been the acquittal of well-known PCP-SL leader Osmań Morote. García also proposed a new law that would sanction «[...] illicit association for terrorism and people who distribute fliers, falsify documents or advocate terrorism.»<sup>56</sup> A second bill proposed by the president would control the use of arms and explosives. The two bills were included in Law 24953, passed in December 1988, which established that the intellectual authors or instigators, co-authors or accomplices of terrorist acts would receive the same sentence as the person who carried out the crime. The law again defined as a terrorist act association with, inciting or advocating terrorism. In June 1989, the government passed Law 25031, which modified Law 24700, putting the police in charge of pre-trial investigations and the Special Corrections Courts in charge of trying terrorism cases.

The special commissions created in Congress were originally seen as a logical consequence of the demands that APRA had made of the ruling party during much of the AP government between 1980 and 1985. As the conflict worsened, however, most APRA lawmakers lost enthusiasm for the investigations and closed ranks behind the administration and the party, undermining the original purpose of the commissions. This created an odd situation in which Congress continued to create special commissions, implying that the state did recognize that a problem existed, but the panels' majority reports almost always favored the government, often negating the commission's purpose and fostering impunity.

An example was the Special Senate Commission to investigate the causes of the violence and formulate alternatives for bringing peace to the nation. The commission was created in April 1988 amid increasing subversive violence and a worsening economy. The commission confirmed that while the government had «guidelines for an anti-insurgency policy,» it had not developed «an integral and integrated strategy.» In addition, the commission stated that the military operations were based on doctrinaire manuals that were outdated and inadequate for combating subversion in Peru. The commission presented to the Senate 18 recommendations for a comprehensive pacification strategy, including citizen participation, a national pacification accord, complementary policies for different sectors, linking the National Defense strategy to development and social welfare policies, rejecting concepts foreign to the nation's reality, creating a human rights ombudsman, and reinforcing the National Intelligence Service. The Senate approved the report but did not act on any of the commission's proposals. Sen. Enrique Bernales, who headed the commission, stated in a later report:

The government understood that these recommendations would not force it to change its conduct and undertake a complete review of the anti-subversion policy. This was a serious mistake by both sides. The Senate

<sup>56</sup> Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, July 22-August 4, 1988. Year XI, No. 478-479. P. 2.

should have demanded compliance with the recommendations it approved, and the government should have accepted that it was time to involve the population in a national commitment to pacification (Bernaes 1990: 179).

### APRA IN THE FACE OF THE CRISIS

The government presented a package of gradual economic adjustment reforms in September 1988, ending the plan for economic change instituted by APRA. The lack of resources for the anti-subversive effort was obvious at a time when the conflict was spreading to other parts of the country and security forces needed to expand. It was impossible to maintain the socio-economic component of the anti-subversive policy under those conditions. The deepening economic crisis and spiraling inflation eroded the government's popular support.

The armed forces, meanwhile, were systematically studying their anti-subversive experience and developing a comprehensive anti-subversive policy that not only gave the military control over the fight against terrorist violence, but granted it a role in the new political configuration of the country.

The new strategy was designed without the direct participation of the administration or Congress. Meanwhile, the police forces independently developed an intelligence strategy for fighting terrorism. This occurred while the administration was seeking an alternative to the National Defense Council and while Congress was unable to pass anti-subversive legislation based on the recommendations of its own Special Commission.

By mid-1989, eight departments were under a state of emergency: Lima, Apurímac (except for the Andahuaylas province), Huancavelica, San Martín, Junín, Pasco, Ayacucho, Huánuco and the Constitutional Province of Callao. The departments under a state of emergency represented 33 percent of the nation's territory and 36 percent of its 1,770 districts, which meant that officials in those areas ran a serious risk of being targeted by the Shining Path's assassination campaign. An increasing number of local authorities left their posts between 1987 and 1989. Abandonment of elected office – a situation not contemplated in the law – became widespread in the departments affected by subversion or under a state of emergency, particularly Junín, Lima, Ayacucho, Huánuco, Apurímac, Ancash, Huancavelica, Pasco, La Libertad, Puno and San Martín.

TABLE 3

PERU 1989: MUNICIPAL POSTS ABANDONED, BY DEPARTMENT

| Department   | # of provinces in the department | # of province where posts were abandoned | # of districts in affected provinces | # of district councils affected | # of district post abandoned | # of provincial posts |
|--------------|----------------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Junín        | 8                                | 6  | 108                                  | 55                              | 201                          | 5                     |
| Huánuco      | 9                                | 9  | 74                                   | 38                              | 53                           | 8                     |
| Lima (*)     | 9                                | 5  | 88                                   | 31                              | 67                           | 15                    |
| Ayacucho     | 11                               | 8  | 81                                   | 13                              | 20                           | 10                    |
| Apurímac     | 7                                | 4  | 45                                   | 18                              | 37                           | 12                    |
| Ancash       | 18                               | 9  | 96                                   | 20                              | 44                           | 2                     |
| Huancavelica | 8                                | 4  | 57                                   | 12                              | 15                           | --                    |
| Pasco        | 3                                | 3  | 29                                   | 9                               | 14                           | --                    |
| La Libertad  | 9                                | 2  | 21                                   | 7                               | 6                            | 15                    |
| Puno         | 11                               | 3  | 36                                   | 3                               | 7                            | --                    |
| San Martín   | 9                                | 7  | 57                                   | 12                              | 19                           | 9                     |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>74</b>                        | <b>60</b>                                | <b>692</b>                           | <b>218</b>                      | <b>483</b>                   | <b>75</b>             |

(\*) With the exception of the districts in Metropolitan Lima (42), the total is 128 districts. Source: Pareja, 1990, pp. 8-16

On March 27, 1989, the PCP-SL attacked the police station in Uchiza, in the department of Ucayali, killing 10 officers. The attack revealed the lack of coordination among state agencies, as requests for backup went unanswered and the officers were left alone to face a much larger enemy force.

In the meantime, peasant patrols in the Apurímac River Valley had defeated a group of Shining Path cadres. According to APRA Rep. Alberto Valencia (Ayacucho), the patrols represented «[...] 42 communities in the Sachabamba Valley of Huamanga and 58 hamlets around the Apurímac River.» Valencia supported the patrols over the objections of the Army and his party. The head of the Civilian Self-Defense Patrols in the Apurímac River Valley, known as Commander *Huayhuaco*, made his first public appearance, stating that «[...] if the government gave me no more than 100 rifles, 100 FALs, and allowed for oversight by a group of conscientious officers, I would return peace to Ayacucho by November or December.»

The armed confrontation between a column of MRTA fighters and an Army convoy on April 28 outside Molinos, Jauja, is described in the preceding chapter. President García traveled to the zone almost immediately and was seen inspecting the bodies of MRTA fighters and some local residents. The images were widely publicized in the media. The fact that some of the MRTA fighters had been summarily executed after surrendering or being wounded was ignored.

May was the most violent month of 1989. APRA Rep. Pablo Li Ormeño was assassinated on May 6 and the Cabinet resigned. Sen. Luis Alberto Sánchez, one of APRA's old-guard leaders, was named Cabinet chief and Agustín Mantilla was appointed to head the Interior Ministry. The PCP-SL called an «armed strike» for May 10 in the departments of Junín, Huánuco and Pasco. The president flew to Huancayo in an effort to calm the fear that had gripped the city, which was now under military control. Another successful «armed strike» was called a few days later in Huancavelica. In the first week of June, the PCP-SL called «armed strikes» in provinces surrounding Lima.

On June 6, during the presentation of the new Cabinet before Congress, Defense Minister General Velázquez Giacarini explained the actions the government would take to deal with subversion, describing the number of subversives in the country and where they operated. He announced plans to strengthen the intelligence service, organize peasant self-defense patrols, stage an offensive against support groups outside the country and create a special fund to finance the anti-subversive fight.

### The Rodrigo Franco Command

On July 28, 1988, only a few hours before the president's annual Independence Day address, Manuel Febres Flores, president of the Democratic Lawyers Association and attorney for PCP-SL leader Osmán Morote, was murdered in Lima. A new group, the Rodrigo Franco Command (*Comando Rodrigo Franco*, CRF), took credit for the killing. The group was named for the APRA leader who had been assassinated a year earlier by the PCP-SL. Various sources began to link the CRF with APRA, the Interior Ministry and the National Police.

After IU Rep. Heriberto Arroyo and APRA Rep. Pablo Li Ormeño were murdered, Congress had set up a commission to investigate the paramilitary group. The commission attempted to highlight events and circumstances that would link the paramilitary group to APRA, including the government's decision to buy new weapons for the police, a radical APRA youth wing and internal problems in the party due to the murders of active party members.

On May 31, 1990, during the House of Representatives' last legislative session under President García's administration, the special commission investigating the CRF presented two reports. The minority report affirmed the existence of the paramilitary group and pointed to possible links to Interior Minister Agustín Mantilla. The majority report, signed by Commission President Rep. César Limo, stated that there was no evidence proving the existence of the CRF. Instead, he accused three IU lawmakers of association with terrorism. Congress approved the majority report, but struck out the accusations against the IU representatives. With this vote, one of the final ones cast during the García presidency, Congress again rejected accusations of crimes committed by state agents.

The CVR believes that the large number of actions attributed to the Rodrigo Franco Command and the variety of areas where the actions occurred make it difficult to believe that the crimes were committed by a single organization. It is possible that the command's name was used by different perpetrators who were not necessarily connected with one another.

### **Elections and the subversive threat**

If 1984 was one of the years with the highest death tolls during the internal war, 1989 was the year with the most assassinations of authorities and elected officials. Of the politicians killed throughout the decade, 68 percent of political officials and 71 percent of municipal authorities were killed in 1989. According to preliminary data, 33 percent (53) of the provincial and district mayors killed between 1980 and 1995 were assassinated in 1989. Of these, 45 percent were members of APRA.

The CVR received reports of approximately 500 municipal and political authorities who were killed. That does not include the community authorities and other traditional leaders who held leadership positions in indigenous communities far removed from the national political scene. The largest groups of victims were district mayors and appointed lieutenant governors. For both groups, 1989 was the most violent year.

The impact of threats, attempted murder and assassinations forced hundreds of district and provincial authorities to abandon their jobs. Before the local elections in November 1989, 576 local authorities had abandoned their posts. Of these, 431 (75 percent) were from APRA and 80 (14 percent) were members of the IU. The provinces of Lima, Huánuco and Junín were hardest hit by these resignations.

In the local elections, there were no candidates in 15.37 percent of the country's districts. Also in 1989, 17 justices of the peace were killed, representing

40 percent of all those killed between 1982 and 1995. The majority lived in rural zones, where the lack of protection was most pronounced, and they were often assassinated with families and neighbors. The scope of this campaign of selective assassinations did not receive sufficient attention from the country's political class, particularly in Lima.

The 1990 general elections were marked by the highest rate of absenteeism in 10 years of democracy. Absenteeism exceeded 40 percent in the departments of Ayacucho and Huancavelica, while it was close to 50 percent in the departments of Huánuco and Junín. Pledges by the Interior Ministry, police and military to increase protection did not convince voters.

### **The final phase of the APRA government**

In December 1989, amid a rapid decline in his popularity and general pessimism about the future of the anti-subversive effort, President García presented rifles to peasant patrols in the community of Rinconada Baja, Ayacucho. The government had decided to provide logistical support to the peasant patrols, a decision that was controversial then and remains controversial today.

Meanwhile, following the lead of civil society organizations and local politicians, residents of the cities of Huancayo and Huamanga held marches to protest the Shining Path's «armed strikes.» In November 1989, shortly after the local elections, the PCP-SL called an «armed strike» in Lima. The strike was countered by a march by tens of thousands of people through the downtown area. Unlike other efforts, the march brought together a wide spectrum of citizens and political organizations. The demonstration was called by Henry Pease, the IU presidential candidate, and supported by his rivals in other left-wing parties, APRA and FREDEMO, as well as civil society groups, church organizations, etc. The PCP-SL strike failed.

The Special Intelligence Group (*Grupo Especial de Inteligencia*, GEIN) was created within the DIRCOTE during the final year of the APRA government. This group would go on to arrest Abimael Guzmán Reinoso two years later. Police Lieutenant General Reyes Roca, then Superior Director of the Technical Police, was given the basic resources needed to organize the group. On June 1, 1990, the GEIN raided a safe house near Army headquarters where Guzmán had been staying only a few days earlier. The safe house also housed the PCP-SL's Department of Organizational Support, which organized party congresses and Central Committee meetings and coordinated communication between the central leadership and party organizations. Officers seized the PCP-SL's general archive in the raid. The GEIN also struck at the Party Support Group, which was in charge of distributing PCP-SL propaganda. That was important because this group also coordinated the network of safe houses and had a list of contacts for the various PCP-SL organizations. The GEIN, which was reinforced by Interior Minister Mantilla, was effective even though it operated with a budget infinitely smaller than those of other police units.



Police efforts under the APRA government, however, were overshadowed by the July 9, 1990 jailbreak by the 47 MRTA inmates, including Polay, Gálvez and Rincón, through a tunnel built into the Miguel Castro Castro prison. The MRTA escape exposed the precariousness of the country's maximum-security prison and the limitations of the intelligence services, which had not detected a 300-meter tunnel that had been dug over several months. In addition, the MRTA was able to regroup as a result of its leaders' escape, further aggravating the country's security problems. In an interview with the CVR, however, MRTA leader Víctor Polay denied that the escape had worsened the security problem.

The escalation of the internal armed conflict during the APRA government is best seen through statistics. In 1985, 6.04 percent of the nation's population and 7.25 percent of Peruvian territory were under a state of emergency or under the control of a political-military commander, while in 1990, 45.18 percent of the population and 29.62 percent of the territory were under a state of emergency (Lynch 1999).

Like President Fernando Belaunde's administration, the APRA government failed in the fight against subversion. While the administration began with the intention of changing the Popular Action government's practices, which had been marked by abdication of civilian control and a blind eye to human rights abuses, it did not maintain that position and fell back on methods that militarized the conflict and permitted impunity for crimes committed by the armed forces against the population. President García and APRA, in the CVR's judgment, are ethically and politically responsible for numerous human rights violations and the suffering inflicted on thousands of citizens during a process of violence that they did not know how to handle effectively within the limits of rule of law.



## CHAPTER 4

### THE STATE SECURITY FORCES

As has been mentioned above, the constitutional governments of the 1980s failed to design a comprehensive anti-subversive strategy that would have enabled them to effectively combat the PCP-SL and the MRTA while still respecting human rights. The state security forces — the police and armed forces — also made analytical and strategic mistakes that considerably delayed an effective response to subversion. Serious human rights violations were committed under the Popular Action and APRA governments. Only in the late 1980s and early 1990s was an appropriate strategy finally developed, involving cooperation with the civilian population and efforts to gather and use reliable information, which led to the strategic defeat of the subversive groups.

#### THE POLICE FORCES

Officers of the various police forces were the first targets of the Shining Path's terrorist tactics. With the goal of eliminating representatives of the state in rural parts of the Andes to create a «new power,» from the beginning of the so-called «armed struggle» the PCP-SL targeted police stations in small communities in the interior of the country, which were generally poorly equipped and ill-prepared to face an organization that staged surprise attacks and almost never engaged in open combat.

The state responded early to this aggression by changing the type of police presence in areas where the PCP-SL operated. Police officers who had been trained mainly for preventive and guard duties were replaced with anti-subversive patrols trained to destroy the enemy and strike fear into its collaborators, rather than to protect local people and their rights. Pursuit, capture and interrogation were the new police tactics.

During this process, the police forces – there were three branches of the police force until 1988, when they were merged into the National Police of Peru – were placed under the command of the military in places where political-military commands were established. Under these circumstances, police officers were generally limited to auxiliary functions and had to invent opportunities to carry out their specialized tasks of investigation. Intelligence work improved in the late 1980s with the creation of various intelligence units, which played a key role in dismantling the national PCP-SL leadership.

During the decades of internal armed conflict, the police committed numerous violations of people's basic rights; at the same time, they were hard hit by the subversive organizations, which they were poorly equipped to face. During the years of violence, the police forces suffered the greatest number of victims in their history: 682 dead, 754 wounded and 101 disabled according to a police report submitted to the CVR.

#### FROM CONFUSION TO A SLOW LEARNING PROCESS

When the violence unleashed by the PCP-SL began, the police were divided into three branches: Civil Guard (*Guardia Civil*, GC), Republican Guard (*Guardia Republicana*, GR) and Investigative Police of Peru (*Policía de Investigaciones del Perú*, PIP). It was this three-pronged organization, which lacked firm government support and had few logistical and financial resources, that was given the initial responsibility of confronting the subversive threat that had taken the country's political system by surprise.

The lack of a solid, consistent government position on the subversion, mentioned above, created a basic difficulty for the police forces. On the one hand, there was a lack of reliable information; on the other, civilian authorities failed to understand the significance of the PCP-SL and tended to consider subversion a problem that could be solved relatively easily.

The police forces also faced other difficulties. The political transition's legacy of social unrest made it difficult to distinguish between the legal left and its protests, which fell within the existing legal framework, and the new threat from the PCP-SL, which was illegal and diametrically opposed to the rule of law. In addition, the police had other fires to fight, mainly common crime and another problem that was taking on increased importance and demonstrating its ability to corrupt – drug trafficking.

Added to this was an institutional problem that has already been mentioned in various sections of this book: the rivalries among the different police branches, which sometimes reached the extreme of public confrontations between top officials or violence between lower-ranking officers. This infighting, combined with the increasing corruption that permeated the PIP's Intelligence Office, a key link in the fight against subversion, seriously undermined any timely, effective response to the new challenge.

This was the institution that the PCP-SL chose as its first target. The choice had a certain symbolic force, because in rural areas the police, especially the Civil Guard, were the most visible face of the state – and not always a

friendly face. On the contrary, in many communities the police were part of the local power structure, where they established authoritarian relationships and committed abuses against citizens.

Beginning in the early 1980s, the police suffered from attacks unleashed by the Shining Path in campaigns dubbed «conqueror weapons and resources», «beat the countryside with guerrilla actions» and «strike to advance toward the construction of support bases.» It must be remembered that in May 1981, the PCP-SL leadership had approved the directive to pay for the triumph of the revolution with a «blood quota,» paving the way for the madness that was demonstrated in attacks on police stations.

In 1981, the police stations in Quinua, Luricocha and Tambo were attacked. The first police officer killed in the conflict, Sergeant Ramiro Flores Sulca, died in the attack on the station in Quinua on August 15. Seven weeks later, another fierce attack, this time on the police station in Tambo, led to the first declaration of a state of emergency in Ayacucho. President Fernando Belaunde's government sent 193 police officers to the area to enforce it, including 40 members of the special forces known as the Sinchis. A high-level police command, formed by colonels from the three police branches, implemented a plan known as the Vivanco Joint Operations Plan, in honor of a police officer who was mortally wounded in the attack in Tambo.

During this first 60-day period of joint action, the police arrested important PCP-SL members in Huamanga, while suffering no fatalities. In rural areas, however, the lack of personnel made more effective control difficult. In addition, the police interventions were accompanied by violations of the population's basic rights. The CVR heard testimony from one woman who was raped by a group of seven hooded Sinchis when she was 14 years old. The woman said they burst into her home on October 28, 1981, forced her into a car, raped her, and then took her aloft in a helicopter, tying a rope around her feet and dangling her in the air to force her to confess to her alleged participation in the attack on the Tambo police station.

Meanwhile, the Investigative Police had arrested other people outside Ayacucho, and the situation was becoming more difficult for the subversive organization. The PCP-SL planned jailbreaks, the largest of which occurred March 2, 1982, in Huamanga. The escape of 254 prisoners from the Huamanga prison took the police by surprise even though the Republican Guard had warned authorities about the plan. The deaths of two police officers — Florencio Aronés Guillén and José Rea Conde — in the jailbreak was followed by reprisals by a group of Republican Guards, who killed three accused subversives in a local hospital where they were recovering from wounds. The government re-established the state of emergency in the area the following day.

The raid on the Huamanga prison to release prisoners demonstrated the Shining Path's ability to organize effective attacks on protected facilities. The group continued to demonstrate its firepower with successive attacks on police stations, until the director general of the Civil Guard ordered a retreat to larger installations. That left the field clear for the PCP-SL, and the situation in Huanta and Huamanga grew more chaotic.

Encouraged by these moves, the PCP-SL intensified its offensive. On March 26, cadres attacked the Ayzarca hacienda, near Parcco and Pomatambo; on March 31, they targeted the main police headquarters in Vilcashuamán.<sup>1</sup> It was now clear that the police could not continue fighting the Shining Path without improving the conditions under which they operated.

Officers lacked equipment, weapons were obsolete and ammunition scarce. There was also a lack of coordination with jurisdictional headquarters and community police stations. Lack of equipment and coordination dragged down morale among officers.

Another problem was the relationship with the population. This was most notable in the case of the Sinchis. Although these officers were trained in anti-subversive tactics, their training was of little help in dealing with the challenge posed by the Shining Path cadres: without uniforms, they blended into the local population. As a result, the Sinchis began to suspect everyone, and that, added to the abuses they committed, widened the gap between the police and the civilian population. A stereotype soon emerged of the Sinchi as the perpetrator of abuse, torture and rape – an image borne out by facts. Torture and arbitrary detention were common practices of the Sinchis, as was rape, not only of adult women, but also of adolescents. One of the first cases to spark public outrage was the rape of Georgina Gamboa, who was 17 when she was raped by seven Sinchis in January 1981. In a CVR public hearing, Ms. Gamboa recalled the events as follows:

They beat me. They beat me, then they started to abuse me, to rape me. They raped me all night long. I screamed for help. They stuffed a handkerchief in my mouth, and when I screamed and asked for help they hit me. I was devastated. They raped me that night. There were seven of them. Seven soldiers. Seven Sinchis came in and raped me. One would go out and another would come in; he would go out and another would come in. I was practically dead. I didn't feel normal any more. The next day, when daylight came, they threw me onto a truck like a corpse or an animal carcass and took me to Cangallo. I was a prisoner in Cangallo, too.

From the beginning, efforts were made to justify the human rights violations committed by the anti-subversive forces. One excuse used was that they were in a state of tension because of the hostile environment and threat of being targeted at any minute by the Shining Path. Committing human rights violations – referred to as «excesses» – was also a way of taking revenge for the violence inflicted upon them by the subversives.

Besides the police efforts in the Andean area, a division of PIP's State Security Office began carrying out specialized anti-subversive investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> Police jurisdictions have a main headquarters and network of minor police facilities that are run by headquarters.

The Anti-Terrorism Division (*División Contra el Terrorismo*, DICOTE), which was briefly called the Anti-Subversive Police Division (*División de Policía Antisubversiva*, DIPAS), was established in March 1981. It was conceived as an operational unit — for investigation — rather than an intelligence unit. In the months that followed, DICOTE, which worked intensively under less-than-ideal conditions, was the only unit that achieved constant, consistent results in the fight against the PCP-SL.

Overall, however, the confusion of this early period resulted in a loss of valuable time that ultimately gave the Shining Path an advantage. The element of surprise combined with official vacillation and negligence played into the subversives' hands.

#### THE POLICE DURING THE MILITARIZATION OF THE CONFLICT

The relationship between the police forces and the armed forces has traditionally been one of both emulation and contempt. Military disdain for the police was accentuated in the early 1980s because of the latter's failed anti-subversive efforts and the lack of discipline they displayed in the emergency zone. When President Belaunde Terry gave the armed forces control over the emergency zones by establishing political-military commands, the military took on the task with the certainty that they would quickly achieve the success that had eluded the police. Thus began the phase that the CVR calls «militarization of the conflict,» which would last from December 29, 1982, until June 19, 1986.

The government's new policies formally subordinated the police to the military. Exercising his authority, the first head of the political-military command in Ayacucho met with top police officials so that they would emphasize their preventive functions. Under the new scheme, the police were to share reliable information with the military and participate in joint patrols with soldiers, always under the command of an Army officer.

Meanwhile, as the PCP-SL's activity expanded, soldiers began to capture more and more people whom they assumed were subversives. The detainees were taken to military bases such as Los Cabitos in Huamanga, where they were interrogated with help from the staff of the local PIP office.

Nevertheless, in the early days of the political-military command, armed interventions fell mainly to the police. As a result, the police felt the need to recruit more personnel and provide specific training to those who would be sent to the theater of operations.

The training mimicked the methods used at the Panama-based School of the Americas and other U.S. bases: having trainees kill animals and rip out their entrails with their teeth, as well as lacerate their own bodies and resist the pain without complaint, and recording the practices on film and in photographs. There were also ritual practices for group bonding; according to testimony received by the CVR, one of the most chilling may have been the «baptism» of new arrivals who lacked combat experience. The baptism consisted of killing a terrorism suspect with a dull knife. Describing the situation faced by police officers who arrived in Ayacucho, one agent told the CVR that it was «[...]

disastrous, because people were arriving from Mazamari. They had us, the new recruits, inside there [in the military base] and they said, 'Now you're going to get your baptism.' Every time they came and brought a detainee, you knew [...]»

That training kept pace with the increase in various types of human rights violations committed by security forces: arbitrary killings, forced disappearance, torture and rape, of which women were the main victims. The crimes were covered up by the institutions involved. The CVR is convinced that by protecting thieves, rapists, torturers and murderers, the police commanders, as well as the governments and judiciary, facilitated the increase in the number of victims.

One of the police crimes that had the greatest repercussions was the massacre in Socos, a community in the province of Huamanga. On November 13, 1983, police officers burst into a house where an engagement ceremony was taking place. After arguing with the community members attending the ceremony, they forced the people out of the house and took them to a place called Balcón Huaycco, where they were murdered. In all, 32 people from Socos died. Officials tried to cover up the crime, but a judicial investigation confirmed the events and established that a crime had been committed.

Along with these crimes, other forms of abuse also proliferated, including the theft of goods, food and animals from the rural population, robbery motivated largely by the police's severe shortage of supplies. Police officers, meanwhile, suffered from the effect of the shortages, isolation and fear, which began to translate into an increase in alcoholism and drug dependency (especially cocaine base paste) among police in the emergency zone.

### The work of DIRCOTE

While the military was moving into Ayacucho, DICOTE was pursuing its tasks in Lima without setting aside institutional conflicts. The annual turnover of leadership changed the unit's situation. A ministerial resolution issued on July 5, 1983, changed DICOTE's rank and name to the Anti-Terrorism Bureau (*Dirección Contra el Terrorismo*, DIRCOTE). By the end of the year, the office had a staff of approximately 150 agents. The unit's main tasks fell to five operational groups called Delta groups, each of which had 10 to 15 members.

During that year, the unit's work bore its first significant fruits. The detectives had gained greater knowledge of how the Shining Path operated and acted, at least in Metropolitan Lima. DIRCOTE, therefore, focused its activities on the PCP-SL's Metropolitan Committee — «the ones who had the bombs,» one agent told the CVR — and dealt it some debilitating blows. It was partly because of this that within the PCP-SL, the group known as the People's Support Committee (*Socorro Popular*) began to take on greater importance. Socorro Popular became a militarized organization and replaced the Metropolitan Committee as the PCP-SL's central organization in Lima.

The PIP also made some progress in Lima. In December 1983, the PIP office in Huaraz, under the direction of Col. Héctor Jhon Caro, detained Antonio Díaz Martínez, who had been a top PCP-SL leader from the group's early days.

These arrests, however, did not have a significant impact on the PCP-SL,



because many of the subversive leaders who were detained were quickly released because of deficiencies in the judicial system.

Nevertheless, DIRCOTE paved the way for a different way of operating that was more coherent than the indiscriminate persecution of alleged terrorists taking place in the central highlands. DIRCOTE improved its logistics after the end of the Belaunde administration. Between 1985 and 1986 the government agreed to put DIRCOTE on equal footing with the police services in the emergency zones.

During those years, the number of agents assigned to DIRCOTE increased, enabling the bureau to create more operating groups to divide up the work. Beginning in 1984, DIRCOTE prepared a weekly report of terrorist activities nationwide, gathering and analyzing information submitted by departmental PIP offices. In 1985, that task was turned over to the Delta group commanders, each of which was assigned certain departments of the country.

The new government enabled DIRCOTE to offer its personnel slight incentives and improve its organization. It was given greater freedom to work as long as it was accountable afterward. Greater autonomy and better coordination, however, did not translate into clear policy. There was support, but not a true anti-subversive policy, and the new government also failed to rectify that shortcoming.

### **Support and search for counterbalances**

The new APRA government's greater interest in the police forces was due, among other things, to the need to balance the excessive decision-making power that the armed forces had been given in the fight against subversion. The García administration sought to increase civilian control over the use of public force, and with that goal in mind, it established a particularly smooth relationship with the police.

Efforts to increase the police's influence ran into an increasingly serious difficulty: deep-rooted corruption in the police forces, mainly associated with drug-trafficking cartels. Corruption had reached embarrassing proportions. On August 2, 1985, for example, it was revealed that the former PIP director, General Eduardo Ipinze, and other high-ranking officers were protecting the drug-trafficking ring run by Reynaldo Rodríguez López.

Reorganization of the police forces began on August 14, 1985 with the passage of Law 24294. One of the most relevant provisions of the law was the dismissal or retirement of a large number of commissioned officers and lower-ranking personnel. The criteria for this purge were not well designed, however, and resulted in the removal not only of corrupt officers and those implicated in crimes, but also of honest, competent members of the forces.

The Foundation Law of the Police Forces (Legislative Decree 371) regulated and extended the reorganization. One important component of this legislation was classifying the police as a professional, not a military, force (Article 5). The law created a single directing office, the General Bureau of the Police Forces, while maintaining top-level offices of the Civil Guard, Republican Guard and Investigative Police as operational offices. Nevertheless, tensions among the

## EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS IN SOCOS (1983)

On November 13, 1983, in the district of Socos, 18 kilometers from the city of Huamanga, only 200 meters from the Civil Guard police station, Adilberto Quispe Janampa asked for Maximiliana Zamora Quispe's hand in marriage in a traditional ceremony known as *yaycupacu*.

At about 9 p.m., when the future bridegroom and some of the guests were preparing to leave to meet his future wife, a patrol of former Civil Guard members burst into the house and told the people to go home, because they only had permission to have a social gathering until 8 p.m. Most of those present had been drinking liquor and reacted by protesting the police intervention. The police fired into the air, asked to see the identity documents of the people present, then ordered all the guests out of the house.

When they had left the house, they were ordered to walk single file toward a place called Quebrada de Balcón, half an hour from Socos. The police stopped in Allpa Mayo, where they separated the young women from the group and raped them.

Later, the peasants were taken to Balcón Huaycco where, at about 2:30 a.m., they were shot point blank. The police then piled the corpses together and detonated grenades so that the bodies would be covered by rocks and earth shaken loose by the explosions. The only survivor was María Cárdenas Palomino, who fell down an embankment and therefore was not shot. At dawn, when the patrol went away, María Cárdenas left her hiding place and returned to Socos, where she told her family and neighbors what had happened.

Despite statements from plaintiffs and witnesses and efforts to cover up the deeds, the police were unable to keep word of the case from reaching officials. On November 15, the judge, the District Attorney and Investigative Police officers arrived in Socos from the city of Ayacucho. The officials, along with relatives of the victims, went to the Balcón Huaycco ravine, where they found the bodies of 29 people.

Based on the complaint filed by relatives and testimony gathered through the media and by the Public Ministry, the provincial district attorney of the Second Mixed Provincial District Attorney's Office in Huamanga, Óscar Edilberto Guerrero Morante, filed a formal criminal complaint against the 26 agents who were members of the Socos police detachment at the time — under the command of Lieutenant Alberto Dávila Reátegui — for the aggravated murder of 32 residents of Socos and attempted aggravated murder of María Cárdenas Palomino.

At the request of the Public Ministry, a police investigation was launched by the Investigative Police of Ayacucho. Despite statements from witnesses that members of the Police Detachment of Socos were directly responsible for the crimes, the police report concluded that “[...] we cannot discount the

police forces continued.

While the García administration saw equipping police combat units as a priority, it neglected the need to strengthen intelligence units. The priority continued to be operational. The greatest support came from Agustín Mantilla, who first served as vice minister and later minister of the interior, who allowed top-ranking police officers greater access to decision-making spheres.

#### THE CREATION OF DOES AND THE MATURING OF DIRCOTE

The prison massacres that occurred on June 18 and 19, 1986, which have been discussed elsewhere in this book, marked a turning point in the conflict, with the violence taking on a nationwide scope.

The focus of the police's anti-subversive work began to change, largely as a result of the deterioration of the situation: an increase in bomb attacks and assassinations by the PCP-SL, including the death of APRA leaders, and an escalation of the MRTA's actions in Lima. That year, a state of emergency and curfew were declared in Metropolitan Lima, and the armed forces were given control over internal order.

The government created and equipped the Ministry of the Interior's General Bureau of Intelligence (*Dirección General de Inteligencia del Ministerio del Interior*, DIGIMIN), which was charged with producing intelligence information for top ministry officials. Once that information had been analyzed, it was disseminated to DIRCOTE and other operational units in the form of intelligence notes. The type of information generated, however, did not have tactical value for operational units like DIRCOTE, which continued to take a back seat among the government's priorities. Instead of using police intelligence to combat subversion, the government preferred to use militarized police forces. To that end, it created the Special Operations Bureau (*Dirección de Operaciones Especiales*, DOES). In other words, it insisted on pursuing a purely military solution.

The first DOES graduating classes consisted mainly of lower-ranking officers who had recently graduated from the National Police School (*Escuela Nacional de Policía*) and done their mandatory military service. As the conflict worsened and the number of emergency zones increased, the number of police killed and wounded rose. It became necessary to increase the number of agents as quickly as possible.

The DOES members became the elite police force during this stage of the conflict and were sent to reinforce various police detachments in the emergency zones, which now included a large part of the country. Besides serving as backup units, they carried out operations in various parts of Peru, including Puno, where several officers died. In 1990, the unit's name was changed to DIROES PNP. After the change in police structures in 1991, the bureau was considered a national operational body and renamed the National Bureau of Special Operations (*Dirección Nacional de Operaciones Especiales*, DINOES).

While DOES served as the focal point for anti-subversive operations and increased the combat capacity of one police group sent to the emergency zones, most of the police in those areas were not from DOES and lacked adequate

possibility that the authors of the crime of terrorism and multiple homicide with firearms were members of the PCP-SL.”

On February 8, 1984, the judge of the First Criminal Court of Huamanga opened a case for manslaughter and attempted homicide. Once the instruction stage was complete and the final reports issued by the judge and the Public Ministry, the Superior Court district attorney of Ayacucho, Gualberto Altamirano Guevara, drew up the formal accusation, seeking 25 years in prison for the police officers involved.

When the oral trial was finished, the First Mixed Chamber of the Correctional Tribunal of Ayacucho handed down its decision on July 15, 1986, sentencing 11 of the defendants (six of them Sinchis) for the murder of the 32 residents of Socos and the attempted aggravated murder of María Cárdenas; the defendants were also required to pay civil reparations of 120,000 intis to the victims’ legal heirs. The ruling acquitted 15 members of the police force who did not take part in the crime.

The sentence was upheld on September 30, 1987, by the Second Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court, which also imposed an accessory sentence of total suspension during the time of the prison sentences and for five years thereafter. The sentence of total suspension meant that the police officers could not return to active duty for five years after their release from prison. A review of the records of some of the police officers sentenced, however, shows clearly that the penalty of suspension was not enforced.

While the CVR recognizes that judicial authorities sentenced those responsible for the deeds, despite attempts to cover up the crime, it regrets that the payment of civil reparations to the victims’ families was not made and that five of those sentenced were reinstated by the police, even though they were officially suspended.

anti-subversive training. The creation of DOES also failed to improve the police's treatment of the civilian population in the emergency zones. The police were still abusive and authoritarian, and human rights violations continued.

The next year, 1987, was marked by a serious setback — MRTA's assault on the city of Juanjuí — and serious tensions between the government and lower-ranking police officers because of the police forces' serious economic problems. The police officers' wage demands, along with their complaints about the treatment they received from their commanders, were indicators of the unfavorable conditions under which they were combating subversion.

On December 6, 1988, a law was passed that modified certain articles of Peru's Constitution and created the National Police of Peru (*Policía Nacional del Perú*, PNP). Thereafter, this institution would assume the organization and functions of the police forces (Civil Guard, Investigative Police and Republican Guard), with all their rights and obligations. The merger itself, however, which was met with as much doubt and hesitation as the preceding reorganization, was put off until the next administration.

Amid this scenario of institutional upheaval and economic shortfalls, DIRCOTE agents sought resources to unite and motivate their personnel. The efforts quickly led to significant achievements, including the August 17, 1987 arrest of Alberto Gálvez Olaechea, *Rodrigo*, a journalist working for *Cambio* and a member of the MRTA.

By 1988, DIRCOTE had nearly 1,000 members. With a staff that size, it was possible to take a broader view of subversion in the country. The increase in the amount of information gathered soon exceeded the group's ability to process and analyze it. DIRCOTE requested assistance from the United States to train analysts. By that time, DIRCOTE had direct contact with U.S. diplomatic personnel, including the staff of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and, occasionally, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), basically to coordinate security measures for U.S. facilities and delegations visiting the country. At the time, it was also receiving technical cooperation from the Israeli Embassy.

During those years, DIRCOTE detained top leaders of the subversive groups, especially the MRTA. In February 1988, several months after Gálvez's arrest, MRTA leaders Hugo Avellaneda and Peter Cárdenas Schulte were detained at Lima's airport as they were trying to leave the country with Ecuadorian passports. One particularly important arrest was that of Osmán Morote Barrionuevo, the PCP-SL's second-in-command. On February 3, 1989, MRTA founder Víctor Polay Campos, *Rolando*, was arrested by chance at the Tourist Hotel in Huancayo. A few months later, on April 16, 1989, MRTA leader Miguel Rincón Rincón was detained. Another important break for DIRCOTE during those years was the arrest of subversives responsible for the murder of the naval attaché of the Peruvian Embassy in Bolivia, Juan Vega Llona.

In 1988, the head of DIRCOTE, Javier Palacios, attended a course on political warfare at the Fu Hsing Kang School in Taipei, Taiwan. One of the most relevant parts of the course was its emphasis on ideology as a battleground, which made all subversive movements essentially political. Viewed from this broader standpoint, Peru's strategy for combating subversion was very limited,

as the DIRCOTE chief pointed out in a presentation to the Center for Superior Military Studies (*Centro de Altos Estudios Militares*) in 1989, a recording of which was heard by the CVR.

Police constantly complained about the judicial system, which too often released Shining Path and MRTA militants after their arrest, alleging lack of evidence. In many cases, however, the releases were the result of bribes or fear of reprisals from subversive organizations.

The judicial system's main problem in relation to police work was the presentation of evidence during the pre-trial investigation. An already tense situation was aggravated by the approval in 1987 of Law 24700, which gave the Public Ministry responsibility for conducting pre-trial investigations in terrorism cases. The relationship between the police forces and prosecutors continued to deteriorate until that law was struck down in 1989. Complicating the matter were the tense relations between the police and the military, problems in the prisons and the political class' lack of an appropriate response to the problem. Terror spread, along with the sense that the government had lost control.

This cycle closed with a tragic event that also demonstrated the depth of the crisis: the PCP-SL's attack on the police station in Uchiza. The attack in this small city in the middle of a coca-growing area in San Martín resulted in the destruction of the police station and the capture and murder of 10 police officers, including three who were executed by the subversives after being subjected to a so-called «people's trial.» Faced with a much larger enemy force, officers at the Uchiza station repeatedly called for backup, but their requests went unheeded. The Ministry of the Interior had timely information about what was happening, but failed to provide assistance to the police station. After the attack, the armed forces began to take the place of the police in the coca-growing zones, and a new battleground emerged.

#### THE GEIN'S PROGRESS AND POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONTROL

The Special Intelligence Group (*Grupo Especial de Inteligencia*, GEIN) was created within DIRCOTE during the final months of the APRA administration. The group would achieve what had seemed impossible: the arrest of Abimael Guzmán Reinoso.

Although the group was formally part of DIRCOTE, it began to work independently of the bureau's day-to-day operations. In fact, the group was formed to resolve discrepancies that had arisen between the new head of DINCOTE, Edgar Suella Flores, and Benedicto Jiménez, the unit's capable analyst. In the months that followed, arrangements were made to obtain resources for the new group. The U.S. government, through the CIA, was one of its most important supporters. The same would be true later with other DIRCOTE groups.

The group's objective represented a quantum leap in the approach to combating the PCP-SL: a shift from striking at the subversive group's military apparatus to dismantling its political apparatus. The task of counteracting the Shining Path's armed actions was left to the other operational groups (the Delta forces).

GEIN began its intelligence operations on March 5, 1990, using data — an address and a telephone number — that had been on file for nearly five years. On June 1, it scored its first victory when agents searched a house in Lima's Monterrico neighborhood where Abimael Guzmán had been living until just a few days earlier. The house was the base of operations for the PCP-SL's Organizational Support Department (*Departamento de Apoyo Organizativo*, DAO), the central apparatus in charge of organizing party events and relaying orders from the central leadership to party committees and other groups. In the house, agents also found a list of contact information for members of the central PCP-SL groups, including pseudonyms, telephone numbers and addresses.

While the GEIN suffered from logistical limitations, its strength lay in knowledge agents had acquired in the fight against subversion. The information gathered was used to determine the identity, functions and whereabouts of PCP-SL leaders. It was painstaking work that required a great deal of patience. Only months later — in 1991 — after arduous work, the GEIN was able to identify the members of the PCP-SL Central Committee.

While progress was being made on that front, a serious controversy was brewing over the apparently increasing political nature of the police under the APRA government. As a result, and amid investigations into the ties between the former interior minister and the «Rodrigo Franco Command,» one of the first measures adopted by the government of Alberto Fujimori was an extensive purge of the PNP. It is now known that the decision had another motive: Vladimiro Montesinos, Fujimori's adviser, was interested in stopping the investigation into the drug-trafficking organization run by Rodríguez López, which would have revealed Montesinos' ties with drug traffickers.

Under the Fujimori administration, the armed forces were once more given a position of supremacy that the preceding government had tried to counterbalance. This move, as would come to light much later, paved the way for an extensive corruption network that reached the highest levels of the state — a network that would also have a hand in management of the police. The post of interior minister went to a series of Army generals, which naturally gave them control over the National Police of Peru. Military officers also took charge of the entire ministry structure, especially the top posts.

Despite initial difficulties, GEIN's work continued. The information gathered by the group led to new operations for tracking PCP-SL leaders. In December 1990, PNP General Héctor Jhon Caro was named director of DIRCOTE. In that post, he provided greater support to the operational groups and proposed to Javier Palacios that a special group similar to GEIN be established to beef up the search for the top leaders of the subversive groups. Palacios would baptize that group the Special Brigade of Detectives (*Brigada Especial de Detectives*, BREDET) in 1991, when he went to seek economic backing from the U.S. State Department.

Palacios was removed from his DINCOTE post that same year after refusing to carry out an order from Montesinos, who wanted BREDET to issue warrants for the arrest, on terrorism charges, of people who, except in one case, had no criminal record to justify such action. By January 1991, GEIN had 20 agents. While Commander Marco Miyashiro led the group, Major Jiménez was

in charge of the operations department. In a raid shortly thereafter, GEIN seized important PCP-SL material, including a videotape that showed the entire Central Committee. It also found detailed information about the PCP-SL's First National Congress.

After this significant blow to the subversive organization, the intelligence services took greater interest in GEIN's work. In addition to initial cooperation from the Navy, the National Intelligence Service (*Servicio Nacional de Inteligencia*, SIN) provided funding. In exchange for support however, Montesinos asked DIRCOTE to allow a group of SIN analysts to examine the documents that had been collected. The SIN analysts (who were military) would supposedly provide support for the intelligence work being done by GEIN and BREDET. A few years later, several of the analysts placed in GEIN by Montesinos were fingered as members of the death squad known as the Colina Group.

From mid-1991 on, tensions grew between the police and military officers sharing the DIRCOTE facilities. There was intense jealousy and fierce competition among the intelligence services over information that would lead to the arrest of subversive leaders, especially Guzmán Reinoso.

A year into the Fujimori administration, it was clear that the government lacked a clear state security policy. The decision to dismiss police officers had not been accompanied by other, more comprehensive proposals. Besides the ongoing rivalry among police forces that were theoretically united, there were new cases of human rights violations, crimes and corruption.

For several years, the only significant change the government made in the police force was to complete the unification of the different branches by issuing a new organizational chart that, along with other innovations, eliminated the top offices of the different branches, which had been considered operational offices of the PNP. In their place, the government created a centralized structure with specialized operational units for combating certain crimes such as terrorism or drug trafficking. Each police force had a strong identity, however, and that institutional history and identity continued to carry heavy weight throughout the decade.

Amid these changes, DIRCOTE was raised to the status of operations unit within the PNP and its name was changed to the National Anti-Terrorism Bureau (*Dirección Nacional Contra el Terrorismo*, DINCOTE). This enabled DINCOTE to obtain more resources and improve its performance considerably. A new commander was appointed after the name change. In November 1991, the head of the unit, Héctor Jhon Caro, was removed from his post unexpectedly, apparently for political reasons. In December, PIP General Antonio Ketín Vidal was named to head DINCOTE. After the restructuring, new operations were carried out that led to the arrest of what was left of the People's Support Committee and the head of the Shining Path's propaganda tool, *El Diario*, as well as the second arrest of many MRTA leaders. Of particular importance were the arrests of PCP-SL members linked to the César Vallejo Preparatory Academy. Information obtained through these arrests would lead to Abimael Guzmán's detention.

Under the new structure, GEIN and BREDET continued with the existing work plan, although with new names: DIVICOTE-1 and DIVICOTE-2 (Anti-



Terrorism Intelligence Divisions), respectively.

On September 12, DIVICOTE-1 began the final phase of Operation Captain Carlos Verau Asmat, which ended with the raid on a house in the Lima neighborhood of Surquillo, where Abimael Guzmán Reinoso, Elena Iparraguirre Revoredo, Laura Zambrano Padilla and María Pantoja Sánchez, leaders of the PCP-SL Central Committee, were arrested. With the operation successfully concluded, DINCOTE director Vidal personally escorted Guzmán and the other prisoners to the police unit's facilities.

The CVR believes it is crucial to highlight that behind this resounding success lay a long process of police work and learning. In DINCOTE's case in particular, it must be noted that since the bureau's establishment as a division (DICOTE, in 1981), its agents had engaged in a gradual, cumulative learning process rather than simply carrying out a previously designed plan. The steps to be taken were defined once the investigations were under way and depended on the progress being made.

The arrests made by DINCOTE's various special intelligence groups were also the result of dedicated work carried out exclusively by the police. The DINCOTE police agents' performance (and later that of DINCOTE) was the fruit of successive decisions by the heads of the various operational and special groups that were part of the unit throughout its long history.

Based on its investigations, the CVR believes that these accomplishments ran counter to the path chosen by the government of Alberto Fujimori. As will be seen in the next chapter, the government had decided that its main base of power would be the armed forces — or, more precisely, the military top brass — and had opted for an anti-subversive policy based on a military solution. President Fujimori had given absolute control of the conflict to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the anti-subversion decrees issued at the time of the 1992 coup transferred many police functions to the Army. Given this shift, Guzmán's arrest surprised top government officials, who were unaware of the operation.

The arrests in September 1992 — not only of Guzmán, but also of many other PCP-SL leaders — marked the subversive organization's strategic defeat. At the same time, however, they caused ill will among the armed forces and their intelligence services, which could not forgive the police for inflicting the decisive blow without prior consultation and for having announced the news themselves. The Fujimori administration went to the extreme of dismantling DINCOTE instead of providing it with the expected support for work that was about to reach a decisive conclusion.

In the new authoritarian climate, the SIN, under the real but unofficial direction of Vladimiro Montesinos, became the government's preferred agency. Decrees related to national pacification reinforced the SIN. The service, which had been a small, bureaucratic body until 1990, became the government's political apparatus and gradually assumed a variety of illegal functions.

In addition, the administration crafted an official version of «pacification» that was not based on fact. The revised version attributed the PCP-SL's defeat to the armed forces, particularly decisions supposedly made by the commander of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Nicolás Hermoza Ríos and SIN-led investigations and operations. This version of events was one of the

banners that President Fujimori waved during his re-election campaign in 1995.

Over the years, interest in DINCOTE — and, consequently, funding for the group — dropped off. In 1996, however, a wave of attacks by the PCP-SL faction led by Óscar Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*, would bring back memories of GEIN's efficiency and underscore the error that had been made in disbanding the group.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

While acknowledging the merits of the police force's work during the 1990s, the CVR also believes that it is necessary to examine the human rights violations committed under the protection offered by the legal and institutional regime established by the coup of April 5, 1992. The anti-terrorism decrees issued by the government beginning in 1992 expanded the possibilities for discretionary action by the police while sidestepping rules or limits. One particularly deplorable manifestation of this was the way the «repentance law» functioned. Laxly enforced, without precautions that should have been indispensable for ensuring the credibility of information gathered in exchange for benefits, the repentance system turned many people into victims of false, inexact or exaggerated accusations. A single accusation was enough for the accused person to be arrested, indicted and often convicted.

According to testimonies received by the CVR, the police forces were responsible for 6.6 percent of the deaths and disappearances of Peruvians during the years of the violence. That puts them in third place behind the PCP-SL (53.68 percent) and the armed forces (28.73 percent). In general, the fight against subversion reinforced the repressive, authoritarian practices that already existed within the police as an institution. In a closer analysis of the type, frequency, place and date of human rights violations perpetrated by the police, it is vitally important to differentiate between two types of patterns or behaviors.

First, there are certain violations of fundamental rights that are closely linked to traditional police activity in Peru: unlawful and indiscriminate detentions — the practice of detaining to investigate instead of investigating and proving a crime before detaining — and the mistreatment and torture of prisoners. Torture by the police was a systematic, generalized, extensive practice. Unlike other, more focused types of human rights violations, such as extrajudicial execution or forced disappearance, torture was practiced by the police throughout almost the entire country. The same was true of unlawful detention. Without clear strategies or plans, the police frequently resorted to these methods amid generalized violence that made them seem permissible, especially given the lack of official controls and sanctions.

Second, it must be noted that the pattern of violations by police personnel in the emergency zone echoes that of the armed forces. That does not mean the police did not commit human rights violations independently; nevertheless, empirical evidence shows that the forced disappearances and arbitrary

executions attributed to the police were concentrated in the departments that were under a state of emergency and the control of a political-military command, such as Ayacucho, Apurímac, Huancavelica and Junín.

Finally, it is also important to note police responsibility in the crime of sexual violence against women, especially rape. The CVR found that these crimes occurred during police raids in communities in the emergency zones, as well as in police stations and prisons. They were sometimes used as methods of torture to obtain information or self-incrimination, and were generally an ignominious way of exercising power and abusing victims. This practice was aggravated by cover-ups and other guarantees of impunity that police commanders and other state officials granted to the perpetrators.

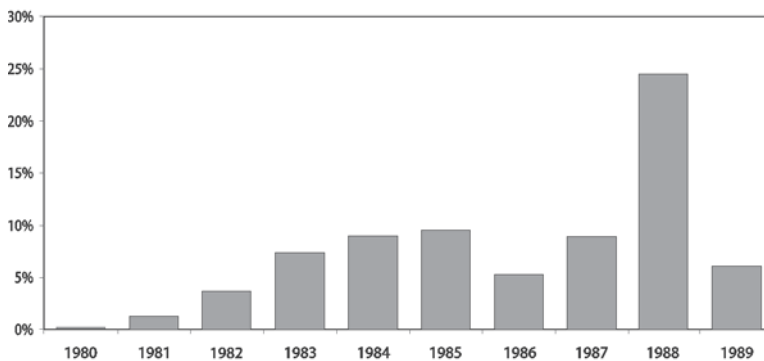
### THE ARMED FORCES

In 1980, there was no clear connection between national policy and military strategy. The ideas about security held by politicians and incipient civil society at the time adhered to rigid principles and were abstract, disconnected and out of context. At the same time, the military's doctrines and professional abilities were not designed to help resolve the problem. That gap became evident with the return to democracy, and the PCP-SL planned to take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the state.

The «people's war» declared by the PCP-SL, as well as the one launched shortly thereafter by the MRTA, were attacks against peace, democratic self-determination and Peruvians' fundamental rights. Although it faced an internal enemy that had arisen among its own people, the democratic state had the right to defend itself with the force of arms, because a legitimate government can justly defend itself against unjust insurrections. With that in mind, the CVR has attempted to determine the extent to which human rights violations committed by members of the armed forces against the population during the conflict responded to general policies and strategies of the armed forces.

TABLE 1

PERÚ 1980-1989: ANNUAL PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL TERRITORY UNDER STATE OF EMERGENCY



Source: Joint Chiefs of Staff

## THE UNACKNOWLEDGED INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT AND INAPPROPRIATE STRATEGY

The first two months of the PCP-SL's «prolonged people's war from the countryside to the city» preceded the transfer of power by the so-called Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces, which was led by General Francisco Morales Bermúdez. It is clear that the military government did not recognize the seriousness of the threat posed by the PCP-SL. In any case, it considered the transfer of power to a civilian government more important, and knew that the process would be more difficult if it occurred while a military campaign was being launched against a domestic enemy. Besides, in the 1970s many political groups talked about the possibility of armed struggle. It was not easy to determine if one of them, or which one, had started taking concrete steps in that direction.

The circumspection with which the matter was handled is understandable given the ideological convictions of the time. The only military activity that responded to the hypothetical threat of subversion was the formation of an anti-subversive unit within each infantry division, and this was done according to the textbooks and the experience of the 1960s. As part of the transition to a civilian government, the military was careful to maintain an important margin of decision-making over defense policy. It must also be remembered that Morales Bermúdez negotiated with Belaunde to ensure that the military commanders under his regimes remained as the heads of the different branches of the armed forces. Responsibility — and authority — for security remained in the same hands. Thus the top military commanders at the start of the Belaunde administration were simply carried over from the outgoing government. The clearest signs of this partial transfer of power were the detailed secret laws for the National Defense System issued by the military government in June 1980, shortly before Belaunde took office.

The Peruvian Armed Forces returned the government to civilians with the idea that Peru's Marxist left would be kept in line by elections, and if subversive violence broke out, it would be dealt with the way the problems of Argentine Montoneros in Lima had been managed. The PCP-SL, however, did not abide by that logic.

Proof of the ignorance of both the Belaunde government and the armed forces about the true nature of the problem was the disparity between the foreign defense budget requested by the legislature and the funds earmarked for fighting subversion. In the previous decade, under the military dictatorship, Peru had spent excessively on weapons and military installations in an effort to increase its regional and global geopolitical importance. The hypothetical case of a war against Ecuador or Chile — or, in the worst case, against both at once, a war on two fronts — guided official state policy. The military ministers managed to keep military spending equivalent to 26 percent of the national budget, falling back on the argument of «supplementary spending» because of the conflict with Ecuador. In comparison with these expenses, which simply ratified the military government's strategic priorities, the amounts earmarked for the anti-subversive campaign from 1983-1985, including local development and «civic action»

projects, was minute. While this disparity between spending and threat would soon be reconsidered, the massive increase in military spending in 1985 was due to the acquisition of a squadron of Mirage fighter jets, which had nothing to do with the internal conflict and no clear relationship with external defense needs.

Another legacy of the military government was the National Defense System (*Sistema de Defensa Nacional*, SDN) and its laws. The SDN essentially segmented the state, giving the military responsibility for defense policy and requiring that it be justified only to the president. This was reflected in the 1979 Constitution, which gave the armed forces the constitutional mandate to «guarantee» security and national defense. Instead of taking a step toward a more modern role for the armed forces, the 1979 Constitution raised their «guardian» role to the rank of supreme law of the state. Under this doctrine, only part of national power arises from democratic vote and flows through directives issued by the government and Cabinet ministers. This strengthening of military's constitutional rank blocked possibilities for a comprehensive anti-subversive policy drawn up jointly by the executive branch, legislature and armed forces, because the military continued to consider itself capable of defining defense policy alone, and neither the politicians in the ministries nor those in Congress took on the task. When the military began to develop broader anti-subversive concepts with implications for overall state policy, it encountered a serious lack of understanding in the government and in Congress.

By late 1980, the PCP-SL's many attacks — most of them brutal bombings, even then — sparked debate within the recently inaugurated democratic government. On December 23, Interior Minister José María de la Jara opposed a plan to declare a state of emergency in the affected areas. During the preceding two years, the military government had repeatedly used the suspension of constitutional guarantees as a way of dealing with strikes by labor unions. De la Jara believed that terrorism could be controlled without suspending guarantees. He advocated using police forces, since the Civil Guard and, to a greater extent, the Investigative Police had made some significant arrests. Starting in early 1981, however, the government categorized the PCP-SL's actions as terrorism and some voices were already proposing the use of the armed forces. The president himself stated that he believed that anyone who attempted to destroy the country's riches and disturb the peace with acts of terrorism and sabotage should be considered traitors to the country.

The president's decision to put five provinces in Ayacucho under a state of emergency after the attack on the Tambo police station included the suspension of guarantees, but stopped short of sending in the armed forces. The clearest voice speaking out against involvement of the armed forces was that of the minister of war, General Luis Cisneros Vizquerra, who told the press that if the armed forces took control of internal order in Ayacucho, «they would have to start killing PCP-SL members and non-members, because that is the only way that they could be certain of success. They kill 60 people and maybe there are 3 Shining Path members among them [...] and the police will certainly say that all 60 were members. [...] I believe that would be the worst alternative, and for that reason I am opposed, as long as it is not strictly necessary, to involving the

armed forces in this fight» .(González, 1983a: 50). The drastic tone of his warning stemmed from very real circumstances. One segment of public opinion, outraged by the attacks, was demanding the prompt use of force of arms to eliminate the problem. The armed forces, however, were unprepared for anything but taking military control of the zone and stamping out all resistance by force, just as in a conventional war, which would have resulted in the deaths of many innocent people.

The PCP-SL, meanwhile, created the impression that the conflict had indeed entered a military phase. One example of this was the raid on the Huamanga prison. Some of the attackers scattered throughout the city, engaging police in gun battles, while others overpowered the prison guards. Army soldiers did not leave the Los Cabitos military base, because they had received no orders from Lima. The jailbreak by the Shining Path prisoners dealt a heavy blow to the police forces and to the government's policy in general.

As the PCP-SL's attacks became more violent, Belaunde and certain members of his administration became seriously concerned about both the political implications of sending the armed forces into the emergency zone, which appeared difficult to avoid, and by the progress the subversives were making. The president resisted approving a military campaign because, in his experience, there was a direct relationship between military intervention against guerrillas of the 1960s and the military coup that had overthrown his first administration in 1968. The result was general confusion among the public, which was part of the national tragedy. Many people confused Cisneros' dire warnings with threats, attributing his words to ill-will instead of considering the seriousness of what he was saying. By then, Belaunde had already made up his mind. On December 27, he issued an ultimatum to the terrorists, demanding that they lay down their arms. On December 31, about 2,000 members of the Army were sent into action in the emergency zone.

The events of 1982 show how the PCP-SL's terrorist strategy took Belaunde's government completely by surprise and exposed the tensions among sectors of the Peruvian government. Neither military control over internal order in the emergency zone, provided for in the Constitution as an appropriate way to deal with a serious upheaval, nor existing military capacity guaranteed success against the PCP-SL. Instead, they fed into the Shining Path's plan for moving the war to a new stage.

The decision to put the armed forces in charge of internal order in the emergency zone was made without clarity or a detailed examination of the difficulties inherent in the task. The military's real mission was far stranger and more difficult: to create conditions for the establishment of the rule of law where it had not previously existed. In other words, the armed forces were to make it possible to raise the awareness of citizens that they had basic rights and belonged to a state that guaranteed those rights. To do this, they had to eliminate the PCP-SL, the organization that was bent on destroying any signs of such awareness. The responsibilities assigned to the armed forces by the president, who commanded them to «assume control of internal order» were disproportionate to the military's role. Creating conditions for imposing the law and ensuring the

operational character of the police and judiciary involves comprehensive action by the state, not just the conquest of territory by force of arms. Leaving this broader task exclusively to the armed forces assumes that they must direct and organize comprehensive action, including economic, educational, institutional and regulatory development.

Because putting the armed forces in charge of internal order in Ayacucho was understood by Belaunde in the narrow sense of militarily engaging enemies of the state, it was implicit that the state would assume the non-military tasks necessary to effectively re-establish rule of law. This limitation on military functions meant a division of labor with civilians. Only a bold combination of military force and efforts at social development and public services would have been able to reduce the violence and isolate the PCP-SL before it could gain the strength to spread throughout the rest of the country. That did not occur for two reasons: first, Belaunde's new political team was not inclined to lead that sort of development action; and second, the PCP-SL's strategy included the assassination of public officials and, in general, anyone involved in development, whether state-related or otherwise. Even before the actions began, there was an attitude that subversion should be confronted with a purely military strategy, without involving civilian authorities in leadership of the political component of this battle.

The result was a military anti-subversive campaign with an extremely complex objective and minimal support from the rest of the state and society. Belaunde did not want to go to war. Only when it was absolutely necessary did he give the order, and even then it was hedged. The armed forces were also reluctant to get involved. Only the Shining Path saw the military's participation in Ayacucho as an important step in its largely premeditated plan.<sup>2</sup>

At the president's request, the armed forces drew up and presented to the National Defense Council a plan based on an evaluation of the PCP-SL's strategy and its military and political organization as a guerrilla force similar to earlier movements. The Shining Path was portrayed as part of the larger international communist movement and, therefore, dependent on external support. Operations were planned and carried out according to Manual NE-41-1, which had been used 17 years earlier in the 1965 anti-guerrilla campaign. In the early years of the conflict, the armed forces lacked adequate intelligence about the PCP-SL's organization and its way of operating. Neither the armed forces nor the government realized that the PCP-SL did not depend on foreign support or guidance, that it did not establish camps or maintain columns, and that it accumulated political and military power through a strategy that was unprecedented in Latin America. The Army deduced the nature of its mission from government directive 02 SDN/81. The government lacked an overall, long-term strategic framework.

The strategy adopted by the armed forces assumed that the population

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<sup>2</sup> "Some erroneous decisions were made in the early years because subversion was considered a purely police or military problem, rather than a political war" (Ministry of Defense, 2000).

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF STUDENTS FROM THE  
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF THE CENTER OF PERU (1990-1992)

The National University of the Center of Peru was the scene of a fierce battle between subversive groups — the PCP-SL and the MRTA — and state security forces. The first human rights violations were committed by the subversive groups, particularly the PCP-SL, which virtually gained control of the university.

During the 1980s, first through silent labor and later through deadly confrontations, the PCP-SL held administrative and academic control over the university, «monitoring» the election of student leaders and university officials and access to teaching posts, and essentially liquidating unions of workers and teachers. In 1989, the PCP-SL carried out the first «executions,» including some on the university campus.

The MRTA had a lesser and briefer presence, particularly in certain schools, such as Education, Agronomy, Economics and Social Work, where some students were recruited for its «urban militias» or the armed columns on campus. Some of the bloodiest episodes of this era were due to confrontations between the MRTA and the PCP-SL.

Because of the increase of subversive action at the university, members of the security forces, which had political control over the area through a political-military command, implemented a policy of detentions, executions and forced disappearances, which began to intensify in 1990 and reached its height in 1992.

In June 1991, after a visit to the university by President Alberto Fujimori, the government decided to exercise even stricter control, increasing the number of military interventions. There are indications of the Colina Group's participation in executions and disappearances of students, professors and employees of the National University of the Center of Peru. Although the top political-military commander of the zone may not personally have carried out the extrajudicial executions and disappearances, he may have issued the policies or the orders to carry out systematic military actions, which were passed down the military chain of command to those who actually implemented them. The CVR was unable to do more in-depth investigation into the identity of those directly responsible because the Ministry of Defense did not provide it with information about Army personnel who served at the 9 de Diciembre military base, the CS Carhuamayo military base and the Military Detachment of the National University of the Center of Peru between 1992 and 1993.

In October 1992, because of constant complaints (mostly against military personnel) about disappearances and extrajudicial executions of students, professors and employees of the university in the city of Huancayo, the Attorney General's Office decided to investigate, appointing Imelda Tumialán Pinto, provincial district attorney of the Special District Attorney's



was divided into communities that backed the subversives and those loyal to the Peruvian government. In fact, the PCP-SL divided up each rural community, using its base of support in one segment to provoke a military response against the entire community. That explains the high number of innocent victims. The military response consisted of taking control of communities and rural areas and attempting to destroy armed elements or enemy forces.

The mission of the anti-subversive campaign was defined as recovery of territorial control. The military operations began on December 30, 1982, when the government ordered the armed forces into the fight against subversion. Under the command of General Clemente Noel Moral, national security sub-zone E, which included five provinces of Ayacucho and all of Huancavelica, was reorganized and expanded to include the province of Andahuaylas (Apurímac). After the first field inspections and a preliminary assessment of subversive activity, the decision was made to reinforce the military presence. The most notable measure was dispatching two Navy infantry companies to an area that extended from Huanta to the Apurímac valley, in the jungle region of San Francisco.

Anti-subversive bases were established in all provincial capitals and at points from which it was possible to control the valleys, such as the Luisiana hacienda in San Francisco. The main tactic involved patrols dispatched from the bases. It soon became clear that it was not a matter of developing greater firepower at certain points, because the subversives did not engage the military in battle, but limited themselves to entering defenseless communities, attacking police stations and occasionally harassing military patrols. The response to these sudden, scattered appearances by the subversives was a greater military presence and more patrols. In places where the subversive presence was greatest, the state only existed if there was a military base nearby.

The Navy infantry was forced to abandon its usual system of platoons and squadrons and form combat patrols, which also took turns serving at the base. This transformation came about as the result of combat experience; small patrols did not become widespread until 1984. About 250 members of the Navy infantry, equivalent to two companies, operated in the emergency zone. They were relieved every two months, and they were trained and took rest periods at the Ancón Naval Base. Overall, the Peruvian Navy's infantry at the time had a force of 2,000, only one-eighth of whom were stationed in the emergency zone at any given time during this period. Counting the Army and Navy, combat personnel stationed in the emergency zone totaled about 2,000 troops, besides police. If the total size of the military during those years is estimated at a minimum of 90,000 troops, that means only 3 percent participated in anti-subversive actions at any given time.

The Army and Navy patrols left the military bases to make violent incursions into communities or pursue Shining Path columns. The PCP-SL burst into communities and then beat a nimble retreat so that the military's efforts were useless or were directed against the local population. The vacuum of authority created by the PCP-SL's incursions was not solved by the military's

Office of the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office in the Judicial District of Junín, as investigator. In April 1993, Attorney General Blanca Nélica Colán appointed Enrique Miranda Palma as special prosecutor for more in-depth investigation. Nevertheless, no criminal cases are known to have resulted against members of the security forces who presumably committed these acts.

Despite the constant forced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, only in two cases did the First Court of Instruction in Huancayo open criminal proceedings against members of the security forces. Because it was impossible to get justice in the country's courts, some relatives of those disappeared or executed by military personnel turned to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR).

Years later, on October 3, 2001, at the 11th session of the Congressional Investigative Committee that had been established for the case, Imelda Tumialán Pinto stated that the extrajudicial execution and disappearance of students at the National University of the Center of Peru was a generalized practice.

The CVR's investigation concluded that the PCP-SL murdered at least 43 people in its attempt to control the university. In response, members of the security forces carried out a policy involving the arbitrary detention, torture, extrajudicial execution or disappearance of at least 74 people who have been fully identified.

Under domestic law, the conduct attributed to members of the Army implies the commission of the crimes of manslaughter, abduction and forced disappearance. For that reason, within the framework of its mandate, the CVR recommended to the Public Ministry, through the Attorney General's Office, that a formal criminal complaint be filed against those allegedly responsible for those crimes.

actions. There was a lack of intelligence work and a broad margin for error; as a result, the military patrols frequently engaged in indiscriminate violence.

It soon became clear that the goal of re-establishing internal order could not be achieved without finding the enemy, which was hidden among the local people. In only a few exceptional cases were there direct engagements with armed subversives or PCP-SL «fortresses.»<sup>3</sup> More often, weapons were turned against defenseless communities, and interrogations to obtain intelligence were carried out in the same theater as military operations. A common practice was to surround a village, force all the residents out of their homes and use an «intelligence» blacklist to identify alleged terrorists.<sup>4</sup> Initial criteria included observations about the villagers' behavior, such as who attended the raising of the flag in the plaza.<sup>5</sup> Often, anyone who did not attend community assemblies called by the military patrol was considered suspect.

It was not unusual for a patrol to find itself in a place where there had been no state presence for many years. The communities that had been visited by the PCP-SL reacted in different ways when a military patrol arrived. In the best case, the community members welcomed the patrol and shared with it the few provisions they had, describing the subversive incursion and sometimes fingering local Shining Path sympathizers and agreeing to side with the armed forces. The military troops also shared their food and, especially, medicines. They sometimes also identified one or more people as subversives. During the first year of the conflict, they usually detained the suspects. In the afternoon, when the patrol left, the village was left defenseless. Retaliation from the PCP-SL followed. Communities that had been visited by the armed forces received the harshest treatment. With help from local informants, the subversives publicly abused, mutilated or executed anyone who had collaborated with the military patrol, holding a «people's trial» in front of the entire community.

There were places where the armed forces succeeded in «re-establishing» local authorities and regaining military control with the help of the local population, when people were able to overcome the division and fear that protected local Shining Path militants. But the PCP-SL attacked again in many places until it brutally accomplished a «counter-reestablishment» of its «people's committees.» While the armed forces pursued the difficult goal of gaining the support of the entire population for the Peruvian state and a repudiation of terrorism, the PCP-SL focused on creating divisions, ensuring that there was a Shining Path sector in every community that was gradually able to gain political and military power amid the neutrality of the terrified majority of the population. That explains the progress made by the PCP-SL in 1983. Physical exhaustion and the psychological effects of the war explain — but do not excuse — the errors and excesses committed. The people responsible for those errors and excesses were not only the combatants, but also those who should have provided political, economic

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<sup>3</sup> CVR. Interview with retired General Roberto Noel Moral, March 10, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> CVR. Interview with retired General Luis Pérez Documet.

<sup>5</sup> CVR. Interview with retired General Adrián Huamán Centeno.

## DISAPPEARANCES, TORTURE AND EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS AT THE LOS CABITOS MILITARY BASE (1983-1985)

Because of the increase in PCP-SL's activity in the department of Ayacucho, on December 31, 1982, the government decided to involve the armed forces in the fight against subversion. Army General Roberto Clemente Noel Moral was named Political-Military chief of the emergency zone, which included the provinces of Huamanga, Huanta, La Mar, Cangallo and Víctor Fajardo. Between 1983 and 1985, the political-military chiefs were Noel Moral, Army General Adrián Huamán Centeno and Army Colonel Wilfredo Mori Orzo. The center of operations for those officers, as well as the battalion under their command, was Military Base 51, Los Cabitos, in Huamanga.

Complaints of human rights violations increased as soon as the Army took control of the area. The CVR has verified 138 cases of people who were abducted, tortured or murdered by security forces in the province of Huamanga between 1983 and 1984. In all of these cases, there was a pattern of police and military behavior characterized by the following stages: arbitrary detention, taking the detainee to a military facility, torture, selective liberation, extrajudicial execution and disappearance.

In the case of arbitrary detentions, the agents did not identify themselves and later denied having detained anyone. Three methods were used for detention: searches, neighborhood sweeps and selective detention.

The captors acted without judicial warrants and without the participation of the Public Ministry or any authorization that would have made these ordinary detentions. According to some officers who served at the time, the people who had been irregularly detained were held at Military Base 51, Los Cabitos, and occasionally at a building known as the «Pink House,» which may have served as the intelligence unit's center of operations.

Torture generally occurred when the detainees were interrogated, either in the «Pink House» or in the Los Cabitos military base. The detainees, who were blindfolded, were often forced to strip and, with their hands tied behind their backs, were subjected to various types of torture to force them to provide information.

In some cases, detainees were selectively freed with no explanation. Some were dropped off in a street, while others were turned over to the PIP. First they were threatened so they would not report what had happened, and they were told that they would be followed and put under surveillance. Generally, people were freed when investigation found that they had no relationship with the subversive groups.

In the case of disappearances, the perpetrators denied the detention before relatives and the Public Ministry. In certain cases, the detainee was moved to a detention center or other place so he or she would not be found.

In the case of extrajudicial executions, it is important to note that many of the people who were detained could not withstand the torture and died of exhaustion, while others were killed when, in the torturers' judgment,

and institutional support to stabilize the results of the military presence with non-military measures.

#### THE POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMANDS: SYSTEMATIC, GENERALIZED PATTERNS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Because of the magnitude of the military counteroffensive, the PCP-SL was affected as Cisneros had predicted: members of the Shining Path had died, but to kill them communities had been victimized on a massive scale. Because of the loss of members and sympathizers, the number of attacks by the PCP-SL decreased notably around 1985. The armed forces and police, meanwhile, registered a smaller number of losses than in later periods.

The number of extrajudicial executions and various human rights violation committed in confronting the PCP-SL's strategy reached catastrophic proportions considering the region's population. The armed forces' losses in comparison with the enormous number of civilian casualties and alleged subversives killed, which was in the thousands, as well as the lack of statistics on those wounded or captured or subversive material confiscated, reflect an enormous imbalance in the countryside. The difficulty in obtaining intelligence about the PCP-SL and controlling rural areas led not only to serious excesses, but also to clandestine detentions and torture centers on some military bases. One notorious case was that of the stadium in Huanta, the main Navy infantry base in that province, which temporarily housed a clandestine detention center where people were disappeared and tortured. Other interrogation centers included a pig farm near the Los Cabitos Army base in Huamanga and the «pink house» in that city.

Human rights violations increased because the political-military command of the emergency zone, as part of its strategy to isolate the zone, prohibited the Red Cross, humanitarian organizations and the press in general from entering the area, reserving the right to authorize news reports or interviews. The few reports that filtered out were later taken by certain sectors of the public, both at home and abroad, as indicators of a situation that was out of control, while Peruvian officials discredited them. Just a few months after this news blackout began, eight journalists were killed by members of the community of Uchuraccay who mistook them for subversives. Shortly thereafter, the case was officially closed and the government opted for a rapid victory regardless of the cost, with no substantive changes in its political agenda or economic plans.

While members of the governing party denied that human rights violations were occurring or, in some cases, simply minimized complaints of such abuses, the opposition gave the matter greater political attention. This lack of political unity in the country was the major obstacle to complementing internal defense with economic, administrative and political efforts to increase the state's presence in the emergency zone. Opponents on the left saw the war against the PCP-SL as a Peruvian version of Argentina's «dirty war.» Although the left in Congress distanced itself from the PCP-SL to a certain extent, in many political activities the left took an ambiguous stance on the armed struggle, giving the

they had demonstrated their guilt. Some bodies were buried in clandestine graves, while others were abandoned along roads, in ravines or in other places relatively near the city, such as Puracuti and Infiernillo. For these reasons, it can be assumed that the large majority of people who disappeared were victims of extrajudicial executions.

Because of this pattern of behavior, we can state that the constant human rights violations represented by arbitrary detention, detention in military facilities, torture, selective liberation, disappearance and extrajudicial execution responded to a practice that was systematic, because of the uniformity of the procedures, and generalized, because of the large number of victims.

It is clear that only high-ranking military officers could establish procedures — designing them, correcting them or replacing them — for the security forces. Therefore the human rights violations we have described may have been part of an anti-subversive strategy created by, or at least tolerated by, the state military apparatus. The military commanders had to be aware of the large number of human rights violations and complaints filed about them.

Even taking into consideration the hypothesis that these practices or methods may not have been part of a centralized plan, the top commanders had the power to modify the procedures that violated practices that respected human rights.

Based on this information, and taking into account certain aspects such as the characteristics of the military organization itself (a hierarchical structure) and the responsibility of the Political-Military Command (based at Los Cabitos) in planning and implementing the military operations carried out in the zone, it is clear that the top officers had command and control over actions that violated human rights.

impression that it had not completely renounced taking up arms and that the violent nature the social conflict was taking on was perfectly comprehensible. In any case, there was no active national stance against the PCP-SL.

As a result, political positions on the issue became polarized. Top military commanders — who at the time were also political figures — interpreted the lack of unified support for defense efforts as a weakness of the new system. Both the governing party and the opposition confused the PCP-SL with just another Cold War phenomenon, a national guerrilla force encouraged by international communism. The confusion increased when the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru*, MRTA) announced its own armed struggle. The fact that the MRTA had the characteristics of a regular guerrilla force, linked to international communism and descended from the radical branches of APRA that had given rise to the ephemeral guerrillas of 1965, reinforced the belief that behind the PCP-SL, the MRTA and leftist legislators lay the same political player: international communism. In the early years of the conflict, this collective self-deceit — which originated in the left's own confusion about its role — kept people from recognizing the marked differences among the leftist groups, the MRTA and the PCP-SL. This not only frustrated the political unity necessary for confronting the PCP-SL, but also enabled broad sectors to underestimate the danger and interpret the PCP-SL as the understandable outgrowth of discontent amount poor peasant farmers.

The marginal nature of the war in 1983-1985 was determined by the implicit and (clearly) unanimous political decision to ensure that the military-led defense effort did not have repercussions in other areas of national life. This occurred for two reasons: on the one hand, the government, while it had delegated functions to the armed forces, wanted to ensure that this did not imply a return to military power; on the other, opposition groups wanted to make certain that the concept of anti-subversion did not include them. The political position of the government, which did not officially acknowledge the existence of an internal conflict that had the nature of a subversive war, rather than merely terrorist outbreaks, coincided with the armed forces' strategy of a communications blackout in the conflict zone. The result was an officially non-existent war being fought by people who sought to end it quickly and at any cost, leaving no trace of what had occurred.

In early 1984, General Manuel Clemente Noel Moral was replaced by General Adrián Huamán Centeno. A native of the area and a Quechua speaker, General Huamán seemed willing to take personal responsibility for the political and economic measures needed to win the population's support. Although he took steps in that direction, the number of reports of extrajudicial executions and disappearances by the security forces while he was in command is the highest of the entire period of conflict. So is the number of crimes perpetrated that year by the PCP-SL. During that period, the first mass graves were discovered in Huamanguilla and Pucayacu. It is also clear that Huamán's ambivalent support for the peasant self-defense forces, encouraging entire communities to rise up against the threat from the PCP-SL without providing them with appropriate weapons or training, led to an increase in violence by the

PCP-SL as well as by the self-defense organizations.

Convinced that he had to link development with military action, Huamán, as head of the Military-Political Command of the Emergency Zone, interpreted his job as including management of the budget for public spending of the Departmental Development Corporation of Ayacucho (*Corporación Departamental de Desarrollo de Ayacucho*). He issued Directive 001-SAS/SZSN «E» on April 27, 1984, with the goal of «[...] qualitatively, quantitatively and strategically reorienting 1984 public spending for the Department of Ayacucho toward agricultural production activities that benefit the peasant population affected by acts of terrorism, generating the greatest possible employment and self-sufficiency of food supplies in the emergency zone.» It is clear that his actions in the area of agricultural development had little expert guidance and were far from being a model of sustainable development. It is also clear that he was much more concerned about the psycho-social effect of these measures on the fight against the PCP-SL. In fact, many of these actions, instead of being part of a real plan, seemed to recreate the paternalistic models that had existed in Ayacucho's countryside long before the Agrarian Reform. Huamán also underestimated the PCP-SL's political ability to make such social spending appear to be a victory for the «people's war.» Because the villages in the emergency zone had been visited by the PCP-SL since the time of the Agrarian Reform and had never seen any public investment until General Huamán's arrival, it was not difficult for the PCP-SL to make people believe that there would never have been such spending if it had not been for the «people's war.»

The report about his experiences that Huamán submitted to his superiors before being removed from his post contains revealing passages about his reformist and development-oriented ideological position, which was undoubtedly shared by many top Army commanders; nevertheless, it was incompatible with the government's economic policy and the recommendations of the Reagan administration.

In 1984, the Navy infantry organized the first self-defense committees. These peasant self-defense forces (Apurímac Valley) and the policy of regrouping the population («strategic villages» around Huanta) in this phase, however, did not help reduce the indiscriminate nature of the armed actions, although they provided experience that would be useful later in the conflict. These experimental strategies were outside the bounds of official policy, which opposed mobilizing peasant farmers and giving political authority to the military. The governing party's national security strategy seemed to revolve around applying military pressure in the countryside while the police arrested the leaders of the subversive forces.

The government urged military and police commanders to eliminate the outbreaks of subversive activity while avoiding significant political consequences. Despite the creation of the Anti-Terrorism Division (*División contra el Terrorismo*), the police's investigative capacity was placed at the service of intelligence-gathering for the war. This veered away from the division's purpose, which was to arrest people legally on the basis of objective evidence. Instead of carrying out legally rigorous investigations to bring criminal terrorists to trial



in cases based on clear proof, the investigative police officers trained in clandestine surveillance, infiltration of criminal organizations and recruiting of collaborators gradually came to be seen as complement to the military's anti-subversion efforts.

The military's initiatives to organize community self-defense patrols were completely outside the bounds of official strategy. The government, the opposition, many top military commanders and most public opinion opposed arming the population. This, along with the initiatives of General Huamán Centeno, shows that from the early years of the conflict, the armed forces adopted strategies that went beyond the mandate given them under the elected government's security and defense policy.

#### EFFORTS AT CIVILIAN CONTROL AND EXPANSION OF THE INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT

As seen in an earlier chapter, in the first months of his administration President Alan García attempted to ease the oppressive atmosphere of the internal war and address the economic recession with speeches and radical measures. From the start, however, he had to assimilate very harsh conditions even as he announced his programs for change.

On June 5, 1985, the outgoing Belaunde administration issued Law 24150, which regulated the functions of the political-military command in any emergency zone, granting it the «[...] power to request the removal, appointment or transfer of authorities [...].» The same law — which is still in effect — makes «[...] members of the armed forces or police forces [exclusively subject] to the Military Code of Justice.» This legacy of the outgoing government, introduced under pressure from the armed forces and its political allies, was not rejected by Alan García, who took advantage of his election to divert attention from the issue rather than strike down the law, even though he had an absolute majority in Congress.

In August 1985, just after Alan García took office, soldiers perpetrated massacres in Pucayacu, Accomarca, Umaro and Bellavista. These actions coincided with fierce attacks by the PCP-SL. In September, a congressional commission discovered the mass graves containing the bodies of people who have been massacred. Alan García backed the investigation and immediately dismissed the military commanders and even the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, blaming them for the killings. That was the major investigation into human rights violations during the García administration that had the president's support and that produced results. The scenario became more complicated in the following months, when the Shining Path carried out a series of attacks on Navy personnel in Lima. On August 16, 1985, several dozen uniformed members of the Navy and civilians were attacked in the district of Villa María del Triunfo while waiting for the bus that would take them to work. On March 14, 1986, the PCP-SL murdered Lieutenant Commander Jorge Alzamora Bustamante, who had served on Task Force 90 in Ayacucho. On May 4, 1986, PCP-SL militants murdered Rear Admiral Carlos Ponce Canessa, one of the Navy's top commanders. After Ponce's murder, the Minister of the Navy, Vice Admiral Julio

Pacheco Concha, warned that the subversives had «[...] deeply wounded the institution and the entire country» and had «awakened the lion.» The selective murders did not end, however. On October 14, the subversives claimed a new victim, Admiral Gerónimo Cafferatta Marazzi, who had recently served as commander general of the Navy.

Under pressure because of the ferocity of the PCP-SL's crimes and attacks, Alan García imposed a state of emergency in Lima, suspending constitutional guarantees in the city that was the seat of his own government. Added to this was a curfew in the capital, a measure that had a strong impact on the public's frame of mind. Amid this notorious lack of clarity in its first few months, the García administration began to implement an internal security policy. The policy consisted of gaining civilian control over the armed forces and police, while making efforts to mediate the conflict and encourage agricultural development in the poorest parts of the Andes. Civilian control was to be achieved in three ways: 1. by unifying the police forces into the National Police of Peru and strengthening the new institution; 2. by merging the military ministries into a Ministry of Defense; and 3. by ensuring the military's loyalty to the government through a policy of promotions, as well as through communication between the president and the armed forces.

Awareness of the problems related to civilian-military relations arose, as we have seen, during debate within Belaunde's administration over whether or not to use the armed forces in the fight against the Shining Path. In Alan García's first Cabinet, however, there was a clear attempt to increase civilian control over security and defense.

Alan García multiplied the areas of the country that were under the control of political-military commands. This meant that the police in those areas remained as an auxiliary force under military authority, and that police work *per se* lost its meaning as constitutional guarantees were suspended. The policy announced by García and Abel Salinas included rigorous respect for human rights in the fight against subversion. But when the PCP-SL-organized prison uprising occurred, Alan García ordered that armed force be used to regain control of the prisons as quickly as possible, regardless of the cost. Meanwhile, work was under way to create the Ministry of Defense, but García and his congressional majority said nothing about the constitutional consequences of such a change. When creating the new ministry, the president refused to acknowledge any reduction in his direct authority over the armed forces as head of state, nor did he reduce the *de facto* power wielded by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He did, however, allow himself to believe in the show – or farce – of winning over top commanders through his personal relationships with them. The result was a Ministry of Defense that was limited to coordinating relations between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Cabinet. Although the National Defense System law was modified to give the Cabinet direct authority, that was not enough to change the pattern of civilian-military relations that had been established by the military government in 1979.

The initial thrust of García's administration lasted eight months, coming

to an abrupt end with the massacre in the prisons. When the law creating the Ministry of Defense was approved in 1987, the measure had no real meaning. It was born of inertia, and the first minister was a retired military officer. During the remaining four years of his administration, García backed the actions of the armed forces, even accepting a role that was unclear and subordinate as long as it appeared that he had taken the initiative. Hyperinflation, the peak of the Shining Path's terrorism in 1988 and the country's complete political fragmentation as the result of his efforts to nationalize the banking system left García unable to lead.

The Ministry of Defense was created on March 31, 1987, through Law 24654. Its operation and its relationship with the branches of the military, however, were determined by legislative decrees issued by the executive branch. In other words, the general idea of creating a Ministry of Defense was approved in a law passed by Congress, but its specific content was established by the president. In fact, these decrees gave the Ministry of Defense minimal functions, structure and competencies compared to those of the commanding generals and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In addition, instead of being a career politician, Alan García's first defense minister was General Enrique López Albújar, who took the post on October 14, 1987. The system of civilian-military relations that resulted was approximately as follows: the president received, for his approval, only those plans and operations supported by both the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the minister of defense. Under this system, the minister could do little or nothing without the support of the top military commanders. In fact and by law, the minister was little more than a mediator or facilitator, rather than the director of military policy.

The illusion of civilian control over military policy was rounded out by an element taken from an advanced democratic concept of civilian-military relations. García's decrees made the Cabinet — rather than the National Defense Council, which had been created by Morales Bermúdez at the end of the military regime and later kept by Belaunde — responsible for directing the National Defense System. The president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was an automatic Cabinet member, with the same rights as the defense minister. The new defense minister, however, was not prepared to direct or supervise the preparation of plans or operations, and limited himself to accepting or delaying those presented jointly by the armed forces. With an internal war under way, this veto power, which was the only control mechanism, placed the government in the position of throwing up roadblocks to anti-subversive actions.

García's administration attempted to implement a security and defense policy aimed at increasing civilian control over the armed forces without taking responsibility for a unified, consistent management of the war. Civilian control was established indirectly, under a system of administrative controls, with no sharing of operational responsibility with top military officers. In other words, neither a civilian minister nor the president himself headed the operational chain of command. Increased civilian administration was supposed to lead to greater consistency in guiding the various efforts aimed at ensuring internal

security based on military, police, judicial, economic and political actions. Nevertheless, the objectives of Alan García's security policy, which was based on civilian control, were unclear with regard to the fight against terrorism. It appears that García's government, like the Belaunde administration before it, assumed that it had to confront a dual internal security challenge: subversion on the one hand and the possibility of a military coup on the other.

The left-wing opposition in Congress criticized APRA's security policy with the goal of keeping the ruling party from taking control of the police and armed forces, while at the same time distancing itself from the Shining Path and trying to show Peruvians that it was a viable alternative for governing the country. The conservative opposition, meanwhile, focused on criticizing the government's economic policy and organized opposition to the administration's effort to nationalize the banks. The armed forces soon took up the conservative opposition's demand that Peru resume paying the external debt and return to the international financial community, because it was impossible to finance the fight against subversion without new external credit. García's government met that demand in September 1988, managing to pull off a complicated financial bailout that ensured more than US\$1 billion for the Peruvian economy.

The expansion of the Shining Path's actions and the change in civilian-military relations that favored the armed force after the prison uprising paved the way for the Joint Chiefs of Staff to issue Directive 01-PE-DI-JUN 86 JUL 90 for Internal Defense of Territory: Anti-Subversion. This measure represented significant progress toward a more comprehensive strategy, but also repeated certain errors that had existed since the start of the military's anti-subversive actions. The purpose of anti-subversive operations was «to destroy and/or neutralize the Local Political-Administrative Organization» of the subversives. It would later become clear that this was the absolute strategic priority. In the directive, that goal was still confused with the goal of destroying and/or neutralizing «any violator of the law and constitutional order who contributes to subversion.» That still implied highly scattered efforts, considering that the same directive stated that all legal left-wing groups, unions (except those of APRA) and even «progressive» sectors of the church tend to support subversion as contradictions became more serious.

In the organization of national internal defense, the directive called for a division of labor between the police and the armed forces that was very similar to the one that already existed. The police forces would be in charge of house-to-house searches, document checks, interrogations, detentions and arrests, while the armed forces would limit themselves to dissuading, pursuing and confronting armed subversives. Another part of the directive, however, stated that a person detained by the armed forces must be turned over to the police or the appropriate judicial authority after being interrogated by the military unit. The directive also acknowledged major pending tasks in the areas of intelligence and counterintelligence, and although there was still little knowledge of the Shining Path's structure and action, it emphasized the need to obtain such knowledge, which was a major step forward.

As a sign of qualitative progress in the «people's war,» PCP-SL columns

staged bold and repeated attacks on military patrols. In May, a military convoy was ambushed, resulting in fierce retaliation by the Army against the community of Cayara. News spread that the military had massacred more than 50 peasants. A team including Justice Minister Camilo Carrillo, Defense Minister General López Albújar, the dean of the Lima Bar Association (*Colegio de Abogados de Lima*), Raúl Ferrero and Lima Auxiliary Bishop Augusto Beuzeville traveled to the area and reported that they had found no «signs of bombardment, fire or combat.» But statements from local residents sent the case to the Attorney General's Office. The head of the political-military command in the zone, General José Valdivia Dueñas, said there had been no innocent victims in Cayara and that it was a terrorist ploy to undermine the military's credibility.

Adding to the overall sense of insecurity in 1988 were the persistent rumors of a military coup, which were promptly followed by denials by the Defense Minister López Albújar. The irregularity or collapse of essential public services, such as urban drinking water, electricity, highway safety and police services in general, along with uncertainty about the value of the national currency because of hyperinflation, impoverishment of the middle class and rumors of large-scale corruption, helped create a sense of anxiety that persisted until the end of García's term.

#### THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-SUBVERSIVE STRATEGY AND THE ARMED FORCES' NEW INCURSION INTO POLITICS

The document that marked the beginning of a substantive change in strategy was the *Army Manual on Non-Conventional Anti-Subversive Warfare ME 41-7*, which was published in Lima by the Ministry of Defense in June 1989. It contained a very complete and accurate description of the PCP-SL's characteristics. It explained the main ideas of the «Guiding Thought,» revealed the structure of the party and the «people's guerrilla army,» its form of action and its organization for attack, the PCP-SL's final objectives, the guiding ideas of the areas in charge of militia and the masses, the types of people's committees and their functions, the support bases, guerrilla zones and related bodies.

The change in the concept appears in the opening lines, which indicate that subversion was no longer understood solely, or even principally, as military action. But the second part of the definition moderated the scope of this understanding by limiting the goal to keeping subversion from seizing power or laying the groundwork for such action. The main ideas of the new strategy appeared in the section on «Norms for Anti-Subversion.» The first norm stated that support of the population was necessary for combating subversion. This was the fundamental problem of the war. The PCP-SL was prepared to return to villages and turn the police and military interventions into opportunities for it to amass power, murdering anyone who had collaborated directly with the security forces and setting up a new «people's committee» to control the population, which had been reduced and terrorized by the war.

The way of winning people's cooperation was described in the norms that followed. The second norm stated that the population's support could be

won through an active minority. This concept was based on a theory of political power (Ministry of Defense 1989: 60).

The similarity to the Shining Path's strategy is apparent almost immediately. The neutral majority is what the PCP-SL called «the masses.» The minorities that are in conflict are the local representatives of the Peruvian state and the interests of a free society, on the one hand, and the nucleus of support for subversion, on the other. The question, then, was which of the minorities would prevail and which would disappear. Thus military and police action against guerrilla units and the subversives' Political-Administrative Organization had to take precedence over actions involving the population. It would be impossible to mobilize support without first scoring a convincing victory that would destroy the subversives' domination.

Winning the support of the population does not directly follow from re-establishing normal conditions such as the rule of law or elections. These are final steps that result from a long process of restoring order, a process that occurs while a state of emergency is still in effect. The first thing necessary is to «[...] create in the population a positive image of the forces of order» (Ministry of Defense 1989: 69-70). This objective is fleshed out in a series of rules that are surprisingly similar to those imposed by Mao on his revolutionary army. In Mao's case, however, there was no recognition of basic rights; it was merely part of a psycho-social strategy expressed in the form of a corporate ethic for members of the «People's Army.» In the new Peruvian anti-subversive strategy, these rules had the same sense; thus they were combined, without contradiction, with the suspension of basic constitutional rights and the selective elimination of the subversive minority.

The practical implications of the new strategy appeared in the manual when it described how to disrupt the organization of armed subversive groups and how to intervene in a «red zone.» The first clarification was that «[...] the anti-subversive war is 80 percent intelligence and 20 percent operations» (Ministry of Defense 1989: 73). Its priorities, therefore, were to identify the party's members and organization, its strengths and weaknesses, its «support bases» and «local force;» «carry out counterintelligence operations;» «optimize infiltration;» «make trained interrogators available;» «establish a database;» «form networks of collaborators and informants;» etc. (Ministry of Defense 1989: 74). In describing the armed action component, the document states: «Fight with initiative, surprise, trickery, mobility and creativity, using procedures similar to those of the subversives» and «carry out aggressive and efficient psychological operations to destroy or break the subversive forces' morale and will to fight» (Ministry of Defense 1989: 77). The manual makes clear that armed actions are inseparable from the use of psycho-social and counterintelligence operations.

«Intervention in a red zone» is the decisive action and the one that best reflects the overall sense of this strategic concept. The first step, which is actually only preparatory, is the destruction or expulsion of the armed subversives. The second step is to install forces to control territory and the population. The third step is the decisive one:

Step three: Destruction of the Local Political-Administrative Organization.

This is a directed police operation to eliminate the members of the Political-Administrative Organization.

It is carried out based on the following two conditions:

- (a) That sufficient information has been received to guarantee the success of the elimination.
- (b) That the planned elimination can be carried out completely.

In this operation, it must be kept in mind that the head and main members of the Local Political-Administrative Organization are too committed to subversion to be expected to change.

The final phrase emphasizes that these people cannot be redeemed, thus explaining what is meant by the two preceding conditions: the elimination must be complete and therefore the prior identification must be accurate. Even if «elimination» of the Political-Administrative Organization is understood as «deactivation,» it is clear that this anti-subversive action must accomplish its goal in the most effective, certain manner so as to ensure that the elimination «is carried out completely.» One noteworthy detail in this main passage of *Army Manual 41-7*, in which «destruction of the Local Political-Administrative Organization» is defined as the final step of intervention in a «red zone,» is that the definition of the operation states: «this is a directed police operation.» It is understood to be a police operation rather than a combat operation.

Once the point of no return — total destruction of the Political-Administrative Organization — is reached, the processes of consolidation and pacification can begin, while combat shifts to other «red zones.» Important local post-war elements include the establishment of self-defense committees, the election of municipal authorities and the re-establishment or implementation of essential public services. Although this manual did not completely erase the democratic, constitutional nature of the power being defended, it is mentioned only in passing as part of the psycho-social war or as an existing condition that must be managed.

The new strategy was the basis for the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces Directive 017 for Internal Defense (DVA N° 017 CCFUERZAS ARMADAS-PE-DI). This directive reflected two major strategic decisions that shaped military action throughout the rest of the war. First, the armed forces' organization for internal defense in national security zones and sub-zones was replaced by an organization built around anti-subversive fronts. Second, where drug trafficking existed, the mission was to separate subversion from drug trafficking and fight the drug traffickers who supported the subversives or received protection from them. Directive 017 prioritized the zones where these measures would be implemented:

1° JUNÍN-PASCO, because of its great strategic importance it was defined as the Center of Gravity of Anti-Subversive Operations nationwide.

2º SAN MARTÍN - HUÁNUCO - UCAYALI.

3º AYACUCHO - HUANCVELICA - APURÍMAC.

4º LIMA - ICA - CALLAO.

5º Areas in the process of formation.

With these priorities set, the fronts were established and the forces assigned. In January 1990, an unusual appendix was added to Directive 17 (DVA Nº 017 CCFUERZAS ARMADAS-PE-DI). This appendix, signed by the new president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, modified a central point of the directive. The appendix specified that «(2) The Anti-Subversive Fronts will be directly under the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces for operational matters, maintaining their administrative dependence on their respective military regions.» The measure was signed by Admiral Alfonso Panizo Zariquey. This measure, imperceptible to the public at the time, increased the power of the Joint Chiefs of Staff by making its president the chief of operations for the anti-subversive fronts.

The intensity of the operations in Junín, Pasco and Huánuco in 1989-1991 was directly reflected in the number of murders and extrajudicial executions recounted in testimony gathered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru.

The other decisive strategic decision regarding the country's military and political situation involved drug trafficking. The ambiguity of the military's task led to a certain level of coexistence between the armed forces and drug traffickers and paved the way for Vladimiro Montesinos' influence over the armed forces.

In 1989, the police base in Uchiza was destroyed. That disaster can only be explained in the broader context of the political changes taking place at the time. The zone was under a state of emergency, but not under a political-military command; this was an exceptional case, and was probably due to the location of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration's (DEA) anti-drug base in nearby Santa Lucía. The U.S. agency is not allowed to operate in areas that are at war or under military control. The PNP base in Uchiza was disproportionately large, with more than 50 police officers with weapons of war, but was also ill-prepared to repel an attack, because the officers were very vulnerable to drug-related corruption. As a result, a month after the attack, on May 2, President Alan García named General Alberto Arciniega political-military commander of the Huallaga.

The door through which Vladimiro Montesinos — a former Army captain who had been cashiered many years earlier for misconduct — returned to a military facility in 1989 was opened by intelligence operations on the Huallaga front. In practical terms, reaching an understanding with coca-growing peasant farmers meant a certain acceptance of maceration pits, small-time drug runners, people who provided the acid and kerosene needed to manufacture cocaine base paste, and some clandestine airstrips and light planes, because the coca leaf has no value without the processing and marketing chain. Coca is not merely an agricultural product — it is an agro-industrial product. To keep the peasant economy operating, therefore, it was necessary to come to an understanding



with the drug trafficking cartels that did not support the Shining Path. Was this indispensable at the time? On the eastern side of the Huallaga and in Ucayali, where the Navy was stationed, a tacit agreement with drug traffickers was unnecessary because state forces there effectively fought the PCP-SL, while going after drug traffickers at the same time. Intensive intelligence work was done in the coca-growing area to identify possible allies and neutralize the Shining Path's logistical bases. At that point, former Captain Vladimiro Montesinos, who lived in the area and had become a lawyer for drug traffickers, organized an extensive network of informants that constituted the beginning of his power base.

The armed forces soon felt the advantages of the new strategy. The enemy, which had seemed so overwhelming before, began to crumble, taking refuge in the Mantaro Valley, where high-intensity anti-subversive operations were carried out beginning in the first half of 1990. The new strategy gave rise to a new phenomenon. Many of the people who were detained were freed after being held for days in cells on military bases or in DINCOTE's facilities. Those who had been detained once were followed and sometimes detained again, after which they disappeared or were found dead, their bodies dumped in various parts of the valley. Because of the regularity with which this occurred, it was possible to determine from the appearance of the bodies whether they had been executed by the security forces. The majority of anti-subversive operations were aimed at eliminating sympathizers rather than active PCP-SL militants

In December 1990, the commander general of the 31st Infantry Division, who at the time was head of the Mantaro Front, responded to a request from the Joint Chiefs of Staff by submitting a report about his experience in the fight against subversion.<sup>6</sup> This experience was mainly in the areas of intelligence and counterintelligence. The most noteworthy points in the report were first, the need to provide more personnel and material resources for intelligence operations, and second, the need to avoid cruel treatment or long periods of detention for interrogation.

In discussing interrogation and detainees, the report emphasized the importance of holding people for a maximum of 24 hours before freeing them or turning them over to the police. It stated that when interrogation by military personnel determined that an alleged subversive was not implicated in terrorist activities, he or she should be freed. In addition, «The person captured and/or detained must not be mistreated for any reason. In INTERROGATIONS, persuasion will be used instead of illicit coercion, threats or any form of violence. These people must not be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment» (Ministry of Defense 1989: 9).

The fact that this report contained such clarifications about what was permissible during interrogation indicates that at the time it was written, such guidelines were not clear. This coincides with many witnesses' accounts of interrogations in which extreme violence was used, including such practices as beating, near-drowning, hanging the person from hooks in the ceiling, electric shocks, burning,

<sup>6</sup> Official Communiqué 289 C. o/07.00. Huancayo, December 21, 1990. Ref: RG N° 050856- EMFA/ PM-PH dated December 5, 1990.

wounds and mutilation, often followed by death because the person was already disfigured or because he or she had seen the captors or interrogators. The person was killed and the corpse was disappeared or made unrecognizable so that the victim's family would not denounce the deed or so that the body would not become proof that torture had been inflicted.

Later events showed that self-critical reports such as the one described above had little influence over the course of operations. The mechanism that the new strategy had set in motion led to increasingly selective and sordid practices. The circumstances that resulted in an intensification of clandestine operations and the erosion of the security forces' professional ethic were first, the meager state economic resources at the end of the García administration and the beginning of the Fujimori government; second, the psychological effects and low morale resulting from a prolonged war; and third, the particular difficulties posed by the Huallaga and Ucayali fronts because of drug trafficking.

The scope of anti-subversive operations broadened in 1990 and 1991. To the west, they expanded to Lima's low-income neighborhoods — mainly along the Central Highway, as in the cases of Huaycán and Raucana — and national universities, mainly La Cantuta and San Marcos. To the east, in Junín, commandos from the Mantaro Front advanced to the Ene River, where they freed hundreds of Asháninka people who had been recruited by the PCP-SL and were being held in a forced labor camp. To the northeast, operations reached the «red zones» and coca-growing areas of Huánuco, San Martín and Ucayali.

On the Huallaga and Ucayali fronts, anti-subversive forces also faced the MRTA. This resulted in many deaths and desertions among the subversives and represented their strategic defeat. Already decimated by the PCP-SL, the MRTA was further crushed in confrontations with the armed forces. In January 1992, one of its leaders, Sístero García, defected and began collaborating with the armed forces to deactivate the rest of the MRTA.

In 1989, an Army Anti-Subversive Battalion was operating in Padre Abad, on the eastern side of the Huallaga, while two Navy Light Combat Battalions (*Batallones Ligeros de Combate*, BALICOS) were in charge of the rest of the Coronel Portillo province. The Army took the initiative, the Navy shared the tactics. There were indiscriminate attacks against communities under PCP-SL control. Helicopters equipped with heavy artillery opened fire on communities along the river. In seconds, dozens of people hiding in vegetation along the riverbanks were mowed down without either the gunners or the pilots ever seeing exactly who they were. In the attack on the community of Bellavista, helicopters launched rockets at houses.

The situation in Ucayali changed in 1990, when the Army left the Alexander von Humboldt Base to concentrate on the area of Tingo María, while the Navy took charge of the eastern side of the Huallaga. The Navy's BALICOS launched a civic action campaign and established an organization of collaborators that enabled them to form a series of self-defense committees in communities along the Federico Basadre Highway. The two positive indicators of this Navy campaign in Ucayali beginning in 1990 — decreases in violence and drug trafficking — were not seen in Huánuco or San Martín until 1994. It is important to note that various human

rights violations were committed during the campaigns carried out under the comprehensive strategy. The new strategy was supposedly focused on gaining the population's support and on selective actions made possible by intelligence work. This was undoubtedly the intent, but it is necessary to assess whether it was actually implemented, and whether the strategic defeat of the MRTA and the PCP-SL was really due to a plan. It seems, instead, that the campaigns on the northeastern front had secondary effects that influenced the political thinking of the top military commanders in the following years.

In early 1990 in Tingo María (Huánuco), Juan Ayala Almeida was detained by members of the Army after he was accused of being a PCP-SL militant. He was tortured and spent four days without food. When he was near death, he was thrown from a helicopter over the jungle.<sup>7</sup> On January 6 in Angashyacu, Leoncio Prado, the PCP-SL called an armed strike, blocked roads and set up booby-trap bombs to detonate when the Army arrived. They left one of the bombs buried in the doorway of the home of Anatolio, Rumo and Shana Trujillo, where they also ran up a red flag. When the flag was removed, the bomb exploded, injuring a soldier. Military personnel opened fire as they entered the Trujillo home, killing Anatolio with a shot to the head, as well as Rumo. Anatolio's daughter was dragged by the hair, beaten and raped.<sup>8</sup> In early 1991, soldiers from the Aucayacu military base detained and later killed 18 residents of the village of Primavera, in José Crespo y Castillo. Mutilated bodies, including that of a girl who had also been raped, were found in the Pucayacu River.<sup>9</sup>

These events are mentioned here to give an idea of what the strategy of selective elimination meant in practice. Only a few of the events that occurred in Huánuco in 1990 and 1991 are mentioned. If the events of 1989, before the new strategy and directive were disseminated, are examined, there is little difference from 1990 and 1991. The events that occurred in the department of San Martín during those same years demonstrated a number of inhuman practices that are as serious as in Huánuco. It is notable, therefore, that the main decision of the war was to deploy anti-subversive battalions in certain zones and organize intelligence activities and platoons to carry out selective elimination. The new strategy was undoubtedly a factor in the steady increase in the latter type of activity; efforts to protect the population and increase trust in the armed forces, however, were not equal in all places. For a long time in Huánuco and San Martín, at least, terror was sown as much by the armed forces as by the subversives.

#### INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES IN THE ANTI-SUBVERSIVE STRATEGY

To combat subversion, in the 1980s the Peruvian government sought military aid from the United States and other countries, such as Taiwan and Israel. Compared to U.S. spending in Central America during the 1980s, the amount of economic aid provided to help Peru fight subversion was small. Assistance during

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<sup>7</sup> Evento 1003908.

<sup>8</sup> Evento 1004165.

<sup>9</sup> Evento 1006272.

the 1980s was limited almost exclusively to instruction and training. Nevertheless, the ideas and skills that the United States conveyed to Peruvian officers during that time had a great influence. Given the results in Peru, there is good reason to doubt that those ideas about strategy, which were undoubtedly useful in defeating the subversives, helped strengthen democracy.

There were reasons for the limited U.S. economic aid. Between 1980 and 1985, Peru was confident that it could solve the problem on its own, without even a complete mobilization of its armed forces. The United States, meanwhile, had its eye on the dictatorships in the Southern Cone, especially the disastrous events in Argentina. The fact that Peruvian officials had maintained good relations with the Soviet Union since the 1970s worsened the situation. Later, from 1986 to 1988, Peru was isolated from the international financial community because of the government's policy on payment of the external debt. That blocked economic aid for combating subversion. After the country's reinsertion into the world financial system in the early 1990s, the idea of U.S. economic aid to Peru was raised again, particularly because the PCP-SL and the MRTA were financing themselves in the northeastern part of the country by providing protection to drug traffickers. A new obstacle soon arose, however. Early in the Fujimori administration, the U.S. Congress began paying attention to reports of systematic human rights violations. Only when the conditions imposed by the U.S. legislature were met superficially did significant economic aid materialize. With that support, Fujimori and his presidential-military coterie saw the opportunity to put their sweeping plan into motion. They staged their institutional coup on April 5, 1992.

The most significant aspect of this setback for democracy was that it coincided with the new strategy of low-intensity conflict. That strategy was expected to bring a victory over terrorism without many human rights violations and without representing a setback to the spread of democracy in the world. While the first goal was partially achieved, the cost was the creation of special operations groups that not only committed excesses, but became the main tool of the National Intelligence Service even though they were part of Peruvian armed forces (Army Intelligence Service). Unlike the case of Central America, it was not the amount of economic aid to help Peru combat subversion that was harmful to democracy, but a local interpretation of the political implications of the new anti-subversive doctrine inspired by the U.S. concept of «low-intensity conflict.»

A look at the international situation makes it possible to better understand these events. At the end of the 1970s, U.S. military activities and capacities related to low-intensity warfare had diminished as a result of the policies of President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981). With the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, it was clear that wars that had been unleashed in far-flung places during the Cold War had had a negative political impact, even when the United States had substantial military superiority. In South America, the «victories» over guerrillas in the 1970s had given way to military governments that, by the end of the decade, were at a dead end. Under the Carter Administration, the

United States tended to increase the political component of its support for democratic transitions in Latin America and decrease military aid. That implied stepping back from developing anti-subversive strategies and training local repressive forces. When the PCP-SL launched its subversive war against the Peruvian state in 1980, U.S. military preparation and hemispheric cooperation in the fight against subversion were at an all-time low.

That began to change under the Reagan administration (1981-1989). The term «low-intensity conflict» was adopted to refer to the combination of counterinsurgency, special operations and unconventional warfare that would be used to achieve political objectives in countries affected by guerrilla warfare and terrorism. According to this concept, low-intensity conflict would demand minimal involvement of U.S. personnel and resources, unlike high-intensity conflict, in which the United States' full military might would be unleashed to protect the country.

The main agents of these wars would be special operations forces that would act in small commando units. Levels of violence would be low in quantitative terms, but high levels of violence in concentrated doses would be used during special selective operations. Recommendations included an emphasis on respect for human rights to reinforce the thesis of selectivity. Training in human rights reinforced the idea of applying violence selectively so as to have a decisive psychological impact. In this approach, training in human rights was seen as an essential element of low-intensity warfare. The result, paradoxically, would be selective strikes with a strong psychological impact that closely resemble terror tactics. The central task of low-intensity warfare is to affect the enemy organization as selectively as possible and limit, insofar as possible, the number of people affected by human rights violations. In low-intensity conflicts, support for counterinsurgency efforts from friendly governments alternates with support for the insurgency by enemy governments. In both cases, low-intensity conflict implies an active public human rights policy.

Besides this use of human rights, the resurgence of «special» military capacity in the United States marked a shift away from the socio-economic development that had been part of anti-guerrilla strategy in the 1960s. These comprehensive non-military programs were too expensive, slow and politically costly. Ignoring the value of social reforms and strategic investment implemented during those years in many «Third World» countries, the Reagan administration eliminated national development plans from its anti-subversive policy. This was a significant part of the concept of low-intensity conflict.

This international backdrop makes it easier to understand the situation that the Peruvian state faced in countering terrorist subversion in the early 1980s. When the terrorist violence broke out, the government's economic policy was framed by the international political situation and, therefore, the development-based concepts of the preceding decade. The anti-subversive strategy remained the same, however, because the armed forces had not changed. In 1984, when General Adrián Huamán Centeno, chief of operations in Ayacucho, sent the Belaunde government an imperious demand for massive public

investment and political and social reform in the emergency zone, he was swimming against the tide. The absence of international support for large-scale development projects did not change in the following years, a factor that also doomed the development projects and nationalization plans envisioned by Alan García when he took office. Only afterward, in 1988, did the Peruvian armed forces systematically adopt the strategy recommended by the United States and prepare to launch a special operations war aimed at respecting the human rights of the majority of the population while isolating the subversives, even though there had been no public investment or social reforms.

It is necessary to describe with more precision the original combination of state policy and military strategy that fell under the concept of low-intensity conflict. The Reagan administration was convinced that it could only support a government that would take up the challenge of social justice and provide strong leadership to deal with the serious problems of legitimacy that tended to affect poor countries. That government would have to adopt strict controls over the use of force while politically confronting subversives and mobilizing all sectors of the state against subversion. The easiest reforms involved restructuring public administration to make it more efficient and less expensive. The government would receive from the United States only the aid necessary for civic action, along with military preparation for its special operations groups. Civic action, ultimately, is a type of psycho-social operation aimed at producing a momentary sense of peace and progress amid the insecurity and defenselessness of internal warfare. The doctrine of low-intensity conflict makes it clear that economic development is not the issue; it denies that poverty is the main cause of subversion and that economic development would put an end to violent internal conflict. For these reasons, during the 1980s the United States refused to provide Peru with any type of assistance other than the military aid — instruction and training — needed to adapt the Andean nation's anti-subversive strategy to the concept of low-intensity warfare. That U.S. policy finally shaped Peru's political process. Around 1988, when as Peru was sinking under the weight of the economic and social crisis provoked by García's policies and subversion was at its peak, there was a sharp change of direction and Peru's anti-subversion shifted toward an intense strategy involving special operations.

The anti-subversive strategy within the concept of low-intensity conflict, however, was only part of the recommendations, which were given a local twist. The difficulty in applying them was evident in the internal conflict in El Salvador during the same years. The similarities between the strategy that stopped the advance of the guerrillas in El Salvador and the one that defeated the PCP-SL in Peru are not coincidental. The United States had an interest in both conflicts and was determined to influence their outcome through the strategic principles of low-intensity conflict.

An estimated 898 Peruvian officers took courses at the School of the Americas between 1980 and 1996. If the work of U.S. military instructors in Peru is added, anti-subversive instruction had a large audience. The basic content of the anti-subversion courses at the School of the Americas was made public when the Pentagon declassified several manuals on September 20, 1996, as well

as through CIA manuals declassified in 1997. These manuals came to light as a result of pressure from the U.S. Congress and civil society. The contents were largely drawn from instruction material for «Project X,» the U.S. Army Intelligence School's Foreign Intelligence Assistance Program, which was designed to provide intelligence training to U.S. allies around the world. The anti-subversion manuals that were made public were designed at the School of the Americas in Panama in 1987 by U.S. Army intelligence officers. The contents, concepts and examples in the manuals were based largely on materials from the 1960s that had been partly reworked.

Counterintelligence activities are surrounded by the moral and political problem of not distinguishing between legal opponents of the government and subversives. Operations are carried out to begin distinguishing one from the other, so at first actions are aimed against all opponents, whether or not they are support bases for subversion. What is clear in this strategy is the high risk that basic rights will be violated. In Peru, the lack of democratic control over these operations allowed them to become the basis for anti-democratic military and political power.

According to the manual, counterintelligence is not limited to identifying targets; it is also aimed directly at changing people's attitudes and controlling their activities. In this «control over population and resources,» other military personnel become a supporting force for activities designed and directed by counterintelligence. It is understood that because the territory in which these activities occur is under a state of emergency, the armed forces have responsibility for controlling and reorganizing civilian activities.

In this scenario, military intelligence becomes a source of political guidance for the government facing the subversive threat. Implicit in the manuals is that such a war is not fought primarily with bullets, but with comprehensive policies and mechanisms for controlling the population's activities and expectations. With subversion as the pretext, the range and scope of military intelligence activities broaden, according to these manuals, until they are almost unlimited. This implies serious risks for the future of democracy in countries affected by low-intensity conflicts. The anti-subversive armed forces tend to become a parallel alternative to the elected government. In the eyes of military intelligence, military missions include measures that, in a democracy, could only be policies of the elected government. In Peru, this tendency to usurp the government's functions was combined with the constitutional provision under which the armed forces assume control of internal order during a state of emergency. When this usurpation occurs, democratic controls disappear and counterintelligence operations frequently trample the basic rights of the people to whom they are applied.

The U.S. recommendations focused on special operations. In Peru, the predominance of special operations during the conflict led to the development of a certain type of political-military power that conspired against democracy and finally subjugated it. The manual entitled *Counterintelligence* lists as possible targets of counterintelligence operations local or national political groups, especially those whose goals, beliefs or ideologies are contrary or opposed to the

national government. The concept is very broad, as are the attributes of counterintelligence:

## BLACK LISTS

CONTAIN THE IDENTITIES AND LOCATIONS OF PEOPLE WHOSE ARREST AND DETENTION ARE OF PRIMORDIAL IMPORTANCE FOR THE ARMED FORCES.

## EXAMPLES

- Known or suspected enemy agents, persons involved in espionage, sabotage, politics, and subversive persons.
- Political Leaders known or suspected to be hostile toward the Armed Forces or the political interests of the National Government.
- Enemy Collaborators and Sympathizers, known or suspected, whose presence in the area of operations represents a threat to National Security.
- Enemy Collaborators or Sympathizers known or suspected to have participated in Intelligence, Counterintelligence, Security, Police or Political Indoctrination activities among troops or civilians.
- Other persons identified by G2 as [targeted for] immediate detention. These may include local political figures, Police Chiefs and leaders of municipal or departmental branches of the enemy government (*Counterintelligence: 237*).

These are the groups or types of persons whom a «black list» should include. They are direct enemy collaborators who must be detained immediately — in other words, they must be the targets of counterintelligence operations. The targets on «gray lists» include potential or occasional enemy collaborators, while «white lists» contain the names of people who have proven their loyalty to anti-subversive efforts. It is a general principle of intelligence and counterintelligence operations that the «targets» are not to be eliminated, but «exploited.» Exploiting in this sense means obtaining information, which makes the white list as important as the gray and black lists. The basic principle of counterintelligence is to use the smallest amount of force necessary to deactivate the threat to one's operational capacity without causing major damage to the network of informants.

The use of military intelligence to combat subversion introduces the criterion of limiting violence as an alternative to the criterion of legality. In police actions and criminal prosecution, the legal criterion is the rule of law; in military actions, the criteria are the rules of warfare established by International Humanitarian Law. That, however, is not why operational, strategic or tactical intelligence imposes strict control over the use of force. Rather, control is aimed at giving the military force a decisive advantage over the enemy by obtaining information about the enemy's behavior. This utilitarian principle gives military actions an element of complexity and functional specialization that competes with the rule of law. While the rule of law and international juridical order



authorize the use of force according to legal norms, so that everyone knows the rules of the game, counterintelligence actions dole out the violence according to operating plans, so that only the forces themselves know the rules and the enemy does not.

With this difference in mind, the concept of human rights mentioned in these manuals on anti-subversive action — and in U.S. instruction of Latin American officers in the 1980s — is seriously distorted. It is a paradigmatic case of disinformation.

The instructions for interrogation in the military manuals follow the teachings of the CIA manuals of the 1960s, especially the 1963 *KUBARK Counterintelligence Interrogation*. According to the Army manuals, the basic rule is to subject the detainees to the strictest isolation, depriving them of any clear reference to what is going on around them. If a person somehow becomes certain that his or her imprisonment will end soon, that is enough to raise the person's psychological defenses and keep the interrogator from getting information. The detention facilities described in the manuals are clearly clandestine prisons. The CIA manuals are much more precise and explicit than the Army manuals. *Human Resource Exploitation Training Manual* (1983) is an updated version of *KUBARK*. According to *Human Resource Exploitation*, detentions should be done at dawn, because that is the time when people are most passive psychologically. The person should be gagged and blindfolded immediately, stripped naked, transported and kept incommunicado so he or she loses all sense of time. Food and sleep schedules should be altered. Although both CIA manuals include chapters on coercive techniques, they note that torture tends to be counterproductive for obtaining information, and that the threat of pain is more effective than pain itself. The use of force is not discarded, however, as a way of breaking down the psychological defenses of the person being interrogated and convincing him or her that the threats will be carried out. Interrogators should take turns and divide up roles in order to prolong the pressure on the person being interrogated, subjecting the person to extreme physical exhaustion and extreme heat and cold, depriving the detainee of sleep («The bed should be minimal, a frame and blanket, no mattress. The idea is to keep the subject from relaxing and recovering from the shock» E-3), resorting to hypnosis, drugs and placebos when they might be useful.

Officers of the Peruvian police and armed forces carefully studied the Taiwanese concept of anti-subversive warfare beginning in the early 1980s, traveling to Taiwan and living there for periods of up to a year. When they returned, these officers helped teach security personnel and prepare Peru's anti-subversive strategy. The first course in Psychological Operations based on the concept of «political warfare» was offered in Peru's War College as early as 1984. This doctrine merits close scrutiny for two reasons. First, it helped define the central elements of the anti-subversive strategy used to defeat the PCP-SL. Second, along with instruction at the School of the Americas, it laid the ideological groundwork for the Fujimori regime.

It is clear that in the term «political warfare,» politics is considered an

attribute of war. The word «political» has been reduced to an adjective modifying the noun «war» to define a particular type of warfare. Understood in this sense, politics is the exercising of the state's right to existence, rather than the exercising of citizens' political rights. Unlike ordinary politics, in which there is open and fair competition — rather than war — among ideologies or organizations, in this form of politics the state uses all means available to gain political dominance and subjugate or eliminate enemy activities. This is precisely what political warfare involves.

As a result, in this type of war the use of violence is limited for the same reasons that restrict the use of violence in counterintelligence operations. It is not a matter of limiting destructive forces so as not to violate people's rights, whether these are citizens' rights, rights protected by international law regarding warfare or human rights in general. Rather, the use of violence is limited because in political warfare strategic advantage is won not on the battlefield, but in the delicate fabric of society. Military might remains the «centerpiece.» Political warfare, which is also and more descriptively called «total ideological warfare,» gains strategic advantages that make a simultaneous political and military victory possible.

All actions related to political warfare go beyond military maneuvers. Exceeding these boundaries does not mean abandoning the mindset of war. In political warfare, there is the right to kill, as well as the right to misinform, discredit, divide and debilitate the enemy. For strategic reasons, however, those involved do not resort to open combat. Violence is limited so as to avoid military confrontation that could be disadvantageous if it occurred before sufficient progress had been made in the political war. The concept of personal rights, a central element of all rational concepts of justice, is absent from texts on political warfare.

Nevertheless, the analysis of Maoist strategy in these manuals had a decisive influence on the development of Peru's anti-subversive strategy in the late 1980s. Perhaps the strategic idea that most clearly transferred from the Chinese Communists' «people's war» to Taiwan's «political war,» and likewise from the PCP-SL's «prolonged people's war from the countryside to the city-Gonzalo thought» to Peruvian anti-subversive strategy in 1989, is that of not trying to control territory, but to gain the support of the population. The strategy itself indicates that a necessary first step is making the public skeptical of the enemy's promises. This is followed by neutrality and, only at the end, by active participation in the political war.

The decisive battle is fought on the field of ideology. The groundwork for ideological change is laid with psychological operations. One of the central points of psychological warfare is the adequate distribution of feelings of hostility. As in intelligence warfare, the key element is to affect only «a limited group of leaders of the enemy band, not a considerable number.» This is not to be confused with gratuitous benevolence. It is only a means of isolating the enemy's leadership and stripping it of the support of the masses. The radical difference between the strategic criterion of limited violence and the juridical criterion is clear in one of the most aggressive operations: recruitment of collaborators with the promise

that no one will look into their past. A similar policy was applied under Fujimori with the repentance law, although this was limited by aspects of the rule of law that the opposition and international pressure managed to maintain.

Finally, it should be noted that as part of «psychological warfare,» it is necessary «[...] to stress the fact that the battle against communism is a battle between freedom and slavery, between democracy and totalitarianism. Therefore the establishment of a constitutional regime, the consolidation of the rule of law and the safeguarding of human rights are the fundamental objectives of our anti-communist efforts of national salvation.» In other words, the full enjoyment of the rule of law and security is an ideal that will someday be attained through national defense actions. In this view, as in «political warfare,» the order of democratic values is inverted. Those who help attain the goals of the state's defense policy are the true defenders of human rights, even if this defense policy requires suspending guarantees and eliminating public oversight through undercover operations by military secret services with no democratic control.

#### THE MILITARY-POLITICAL PLAN AND THE RISE OF ALBERTO FUJIMORI FUJIMORI

In 1989, while the armed forces were preparing and implementing the new anti-subversive strategy, a group of military officers and civilians was secretly preparing a plan to stage a coup and establish a «guided democracy» in July 1990, when a new administration would normally take office. The authoritarian, neoliberal political tone of this extensive document, which the press called «Plan Verde,» was later adopted by the political-military power clique that Vladimiro Montesinos built around Fujimori. For lack of a more precise name, we will refer to the document as the Political-Military Plan. The idea of the Political-Military Plan was to make a military declaration shortly before the change of government, overthrow Alan García, detain him, try him for treason and pressure the new president to agree to govern jointly with the armed forces. The plan was not put into action, however, because Fujimori's election complicated matters. The Political-Military Plan assumed that extreme polarization between FREDEMO and APRA would block a peaceful, democratic solution, paving the way for a military declaration that would come from a new civilian regime propped up by the armed forces. The new regime would immediately ensure two necessary changes, economic reform and the defeat of terrorism. But Fujimori's political overtures to APRA and the left early in his administration put the plans on hold. This waiting period was further extended by negotiations with the United States over military and economic aid for combating subversion and drug trafficking. Throughout this process, Vladimiro Montesinos, although he had not been part of the group that drew up the Political-Military Plan, took charge of keeping it alive despite the complications, updating it and adapting it to the interests of his presidential-military power clique. In short, he took the conspiracy further than even the conspirators had imagined. Finally, the operation outlined in the Political-Military Plan and its blueprint for governance, updated to coincide with the new scenario, went into motion with Fujimori's coup on April 5, 1992.

An analysis of the Political-Military Plan indicates the way in which

the armed forces were becoming politicized. First, it is clear that even then the affirmation of the right of military officers to seize power unconstitutionally, using the very arms that the nation conferred upon them, was an indecent, inadmissible doctrine that was purely conspiratorial and designed to unite the armed forces. Second, it is noteworthy that the emphasis placed on the «elimination of the undesirable surplus population» serves the same purpose, placing the armed forces in an ideological position contrary to the culture of human rights that was by then already the common heritage of the parties that were participating in democratic elections. Third, these forced ideological positions stemmed from the desire to take credit for the two great accomplishments needed at the time: a strategic victory over terrorism and the structural reform of the economy. The top-ranking officers who were conspiring to stage the coup were unwilling to allow democracy to solve the country's major problems; many of them would later be accused of human rights violations committed during the conflict.

Two processes interfered with and transformed the coup plot being hatched within the armed forces: Fujimori's electoral victory and the conditions that the United States placed on providing economic aid for combating subversion and drug trafficking. The Political-Military Plan had certainly underestimated both factors. Although they knew that they could not govern openly again as they had in the 1970s, the coup plotters did not calculate that this meant being subject to the will of a popular leader who drew his power from the very political dynamic that they sought to neutralize. There was also substantial confusion about the United States, as the coup plotters had lost sight of what it meant to be part of the free world.

After the 1990 elections, the plotters were forced to readjust their analysis and, therefore, their operating plans to the new scenario. A scant seven weeks earlier, in their intelligence analysis of February 20, 1990, they had concluded that «plans for an orderly electoral process, transfer of government and the first months of the new administration are unrealistic and could lead to the unleashing of generalized social upheaval. Under these conditions, only the forces of order guiding state policy can guarantee the unity of the majority of the population and the beginning of a process of nation building outside the democratic system established in the Constitution.» But in a new intelligence analysis dated April 9, the day after the elections, events were explained as follows: «There is a natural tendency during periods of social, political and economic instability for Citizens to take moderate, non-confrontational positions.» They also stated that the results reflected «the abnormal conditions affecting the Peruvian state.»

Between the June 10 run-off election and July 28, when the new administration took office, Fujimori spent several weeks living in a suite in a military social club, where he had been taken on the pretext of providing security for the president-elect. While there, Vladimiro Montesinos introduced him to the armed forces' secret plans. The intended military declaration became unnecessary when Fujimori agreed to work toward the plan's goals. Moreover, if the idea was for the armed forces' control over the elected government to be secret, the new system put in place should also remain secret. This perfected and

mediatized version of the Political-Military Plan was put into play by Montesinos and Fujimori during their plotting in June. The National Intelligence Service would be the base and Vladimiro Montesinos the conductor.

It was not economic policy that started Fujimori down the road to the April 5, 1992 coup, but the desire of the armed forces — encouraged by the administration — to eliminate all democratic control over security and defense policy. The first test of strength came in October with Supreme Decree 017-90-JUS, by which the executive branch granted amnesty to anyone indicted for excesses or human rights violations committed during the fight against subversion. Predictably, the Senate struck down the decree on the grounds that it was unconstitutional and illegal. From then on, Fujimori missed no opportunity to discredit the legislature and judiciary, claiming they were corrupt and irresponsible. Meanwhile, the armed forces and police continued to fight subversion, using even harsher measures, and accusations of illegal executions, massacres, torture and disappearances multiplied. With the military's full support, Fujimori announced a new anti-subversive strategy involving coordinated action by all sectors of the state. There was political polarization between Fujimori's supporters, who favored an unlimited anti-subversive war, and the opposition majority in Congress, which preferred stepping up anti-subversive efforts without abdicating democratic control or the rule of law. Alan García was spared a constitutional accusation in Congress for the massacres in the Lurigancho and El Frontón prisons because lawmakers loyal to Fujimori cast their votes with the APRA legislators.

Following one priority of the Political-Military Plan, in early 1991 the Fujimori administration began making arrangements to receive economic aid from the United States to combat drug trafficking and subversion. Steps taken in this direction were revealed through declassified messages exchanged at the time among the U.S. Embassy in Lima, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the U.S. Congress.

In response to initial consultations, the U.S. government pointed out that international aid for such purposes was regulated by the International Narcotics Control Act of 1990 (INCA). This norm is so explicit regarding human rights violations that the Peruvian government was forced to invent an action plan for improving respect for human rights in the fight against subversion. Fujimori took a series of steps, some real and some mere invention, to meet the U.S. requirements. That process lasted throughout 1991, and in 1992, after Peru received the first pledges of disbursement, it was suddenly interrupted by the coup.

In May, in preparation for receiving economic aid, the Peruvian government signed an anti-drug agreement with the United States. The draft of that agreement had been revised in light of the results of the international conference on «Drug Trafficking, One Year after Cartagena,» which had been held in April. The Peruvian government signed the agreement without consulting Congress.

In the United States, there was expectation tempered by doubts and debate between Congress and the administration. While the latter believed that

it was possible to make basic progress in respect for human rights and significant progress in combating drugs, Congress placed emphasis exclusively on the issue of human rights, convinced that the situation was extremely serious. New reports from the U.S. Embassy in Lima called attention to the Fujimori administration's fight against the PCP-SL and the MRTA and attributed part of the responsibility for corruption to the weakness of the judiciary and public administration. These factors, which attenuated severe criticism of the Fujimori government in the area of human rights, had little effect on the stance taken by the U.S. Congress. Added to the magnitude of those violations was the fact that in Peru, investigation into human rights violations by relevant international agencies was systematically blocked.

The U.S. administration's reaction to this frontal attack on its negotiations with Peru was an equally frontal counterattack. Using presidential resolution 91-20 as a starting point, the U.S. secretary of state began to determine independently whether Peru met the INCA criteria; this was reflected in a letter to Congress dated July 30, in which he listed, point by point, the INCA criteria already met by Peru and expressed his confidence in Fujimori's commitment to both fighting drug trafficking and respecting human rights. A July 31 memorandum drafted by the military attachés at the U.S. Embassy stated that in their judgment, the human rights violations committed in Peru were not the result of a policy of Peru's top military commanders.

The U.S. Congress responded by establishing a series of precise conditions for granting aid gradually, as conditions were met. An initial payment would be made when personnel from the Red Cross and the Attorney General's Office had free access to all detention facilities. That first payment would be earmarked for replacement parts urgently needed by the Air Force for anti-drug air patrols. The second disbursement would depend on Peru demonstrating efficient control over airports to prevent drugs from passing through them, as well as on progress in complying with the accords of the Cartagena Summit. The third installment would be disbursed when (a) a national registry of detained persons was operating, (b) the armed forces and police were able to jointly carry out anti-drug operations, and (c) progress was made in compliance with the Cartagena accords. The executive branch was required to accept these conditions in writing, and after each disbursement it had to report to the U.S. Congress on progress in each area. A final requirement was that Peruvian military personnel be trained in the United States instead of U.S. instructors being sent to Peru.

Peru's overtures included a visit by Fujimori to his U.S. counterpart, George Bush, in October to express his willingness to comply with the requirements for U.S. aid. The visit had no impact on the position of the U.S. Congress. The legislators were not mistaken. That same month, in a speech at a military ceremony, Fujimori called human rights defenders «useful fools» and said there were «terrorists infiltrated in pseudo humanitarian and human rights organizations.» The double standard continued. In an obvious effort to calm international criticism, the Council for Peace was established with government support. Similarly, a delegation from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights arrived in Lima that month at the invitation of the Peruvian government

to gather information about cases that had been denounced before it.

On January 17, 1992, the U.S. State Department «reluctantly» accepted the conditions imposed by the U.S. Congress, as long as no effort was spared to reduce the flow of drugs to that country. The conditions were communicated to Peruvian officials, with an emphasis on the registry of detained persons and an indication that the aid would not include US\$10.05 million for training three anti-subversive Army battalions.

The economic aid and military assistance for the fight against drug trafficking and subversion was interrupted by the coup on April 5, 1992. In May of that year, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for Western hemispheric affairs, Bernard Aronson, met with Fujimori and expressed support for the position taken by the OAS. Fujimori was not impressed, because the amount of aid involved was not decisive to his plans. In March 1992, Fujimori had made an official visit to Japan, where he received aid commitments totaling \$127 million. Thus the 1992 coup brutally confirmed the warnings of the U.S. Congress about Fujimori's unreliability.

From these events, it can be concluded that the more selective nature of the strategy adopted in 1989 was not the only factor in the decrease in the number of human rights violations as of 1990. One powerful factor was the list of prisoners that was updated daily and overseen by the International Red Cross and Peruvian district attorneys. This list was established to comply with one of the conditions attached by the U.S. Congress to economic aid for Peru. As a result, Shining Path leaders who were detained were not disappeared, tortured or killed. The intelligence interrogations no longer had fatal consequences.

Another influential factor in this turn of events was the Fujimori administration's need to maintain certain democratic political appearances, which opened a door for those who insisted that the armed forces' actions should adhere to basic criteria of ethics and justice. That need was created because Fujimori sought, and gradually achieved, personal leadership over the armed forces instead of the decorative role that had been outlined for the president in the Political-Military Plan.

The source of Fujimori's political initiative was the fight against subversion, understood as a transformation of society and state that transcended the democratic process. The insistence on reducing ethical and legal control over armed action to a secondary role responded not to the intrinsic need for such action, but to Fujimori's personal need to accumulate political capital. The new regime's double dealing was reflected in a Ministry of Defense directive (003-91-MD/SDN) on the pacification policy drawn up by the National Defense Secretariat (*Secretaría de Defensa Nacional*). The directive contained a broad political plan that included military and non-military areas, despite the risks that such a plan implied for democracy and the rule of law.

Fujimori kept the rule of law and parliamentary policy alive in order to place himself above military authority. At the same time, however, he reduced them and weakened them to an extreme in the name of fighting subversion, so as to accumulate power for himself alone rather than truly sharing it with the other branches of government. While that power structure was contradictory,

it was real and worked for Fujimori at the time. His technique for flooding the legislature with anti-subversion initiatives with no democratic controls was to produce a series of executive decrees and later, with extraordinary powers that he obtained from Congress, pass legislative decrees that were illegal or inappropriate for a democracy. What Congress did not foresee was that in the months that followed, Vladimiro Montesinos would orchestrate the preparation of 126 legislative decrees, including many, especially among the 35 that referred to pacification, that would ignore the nation's constitutional and democratic foundations and force Congress to choose between allowing such a gutting of the political regime and confronting the president in a debate in which it would be very difficult for the lawmakers to win popular support.

In July, journalist Cecilia Valenzuela presented on television a military document that referred to the strategy of selective elimination. The Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a statement denying any link with document. At the time, there were also reports of murders by paramilitaries. It was later learned that the murders were committed not by paramilitaries, but by active-duty officers organized in special operations squads. The reports of human rights violations multiplied and were disseminated by international organizations, with no effect on the anti-subversive operations. The majority of the population was unwilling to risk its little remaining security to defend ethical and legal principles. Congress, however, did not yield in the face of the challenge posed by the legislative decrees prepared by Fujimori and Montesinos. The legislature chose a collision course with the executive branch, even though that was exactly what the coup plotters sought in order to justify violation of constitutional order.

Congress had 30 days to review the decrees. In the few days that remained before the end of the ordinary legislative session on December 15, it struck down six decrees. These included Decrees 731 and 764, which postponed the date that the criminal procedures code would take effect; and Decrees 736, 747 and 762, which penalized money laundering, covering up drug trafficking and revealing or disseminating information obtained or processed by the National Defense System. Because the language was imprecise, Congress argued that they could be misused to threaten democratic freedoms. It was the vote to strike down Decree 746, the National Intelligence System Law, however, that provoked the most outrage in the executive branch, because it was a direct attack on the main tool for fighting subversion. In response, the president refused to sign the measures striking down the decrees. On February 7, the congressional leadership signed Law 25399, which contained the norms striking down the decrees. Fujimori had responded to the congressional actions on the last day of the year, issuing a series of reservations regarding the General Budget Law for 1992, preventing it from taking effect at a moment when Congress could not meet to resolve the impasse.

1992-2000: THE ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES FROM THE 1992 COUP UNTIL THE END OF THE FUJIMORI ADMINISTRATION

This is not the place for a detailed description of the April 5, 1992, coup, but it



should be noted that it was a broad military operation of the same nature and scope as the operation outlined in the Political-Military Plan.

On Sunday, April 5, 1992, the coup operations focused on Lima, because political power in Peru is centralized (while military power is not). The forces in Lima carried out the operations, therefore, while those in the regions and on the fronts limited themselves to providing backup. That afternoon, all commanders of operational units received telephone calls telling them that they should watch the televised presidential message to be broadcast that night and later call their general commanders by telephone. The regional chiefs called that night to express their support for the coup. The CVR has learned of only one honorable exception, but we cannot discount the possibility that there might have been others.

The civil disobedience led by many legislators and civil society leaders in the days after the coup had no real objective, because they were facing a force that was determined to use arms and violate all basic liberties to achieve its goals. The protest, therefore, was brief and symbolic. But the most characteristic element of the military operation and the regime born of it, which the armed forces supported institutionally for eight years, was the insidious use of undercover and psycho-social operations to control the political process. The basic technique for such control is well explained in the Taiwanese school's doctrine of «political warfare.» The masses are controlled through a propaganda campaign of information and disinformation.

As will be seen in greater detail in the next chapter, from the time of the coup until the Democratic Constituent Congress (*Congreso Constituyente Democrático*, CCD) was seated, Fujimori legislated profusely, usurping the function of the legislative branch of government. The CCD later took on the task of approving that legislation and adjusting it to the Constitution, resulting in the 1993 Constitution. Thus Fujimori achieved all the legislative changes that he had proposed in 1991, which Congress had not ratified.

Besides «repentance,» the provision that most affected the fight against subversion was the one that recognized and organized peasant self-defense committees under military authority. According to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 4,628 self-defense committees with 232,668 members were formed between 1992 and 1994. More favorable to Fujimori's political dominance than to the anti-subversion efforts was the broadening of the role of the heads of the political-military commands, who effectively became local governors, with the power to appoint and fire civilian authorities. The political-military chief appointed a committee of dignitaries that recommended people for positions.

The 1993 Constitution repeated, point by point, the chapter on security and defense in the 1979 Constitution. That indicates that to successfully fight terrorist subversion it was not necessary to break with the constitutional order or call a constituent assembly, because the 1979 constitutional norms for security and defense were sufficient. It also means that the content of those chapters of the 1979 Constitution — which, as we have seen, were proposed by the military while it was still in power — was compatible with the role played by the armed forces during the Fujimori regime and the laws regarding the agencies of the National Defense System that led, among other things, to Montesinos' SIN.

The legislative changes that followed revealed the serious consequences of this lack of definition. The modifications with serious consequences included one that enabled the president to keep top military commanders in their posts indefinitely, resulting in Hermoza Ríos remaining as head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for seven years, and one granting the SIN the power to carry out undercover operations with no oversight.

On November 13, 1992, just nine days before the election of the CCD, a military coup attempt against Fujimori was organized by retired Generals Jaime Salinas Sedó, José Pastor Vives and Ernesto Obando and other officers. Fujimori left the presidential palace, but the coup plotters' plans were revealed before they could be carried out, and all the officers involved were quickly detained.

Throughout Fujimori's 10 years in office, Vladimiro Montesinos took charge of pressuring, blackmailing, suing, bribing when possible and especially forcing out of the country any officers who did not mold themselves to the role that the regime established for the armed forces. One of the first was General Alberto Arciniega, who headed the Political-Military Command of the Huallaga front from mid-1989 until January 1990. Montesinos sent special operations personnel to his home when he and his family were not there, vandalizing it and leaving insulting messages threatening him. When the threats were repeated and he found no support within his branch of the military, Arciniega and his immediate family emigrated to Argentina. Others, including many of those whose personal merits were most outstanding, were given bureaucratic or diplomatic posts where their careers stalled, such as the post of military attaché in the Ukraine or Cuba. The repression was also aimed at retired officers, to keep them from using their authority over younger officers to encourage criticism of the regime.

The sidelining or distancing of the best-prepared officers, who also stood out for their independent judgment and military leadership, was one of the types of damage inflicted on the armed forces and, by extension, the Peruvian state as a result of the military's support for the April 5 coup.

One of the November 1991 legislative decrees that Congress did not ratify was Decree 746, which dealt with the National Intelligence System (*Sistema de Inteligencia Nacional*, SINA). That norm granted broad responsibilities to the National Intelligence Service and placed it under the president's direct authority with no ministerial, judicial or congressional oversight. The SIN would set its own budget and makes its own operating plans, keeping all that information classified as secret. This led to a series of actions that were not only irregular, but also criminal, involving top officials of the regime. These have been extensively described in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's *Final Report*.

As drastic and immediate as the economic shock, but less perceptible, was the naming of military personnel to direct the National Police of Peru in 1990. The subordination of the PNP to the heads of the political-military commands in the emergency zones was rounded out when the agents most skilled in gathering information from non-public sources were placed under military control. As a result, police investigations were sidelined by intelligence and counterintelligence operations.

This created a paradoxical situation in 1991. While Fujimori was in intense negotiations with the United States over military aid and the U.S. State Department was insisting to the U.S. Congress that military aid to Peru was necessary to «reduce the flow of drugs to the United States,» Montesinos and Hermoza Ríos were monopolizing the state's presence in the Upper Huallaga Valley, fostering the complete corruption of Peru's top military commanders and the soldiers deployed there.

By January 1992 at the latest, payment of protection money to anti-subversive bases had resumed. The head of each anti-subversive base received \$2,000 for every flight that took off from the airstrip controlled by the base. The local mayor, governor and coca growers' organization also received payments, as did the PCP-SL and the police base in Santa Lucía. In other words, all the local players who had the capacity to affect drug trafficking received regular hush money. On the military base, the money was distributed proportionately, with larger amounts to officers and smaller amounts to enlisted soldiers. Part was set aside for food, fuel and infrastructure improvements.

In short, in 1992 the armed forces and the SIN, the only state agents responsible for fighting drug trafficking, allowed the military bases themselves to provide services and facilitate the traffickers' business instead of combating it, in exchange for modest amounts of money that made it possible to increase the military presence in the zone. Thus the conditions were created for drug traffickers to make a profit, invest and expand. Army General Ríos Araico was the chief of the Huallaga front at the time. When he was tried on drug trafficking charges along with most of the officers who served there, he admitted that the payments improved the food and other aspects of life on the base.

Drug money began to flow up the chain of command, and in greater quantities, when the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the SIN, in cooperation with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) — which never stopped operating at the police air base in Santa Lucía— launched operations to combat drug trafficking. Ways of getting hold of drug money became more daring and dangerous in early 1993, when Air Force interdiction flights, the destruction of airstrips ordered by Lima and intelligence obtained by DEA agents began to have an effect. There were cases in which «narcoterrorists» were assaulted and their drugs stolen, deals struck with relatives of drug traffickers who had been detained or whose drugs had been seized, even a case in which a PCP-SL leader known as *Chatín*, who was chief of logistics in the Tocache area, was freed. According to testimony from a former DEA informant, Óscar Benítez Linares, firms operating in Campanilla put him in charge of arranging a 20-ton drug shipment using Army helicopters. Through Army officers, Benítez arranged a meeting in Lima with Vladimiro Montesinos, who authorized the helicopter flights to the processing center in Palmapampa, Ayacucho, and from there to Colombia, in exchange for about \$1 million. The drug trafficker Manuel López Paredes also used Army helicopters to transport drugs. This was proven in an undercover operation by anti-drug police organized with cover from the DEA.

By late 1993, the anti-subversive military bases had sunk into inaction and lacked resources because of the emphasis on operations planned and directed

by Lima or by the DEA-supported police base in Santa Lucía. Special operations, whether to strike at drug traffickers allied with the PCP-SL or to favor certain drug-trafficking firms, concentrated action and funds in the hands of airborne commando groups that carried out direct orders from the SIE, DINTE, Joint Chiefs of Staff and, ultimately, the SIN. Montesinos had discouraged and disrupted intelligence work by using a parallel structure of special operations over which he had direct control, which was unconnected with other events in the fronts' theaters of operations.

The change in military strategy is reflected in the Army manual entitled *Anti-Subversion — Doctrine and procedures — Application against Subversive Movements in Peru (Contrasubversión - Doctrina y procedimientos - Aplicación contra los movimientos subversivos en el Perú, ME 41-7-B)*, which was approved by Nicolás Hermoza Ríos, and which we found in an edition of a command training manual dated January 1996. It is not difficult to see that this manual reflects the strategy applied in Operation Aries and other operations during the final stage of the conflict. There is practically no analysis of revolutionary ideology, and the section on dismantling the Political-Administrative Organization consists of only 30 lines of generalities. The section on intelligence introduces the idea that certain operational methods are reserved to upper echelons of the intelligence system, implying that the upper echelons implement operations of a type that lower levels cannot carry out. There is an evident return to the principles of traditional anti-subversive strategy and the language used by the School of the Americas.

The manual emphasizes the psycho-social aspects of the fight against subversion, such as repentance, civic action and — as was common after 1991 — respect for human rights.

Operation Aries was the armed forces' frontal offensive against the subversive «pockets» [groups of nine to 12 PCP-SL «people's committees»] known as «Cuchara» and «Primavera» in the province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco, between April and July 1994. Not surprisingly, the psycho-social tactics, particularly «repentance,» that had been used earlier with some success were not effective in these places. Thousands of flyers warning people to abandon the area were dropped from helicopters, but with no result. The local people had been reduced to servitude by members of the PCP-SL, who kept them isolated, threatened them and held them under ideological control. Anyone who tried to flee was shot by armed PCP-SL militants stationed at piers and near the mouths of rivers, the only routes out of the areas.

To combat this, the Army prepared anti-subversive companies that operated in patrols. Testimony from participants indicates that there were about 2,000 men, including support personnel. Of these, at least two companies, some 300 men, were special operations commandos. The goal was to destroy targets in populated areas where the enemy was camouflaged amid the civilian population, engaging in combat and hand-to-hand fighting for territory. One of the difficulties of this operation, and one that set it apart from all previous ones, was that there was no way to explore the terrain before going in. This represented a huge advantage for the enemy, which made use of knowledge of the terrain. Hermoza Ríos personally directed the preparation, and President

Fujimori was also present.

The first phase, in April and May 1994, began with Air Force attacks. Commandos then surrounded the zone and advanced, capturing Shining Path guard posts. The PCP-SL members responded by ambushing in small groups that harried the commandos hour after hour, firing from the dense jungle and claiming victims without ever engaging in open combat. Finding no one to fight, but with casualties mounting, the patrols that had gone in had to be replaced by new ones, which soon found themselves in the same situation. By mid-May, the operation had been suspended and the forces withdrawn without having achieved their goal, although they had tightened a noose around Cuchara and prepared a way into Primavera. Some Shining Path militants had also been detained. During the weeks that followed, they provided information about the location of key enemy positions.

The second phase, from mid-June to mid-July, was characterized by an increase in the violence and the military presence to make PCP-SL members feel they were facing a force they could not resist. The information provided by the detained «repentant» militants made it possible to deactivate the PCP-SL's organization in some of the villages at the entry to the area, but the main operation consisted of eliminating all groups of residents who were suspected of helping to reorganize resistance. The operation was the most violent and bloody of the entire conflict. The military issued an ultimatum, dropping fliers from helicopters that told local residents to leave the area and turn themselves in to the armed forces as «repentants.» The result was a higher death toll than in any previous operation. Witnesses testified that bodies appeared by the dozens along the riverbanks and that helicopters had to bring in fuel to burn them.

The result was that Fujimori was able to announce that he had destroyed the PCP-SL's last bastions in the Huallaga and that the groundwork had been laid for total pacification of the country. That increased his popularity, which had been threatened by revelations about the Colina Group and the reorganization of the opposition around the presidential candidacy of Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. Montesinos gained control over the coca-growing activities and established himself in the role that General Noriega had played in Panama until four years earlier: exclusive pursuer and selective godfather of drug traffickers. In that role, he was publicly recognized and praised by U.S. Drug Czar Barry McCaffrey over the next few years. Hermoza Ríos also obtained something, sharing in Montesinos' economic booty — and priority for a cut of future bounties — and establishing a certain degree of military leadership that enabled him to tolerate the frustration of supporting a tyranny that was not exactly a military government, but which committed the armed forces to providing support day after day.

The next chapter describes other ways in which President Fujimori used the armed forces for political gain. Examples include the events surrounding the unfortunate conflict between Peru and Ecuador, which erupted in January 1995, with armed confrontations continuing until March of that year. The difficult conditions under which the Peruvians fought contrasted with the well-prepared Ecuadorian campaign. It took the Army nearly two weeks to mobilize to the

point at which it could attack Ecuadorian positions. The Peruvian Air Force suffered many casualties, partly because of its technological limitations in comparison to the new anti-aircraft system it faced, but mainly because the order had been given not to enter Ecuadorian air space, which forced Peruvian pilots to turn around within the combat zone every time they entered it. Ground forces suffered greatly because of the lack of food, water and medical attention.

Fujimori visited the theater of operations more for political gain than to support the war effort. He singled out the Tiwinza post as a decisive military target and, in the middle of combat, made the surprise announcement that Peruvian forces had routed the Ecuadorians there, and that because of that victory he had decided to declare a unilateral cease-fire as of noon Tuesday, February 14. In fact, Tiwinza had not been under Peruvian military control. When the cease-fire order came, Peruvian advance forces were in disadvantageous positions and their supply lines had been cut. Diplomatic efforts in March, which favored peace, and the presidential elections in April diverted attention from what had really happened in Tiwinza. For those who had risked their lives in the conflict, Fujimori's lie turned into a firm conviction, so solid that they would risk their lives again against anyone who believed the opposite. By linking the military's honor with a falsehood that was unacceptable to anyone aware of the true situation, Fujimori continued to bend the armed forces to his will, encouraging in them and in his political supporters a falsely patriotic hatred of the regime's democratic critics.

Months before the conflict, in September 1994, journalists had caught General Howard Rodríguez, head of the First Military Region, distributing Fujimori's printed electoral propaganda. He was accompanied by many officers and troops in a sort of civic military operation in support of Fujimori's electoral campaign. Such military proselytism for the governing party had been seen in many areas before that particular case came to light. It caused a scandal, but the military courts found only lower-ranking officers guilty.

Fujimori took advantage of the upsurge in popularity from his re-election and the peaceful outcome of the Cenepa conflict. In June 1995, Congress approved a general amnesty law that eliminated convictions and indictments for crimes committed during the fight against terrorism. At the same time, it struck down the convictions for the attempted military coup against Fujimori on November 13, 1992, and more recent cases of serious offenses against the nation and the armed forces. The amnesty threw justice out the window. Besides being offensive, it created confusion. The conflict with Ecuador gave the presidential-military clique headed by Fujimori, Montesinos and Hermoza Ríos a chance to make new arms purchases and, in the process, embezzle and divert public funds into illicit activities.

International political questioning of the Fujimori regime intensified as the government stepped up its efforts to remain in power. At the same time, however, the United States repeatedly gave Peru high marks in the fight against drugs and renewed aid for that purpose. There were no obstacles to continued cooperation with the regime. In August 1999, the United States publicly praised Peru's anti-drug policy, mentioning the SIN in particular as one of its guiding

forces.

The successful Operation Chavín de Huántar on April 22, 1997, which freed the hostages who had been held by the MRTA in the Japanese ambassador's residence since December 17, 1996, was the last military operation that contributed to the government's prestige, as will later be seen, although in the years that followed there was a bitter dispute between Fujimori and Hermoza Ríos over who should get the credit, resulting in a falling out that exacerbated the old problem of the military's subjugation to Fujimori. At a book presentation in October 1997 at the University of the Pacific, an event attended by Vladimiro Montesinos, Hermoza Ríos again claimed credit for having masterminded the operation. In December, Fujimori let the press know that he was weighing whether the Hermoza Ríos, president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, should remain in his post. The armed forces' response was an unprecedented meeting of the heads of the six military regions, who left their bases simultaneously and met in Lima with the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Hermoza Ríos, on the pretext that it was his birthday.

At the same time as that falling out, another process that was even more bitter and destructive was set in motion. On May 23, 1997, the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a communiqué against Baruch Ivcher, a naturalized Peruvian citizen. After having faithfully supported the administration for years, the television station in which Ivcher was a majority shareholder began broadcasting serious accusations against it (such as Montesinos' income, the Leonor La Rosa case, etc.). Ivcher also had ties to the armed forces because of a series of contracts through a supply company he also owned. Although no one knew exactly what the generals meant when they spoke of a «biased campaign with evil intentions,» Ivcher became the first Peruvian to merit a military communiqué about his personal behavior with no criminal charges or trial. To round out the threat, on May 28 the Ministry of the Interior published the enabling regulations for the Nationality Law, which outlines the requirements for foreign citizens to obtain — or lose — Peruvian nationality. Under Article 12, one justification for rescinding the nationality granted to foreign citizens is «commission of acts that could affect National Security and the interests of the state.» If Ivcher lost his nationality, he would also lose control of the TV station, because foreigners are not permitted to own television stations in Peru. There was an immediate outraged response from most daily newspapers and radio and television stations.

Instead of boosting the government's image, the Ivcher case revealed how dangerous its authoritarian and anti-democratic mindset was and made businesspeople and even the conservative media feel insecure. By stripping Ivcher first of his right to freedom of expression and then of his citizenship, the regime showed that it was capable of attacking the most basic principles of modern society.

In 1998, there was a series of accusations and investigations into special operations using military personnel under the direct command of the SIN. Mesmer Carles Talledo, a former SIN informant, disclosed the Colina Group's activities. The head of that group, Army Major Santiago Martin Rivas, who had received amnesty, was investigated by Congress, where his appearance was marked by his highly publicized escape through a window to avoid the press. From Miami, where she is

in hiding, former Army intelligence agent Luisa Zanatta accused the SIN of pressuring and blackmailing electoral institutions, opposition candidates and the press.

Unlike Hermoza Ríos, Montesinos responded to the storm with a bold plan to continue expanding the powers of the president and the SIN. President Fujimori announced that the SIN and the armed forces intelligence services would also lead the fight against crime. The idea was to take advantage of the population's general sense of insecurity because of common crime to broaden the SIN's power in police and criminal operations and apply to other crimes the same summary procedures that had been invented to combat terrorism. Congress granted the executive branch special powers to issue legislation in this area, and the president responded with a sweeping package of decree laws. The Human Rights Ombudsman presented a detailed report showing most of those norms to be unconstitutional and contrary to the development of the democratic rule of law. Unfortunately, it had little effect. The measures — another of Montesinos' successes — coincided with a demand from the National Police of Peru to simplify the tasks of arrest and investigation. The police had repeatedly requested that the organic law governing their work give them the power to detain suspects for up to 48 hours for police investigation or to maintain public order. Because this could have been used to harass and blackmail the population, the legislature had never granted the request. With the decree laws, however, the PNP got what it wanted.

On August 20, 1998, Nicolás Hermoza Ríos was relieved of his duties as commander general of the Army. The dismissal was surprisingly discreet and speedy, considering that he had wielded a large part of the state's power and been one of the pillars of the regime since the coup on April 5, 1992. He was replaced by Army General César Saucedo. As a sign that Hermoza Ríos had fallen into disgrace, on March 12, 1999, the Attorney General's Office ordered the 46th provisional district attorney's office in Lima to investigate Hermoza Ríos for the crimes of rebellion, harm to the country, violation of freedom of expression and abuse of authority.

The next day, on March 13, the Joint Chiefs of Staff held a special session also attended by top police officials and SIN representatives, including Vladimiro Montesinos. The purpose of the meeting was to sign an agreement backing the April 5, 1992, coup and the amnesty laws and rejecting any moves that would tarnish the armed forces' image or cast doubt on the victory over terrorism. The agreement included a condemnation of Baruch Ivcher's activities. A few days later, on March 19, there was a meeting of the top active-duty officers of the armed forces and national police who were in the country, as well as SIN personnel, so that all could sign the agreement and stamp it with the seal of their branches of the security forces.

That event was symptomatic of regime's fatigue. The need to make all the officers sign an agreement to condemn and punish anyone who refused to toe the line arose from the deep insecurity felt by Montesinos and the new commanders. Since Hermoza Ríos, who had led the military's support for the April 5 coup, had been dismissed, they apparently believed that support for the current regime lacked the cohesion that had resulted from the coup.

These were the armed forces that presented Alberto Fujimori with the



insignia of supreme commander and hailed him as president of the republic on June 7, 2000, five days before the National Elections Board (*Jurado Nacional de Elecciones*) declared that he had won a third term. The new commanders also appeared on television in August of the regime's final year, flanking Vladimiro Montesinos as he and Fujimori described the results of Operation Siberia. It was a last-ditch effort to inflate Fujimori's popularity, in alliance with Montesinos and the top military commanders, by flaunting a supposed extraordinary ability to defeat the country's enemies through special intelligence operations. Operation Siberia was promptly unmasked as a farce by the countries implicated, especially Colombia, because it consisted only of information that had been shared between Peru and Colombia, which Montesinos had appropriated in bad faith, adding other information that was biased or blatantly false. Montesinos' loss of control over his own media, revealed by the outcome of Operation Siberia, turned into a catastrophe for his power structure the night opponents aired a video showing Montesinos bribing Congressman Alberto Kouri to switch loyalties and join Fujimori's congressional bloc.



## CHAPTER 5

### ALBERTO FUJIMORI'S ADMINISTRATIONS

Alberto Fujimori Fujimori governed Peru from 1990 to 2000. Chosen in free elections, Fujimori became the de facto head of state on April 5, 1992, when, with the support of the armed forces, he staged a coup against the legislative and judicial branches of government and assumed powers not granted to him under the 1979 Constitution. Although he was re-elected in 1995, during that time his government was authoritarian and violated the rule of law. Those traits were accentuated even further when he insisted on running for a third term in 2000, contrary to the provisions of the 1993 Constitution that had been his own administration's brainchild. Although he won those elections, which were plagued by fraud, irregularities and abuses, Fujimori was unable to complete a third term. His government collapsed after scandals revealed that he had presided over a regime in which corruption reached levels rarely seen in the country's history.

Nevertheless, Fujimori's administration coincided with the years in which the subversive organizations suffered a strategic defeat. The arrest of their top leaders and the destruction of their organization and leadership structure were the most notable parts of that defeat. The victory over subversion, translated into a collective sense of security and order after chaos, was one of the main reasons why the government enjoyed high public acceptance despite the abuses and human rights violations mentioned earlier. The government and presidential adviser Vladimiro Montesinos engaged in propaganda tactics in which they claimed for themselves, the National Intelligence Service and the armed forces credit for the victory over the PCP-SL and the MRTA, using this as the basis for their legitimacy despite many clear illegalities.

As has been explained in the two preceding chapters, however, the CVR

found that the real story of the defeat of the subversive organizations is different from the «official truth» that was constructed in the 1990s. Although there were significant successes, as the CVR's *Final Report* and this book point out, the actions that were decisive in the strategic defeat of terrorism did not come from the government *per se*, and sometimes ran counter to the government's mainly military strategy. The CVR has also found that the Fujimori administrations, in close collaboration with Vladimiro Montesinos and with tight control over the state apparatus, were responsible for serious human rights violations. The end of the decade and of Fujimori's second administration demonstrated that by emphasizing strictly political objectives, and despite announcements by the president and his cohorts of a harsh crackdown on terrorism, the administration had been careless in anti-subversive efforts and the opportunity to decisively solve the problem had been lost.

#### THE ARMED FORCES AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The García administration left the country in a deep economic and social crisis, with annual inflation in 1989 running higher than 2,775 percent and with 65 provinces and one district under a state of emergency. The electoral campaign for García's successor was highly contentious and ended with two candidates facing off in a runoff election: Mario Vargas Llosa, candidate of the Democratic Front (*Frente Democrático, FREDEMO*), and Alberto Fujimori of Change 90 (*Cambio 90*). Their platforms were sharply antagonistic, reflecting the feelings of voters. While Vargas Llosa proposed a severe macroeconomic adjustment as a prelude to establishing a liberal economic regime, Fujimori defended a gradual adjustment and distanced himself from economic liberalism. On the issue of fighting subversion — a true national priority at the time — Fujimori maintained that his strategy would focus mainly on attacking «hunger and misery,» because in his opinion they were the «breeding ground» of subversion. Once in office, however, the new president put other policies into practice.

As has been indicated, during the last years of the García administration, the armed forces began redefining their own focus for the fight against subversion. This redesign meant that the armed forces were defining state policy based on the needs of war: «the anti-subversive effort» was a higher objective than the democratic regime itself. The new strategy emphasized psycho-social operations and, above all, intelligence work, and also included the perpetration of human rights violations that, while fewer in number, would be more premeditated. All of this also demanded a readjustment of state institutions.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, in 1989 a group of military officers and civilians planned a coup aimed at establishing a «directed democracy» in 1990. This plan, which became known as «Plan Verde,» involved establishing a secret military regime with real power or «strategic dominance» that would not be susceptible to political wear and tear. As the power behind the elected president, that military regime would effectively govern the country.

The plan included adjustment policies to stop hyperinflation and make

the country credit-worthy again, because the fight against subversion could not be sustained without new loans. It also included reforms to create political and legal conditions favorable to military and intelligence operations.

The rise of Fujimori and his electoral victory on a platform contrary to that of FREDEMO forced the conspirators to suspend their plans. They thought that a military uprising under those circumstances — with an appreciable percentage of the electorate voting against a macroeconomic adjustment — would have appeared to be a coup against the people.

Soon, however, the coup plotters saw new opportunities in the circumstances surrounding the president-elect: lack of political definition, the lack of a political party, the absence of a real plan for governing the country. It was a vacuum that could be filled by the political-military plan.

With Vladimiro Montesinos' help, the president-elect was asked to adopt that plan. Before he took office, the armed forces convinced Fujimori to take up residence at a military facility on the pretext that his life was in danger. He quickly agreed to put the points of the plan into practice, beginning with the macroeconomic «shock» that he had promised to avoid. Thus began the implementation of «Plan Verde,» although its key points had been touched up somewhat through the intervention — and self-interest — of Vladimiro Montesinos.

By the time the new government took office, the violence had reached extremes. In 1989, as detailed in earlier chapters, Abimael Guzmán had imposed on his organization the idea of «strategic equilibrium,» the most visible effect of which would be an intensification of the Shining Path's terrorist actions. The political-military plan was also a reaction to that situation.

Once Fujimori accepted certain central ideas of the plan, the groundwork was laid for increasing military power without the controls mandated by the Constitution. First, Fujimori accepted the continuation of the anti-subversive strategy that was being directed by the armed forces and gave them broad room to maneuver, which meant, among other things, impunity for military personnel responsible for human rights violations.

Under this model, the police followed two paths. In the emergency zones, they were subordinate to the political-military commands. At the same time, they began doing specialized intelligence work through the Special Intelligence Group (*Grupo Especial de Inteligencia, GEIN*), a unit in DIRCOTE, focusing on arresting the top leaders of the subversive organizations.

## THE FIRST DECISIONS

The negotiation between military leaders and the president-elect over adoption of the political-military plan was marked by tensions and rumors of plots against the new government. As a result, the government's first decision was to replace the top commanders of the Navy and Air Force, but not the Army. With the threat of a coup neutralized and the top commanders changed, the way was cleared for changing the security forces and modifying power relationships. Those changes occurred, but without consensus among the armed forces and

police, because from the outset there was interference from Montesinos, who favored the new government's relationship with the Army. The police, meanwhile, were put under military control.

While these changes were being introduced, the government launched an economic adjustment «shock» plan, which was announced by Finance Minister Juan Carlos Hurtado Miller in August. It was a severe adjustment, which was implemented without setting up emergency social programs. The country's economic stabilization, the shift toward a liberal model in the financial and trade structure, and the recovery of international credit took up a significant part of the government's attention in 1990 and 1991.

While this was taking place, President Fujimori was getting rid of his initial collaborators — professionals with ties to the left — and forming a team more in tune with the steps he had taken. In the political arena, that meant distancing himself from the image of consensus-builder with which he had won the election and which he had even demonstrated in his first few months in office.

Unlike earlier governments, Alberto Fujimori's administration did not have a majority in Congress. His party, Change 90, won only 32 seats (28 percent) in the lower house and 14 (18 percent) in the Senate. That forced the government to establish pragmatic alliances on very specific issues: with FREDEMO on issues related to the economic program and with APRA on those of political interest. Beyond that, the government had no intention of building a political party with which to govern. That raised the possibility of ruling with a hidden regime supported by political figures operating in the shadows and in alliance with sectors of the armed forces. The clique that was formed held the «real power,» with Montesinos playing a leading role, along with other government «advisers,» such as Santiago Fujimori (the president's brother), Augusto Antonoli and Absalón Vásquez.

In those early months, the government took a public stance in favor of respecting and protecting human rights. To a great extent, this was a response to the new requirements set by the U.S. government, whose support was vital for Peru's reinsertion into financial circuits.

In fact, however, there was still a tendency to perpetuate the impunity that had existed under Presidents Belaunde and García. There were many cases, including the forced disappearance of several dozen students at the National University of the Center of Peru, in Huancayo, in 1990 and 1991. Authorities never investigated the cases and no one was ever held responsible.

#### IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANTI-SUBVERSIVE STRATEGY AND IMPUNITY

In early 1990s, the armed forces drew up the «Anti-subversion Campaign Plan - 1990-1995.» According to the plan's timeline, the task between August 1, 1990, and July 31, 1992, would be the «recovery of critical areas.» As the previous chapter explained, in 1990 the anti-subversive actions were expanded to low-income neighborhoods east of Lima, such as Huaycán and Raucana, and national universities, mainly La Cantuta and San Marcos. They also expanded toward

the eastern part of Junín, to the Ene River, where hundreds of Asháninkas were freed from the PCP-SL, and northeastward to the coca-growing zones of Huánuco, San Martín and Ucayali.

The expansion included selective killings and other human rights violations that were denounced by various civilian organizations. The armed forces — with the government's encouragement — therefore sought to eliminate oversight by democratic institutions. A system of impunity, although incipient, was already developing. On December 23, 1990, the government decreed that military and police actions in the emergency zones would be handled by military courts. One indication of this trend was the Senate's approval of the promotions of Army Brigadier General Jorge Rabanal Portilla, who was linked to the 1986 prison massacre, and Brigadier General José Rolando Valdivia Dueñas, who was connected with the massacre in the Andean community of Cayara.

#### TOWARD THE COUP: THE LEGISLATIVE DECREES OF NOVEMBER 1991

As part of the strategy to gain financial support from the United States, the government announced its commitment to respect human rights and seek consensus among political forces. In May 1991, it announced a proposal for pacification that stressed the importance of strict respect for constitutional norms and human rights. «The massive and merciless violation of human rights by subversive groups does not justify the commission of abuses by state agents,» stated the proposal presented to the country's political parties. With that proposal as a guarantee, in early June Congress granted the executive branch the power to legislate on pacification, reorganization of the state, private investment and job creation for a period of 150 days.

After the third meeting of the country's political forces at the end of June, it was announced that a commission of four political party representatives would be formed to consolidate the main agreements on pacification. In July, a National Political Accord was signed for «the design of a comprehensive, democratic anti-subversive strategy.» Tensions were already appearing between the government and the opposition in Congress, however, and these intensified when Change 90 lost the presidency of both houses of the legislature. In July 1991, Fujimori stepped up his tactic of undermining the public image of Congress. What followed was a shift from pragmatic cooperation to confrontation. And while the political forces continued to hammer out consensus on a strategy for pacification, the hidden core of the government — the clique of advisers — was preparing a rigid legal proposal for combating subversion.

From the time Fujimori took office, Vladimiro Montesinos had sought to build his own power base in the National Intelligence Service (*Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional*, SIN). This enabled him to extend his influence and power to the armed forces. Montesinos soon became the real head of the SIN, where he made General Julio Salazar Monroe, a military officer willing to accept his conditions, a figurehead. Montesinos, who had become the president's only adviser on military and intelligence affairs, made decisive changes in the Army by April 5, 1991. He forced officers who supported the institutional structure into retirement or

dispatched them to bureaucratic posts and replaced them with others whom he considered more malleable. At the same time, he organized his own espionage network in the Army, which had a dissuasive effect as he extended his influence in the judiciary and the Public Ministry or Attorney General's Office.

In June 1991, Montesinos took charge of preparing the legislative decrees on pacification that would be issued in November. These responded to certain requirements of the armed forces' anti-subversive strategy, but especially to the interests of the real head of the SIN. Montesinos convinced Fujimori that an efficient anti-subversive strategy required an intelligence apparatus that would reach into the most remote places. Part of his proposal, which was not explicitly included in the political-military plan, was to raise the SIN's rank within the intelligence community so that it could centralize and control the activities and budget of the military and police intelligence services. In December, amid open antagonism between the executive and legislative branches, Montesinos struck the decisive blow by having Fujimori name General Nicolás Hermoza Ríos — who backed Montesinos' intentions, including the coup planned for the following year — commander general of the Army.

With only a few days left under the special legislative powers it had been granted, the government issued 120 decrees, 35 of which involved pacification and made sweeping changes in security-related agencies. Legislative Decree 743 — the National Defense System Law — created a new defense structure. Among the most important changes, it called for the commanding generals and head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to be appointed directly by the president for the period of time he deemed appropriate. It also created the Operational Command of the Internal Front (*Comando Operativo del Frente Interno*, COFI), which reported to the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and consisted of leaders of the armed forces and police, with no political oversight (Article 26). Legislative Decree 746 — the National Intelligence System Law — granted the SIN broad powers and required public and private agencies to provide it with any information it requested, with criminal penalties for non-compliance. It also created intelligence bodies in ministries and public agencies that would respond directly and exclusively to the SIN, and it made the intelligence budget secret. Legislative Decree 749 broadened the prerogatives of the political-military commands in the emergency zones. It established that those commands, as part of their power to do development work in the areas under their jurisdiction, would have economic and financial resources, goods and services, as well as personnel provided by political officials of public agencies and regional and local governments. It also reiterated that the PNP was subordinate to the political-military commands, further detailing the political-military commands' scope and expanding their responsibilities in the fight against drug trafficking.<sup>1</sup> According to the decree, this would guarantee the elimination of terrorism and drug trafficking.

These and other decrees created the legal framework for and ratified the anti-subversive strategy that had been established in 1989 and marked the culmination of a long process of abdication of democratic authority in favor of the military. The purpose of the maneuver was to ensure that Congress did not



have time to analyze all the decrees, which would automatically take effect in mid-December when the 30-day review period expired.

Congress did not shrink from the challenge posed by the legislative decrees drafted by Fujimori and Montesinos. The Senate and House of Representatives organized multi-party commissions, and in the few days remaining before the end of the ordinary legislative session on December 15, struck down six decrees. These included 731 and 764, which postponed the date that the criminal code would take effect, and 736, 747 and 762, which penalized money laundering, covering up drug trafficking and the revelation or dissemination of information obtained or processed by the National Defense System. Because of the lack of precision in their terms, those decrees lent themselves to being misused to undermine civil liberties. The rejection of Legislative Decree 746, the National Intelligence System Law, was what most exasperated the executive branch, because this was the central tool for combating subversion and would unilaterally increase the executive branch's power. The problem was that the norm removed the SIN from all oversight by democratic institutions.

In response, the president officially objected to the legislature's decisions overturning the decrees and refused to sign them into law. In addition, on the last day of the year, Fujimori made a number of objections to the General Budget Law for 1992, which blocked it from becoming law as Congress could not meet to resolve the problem. Given the crisis, Congress called an extraordinary legislative session between January 20 and February 3, 1992, to examine the bills the president had vetoed. Even so, the time was too short to review the remaining decrees — there were 120 in all, not just those associated with pacification — and modify or overturn them. Nevertheless, Congress managed to modify 743, the National Defense System Law, which was very important to the government. In response, a few days after being appointed to head the Joint Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, Nicolás de Bari Hermoza Ríos publicly expressed his support for the pacification strategy set out in the president's legislative decrees. Fujimori finally signed all the decrees that had been modified by the legislature except that one. The decrees not reviewed by Congress automatically took effect when the 30-day review period expired.

The government's intention had thus been blocked. The administration turned again to multi-party consensus-building schemes, but they were merely an empty formality that it used to buy time until its secret plans matured.

#### THE APRIL 5 COUP: MEASURES AND IMPLICATIONS

At 10:30 p.m. on April 5, 1992, the constitutional president of the republic, Alberto

<sup>1</sup> Law 24150 of June 1985 gave the political-military command responsibility for "assuming command of the armed forces and police forces in its jurisdiction and/or those assigned to it" (Article 5, Section a). Legislative Decree 749 stated that its responsibilities included "having under its command the members of the National Police of Peru who provide services in the zones of its respective jurisdiction, who will carry out the instructions and orders issued by the Political-Military Command with regard to the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking."

Fujimori Fujimori, announced that he was dissolving Congress and reorganizing the judiciary, the National Council of Magistrates (*Consejo Nacional de la Magistratura*), the Constitutional Guarantees Tribunal (*Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales*) and the Public Ministry. Minutes later, the heads of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the National Police issued a statement expressing their complete support for the coup. The move led to the resignation of Cabinet chief Alfonso de los Heros. On April 6, a new Cabinet headed by Óscar de la Puente Raygada was sworn in. That same day, De la Puente announced the regime's first decree law, the Foundational Law of the Emergency Government of National Reconstruction, which called, among other things, for the drafting of a new Constitution.

There were various reactions from the congressional opposition, including an attempt to impeach the president on the grounds of moral incapacity. Despite these efforts and initial condemnation from the international community, however, the de facto regime settled in. It had strong public support, with 71 percent of the population approving the dissolving of Congress and 89 percent in agreement with the restructuring of the judiciary. Meanwhile, 51 percent of the population believed that the regime that began on April 5 was democratic, and only 21 percent believed that the president should be impeached.

A fundamental factor in the regime's stabilization was the assembly of OAS ministers during which Fujimori announced elections for a new Constituent Congress. Those elections were called on June 1. The resulting body was called the Democratic Constituent Congress (*Congreso Constituyente Democrático, CCD*) and its members were elected on November 22. With no real opposition, the regime had nearly nine months — from April 1992 to December 1992 — to govern according to its own rules, by decree and with no checks or balances.

#### GOVERNING BY DECREE

On April 5, 1992, the Fujimori administration began enacting series of decree laws that substantially modified the anti-terrorism legislation, in some cases violating the suspended 1979 Constitution. Legislative decrees on pacification that had been modified or struck down by Congress at the end of 1991 also went into effect. In July, Decree Law 25365 reinstated, with some modifications, the National Intelligence System Law granting broad powers to the SIN. Decree laws were also signed that expanded police control in prisons, expanded support for peasant self-defense committees, permitted military intervention in universities and sweeps through urban areas, and intensified civil actions.

Changes were made to anti-terrorism legislation — the legal framework for detention and trial — that ignored the basic guarantees of due process. Decree Law 25475 (May 6, 1992) established the death penalty in certain cases of terrorism and expanded sanctions in other cases, while instituting the use of anonymous or «faceless» judges. Decree Law 25499 (May 16, 1992) modified Legislative Decree 748, which established the repentance law for subversives who had surrendered. Decree Law 25564 (June 20, 1992) lowered the age of

criminal responsibility from 18 to 15 for crimes of terrorism. Decree Law 25659 (August 13, 1992) defined as treason certain crimes that had been considered terrorism. In a clearly unconstitutional move, it also allowed military courts to judge civilians accused of terrorism. In addition, it reduced the trial time frame, limiting the accused person's ability to mount a defense. This same group of decrees ratified top military prerogatives and expanded the military's power in emergency zones and anti-subversive activity. Decree Law 25626 required all agencies involved in combating subversion and drug trafficking to adapt their norms and procedures to the directives of the Operational Command of the Internal Front (*Comando Operativo del Frente Interno*, COFI), which was run by the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Decree Law 25708 established procedures for judging crimes of treason and permitted the use of summary procedures under the Military Code of Justice in trials in the theater of operations. Finally, Decree Law 25728 made it possible to convict defendants *in absentia* for crimes of terrorism.

The CVR believes that while specific measures and a modification of the system were needed to respond to the crisis, such a step could not come at the cost of basic civic guarantees as occurred with the decree laws. While certain types of human rights violations, such as executions and disappearances, decreased considerably after 1993, a new stage marked by violations of due process began. By decreasing the number of deaths and disappearances, keeping a record of detentions and allowing the Red Cross into detention centers, Peru improved its compliance with requirements for negotiating U.S. economic and military aid. Those steps, however, were aimed at protecting the detainees' lives rather than determining whether basic norms of due process were being followed.

While the political process followed that course, the Shining Path ratcheted up its violence with brutal assassinations in the capital. The urban campaign, however, was actually the flip side of the PCP-SL's defeat in rural areas, which had been caused by the strategy that the armed forces had been implementing since 1989, supported by the rural population that had organized in self-defense committees. At the same time, police work by the GEIN and BREDET was producing important results, enabling the groups to amass information and make significant arrests. Since 1990, the police had been finding clues in raids on safe houses that would lead to Abimael Guzmán's arrest.

Despite all this, there was great concern not only in Peru but also in the international community because it appeared that the PCP-SL could get the best of the Peruvian government. In March 1992 in Washington, Bernard Aronson, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Western hemispheric affairs, stated that the lack of international aid for the Peruvian government could enable the PCP-SL to seize power. That same year, the U.S. Congress held public hearings on the position that the United States should take if the PCP-SL came to power.

Such external and internal alarm was based on large-scale acts of terrorism, including the car bombing on Tarata Street in Miraflores, which created the sense among Lima's middle class that the PCP-SL might triumph. Under those circumstances, a *de facto* government that promised a firm hand

received public support.

### GUZMÁN'S ARREST

*They [the military] will never forgive the fact that this was done by the police<sup>2</sup>*

On September 12, 1992, the event that the press dubbed «the arrest of the century» occurred: the detention of Abimael Guzmán Reinoso along with three top members of the Central Committee. It was the greatest achievement of the police, especially the GEIN and DIRCOTE, which by then was known as DINCOTE. Contrary to the government's claims at the time, Guzmán's arrest and the earlier detention of other important subversive leaders were the result of dedicated work exclusively by the police, based on their accumulated experience and information. That did not stop the government, which had never attempted to conceal its emphasis on a military strategy, from presenting the accomplishment as the fruit of its alleged new strategy.

In fact, Guzman's arrest surprised top government officials, who were not aware of the effort. The operation, code-named «PNP Captain Carlos Verau Asmat,» was not coordinated with the president, the interior minister or the National Intelligence Service. Fujimori<sup>3</sup> returned to Lima on September 13 and made no statement to the press until 11:30 p.m., when he broadcast a message to the nation and presented the first images of Guzmán. DINCOTE, however, had already publicized the police's success without waiting for government authorization or support.

The fact that Guzmán was arrested without political coordination sparked the government's rancor toward the police units involved. Months later, various members of DINCOTE were transferred to other units and tasks. In 1993, the government dismantled several of DINCOTE's special groups. In particular, it did away with the GEIN (DIVICOTE-1), which had 80 agents at the time of Guzmán's arrest.

The government, meanwhile, insisted on giving the SIN power in the fight against subversion. This had been done before Guzmán's arrest with a series of «national pacification» decrees. Decree Law 25635, published July 23, 1992, granted full powers to the SIN on the grounds that it was necessary to centralize intelligence in order to combat subversion. That decree formally created the National Intelligence System (*Sistema Nacional de Inteligencia*, SINA) and made the SIN its directing body. The law gave the SIN broad powers and placed it directly under the president, with no ministerial, judicial or congressional oversight. It also gave the SIN power to establish its own budget and operating plans and keep them classified. The SIN's new powers did not clearly exclude it from carrying out its own undercover security operations against enemy secret agents — in other words, counterintelligence operations

<sup>2</sup> CVR. Interview with a PNP officer and former GEIN member, February 26, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> The magazine *Si* reported that he was fishing near Colombia. Other media reported that he was in Iquitos carrying out planned social assistance activities in native communities in the Amazon (Desco. *Resumen Semanal*, September 9-15, 1992, No. 686).

— along with its tasks of coordinating and monitoring the military intelligence services.

The power of Montesinos — and, therefore, the SIN— became firmly established after the failed military coup against Fujimori led by retired General Salinas Sedó on November 13, nine days before the CCD elections. The event gave Montesinos an ideal opportunity to demonstrate the SIN's effectiveness to Fujimori and convince him of the need to expand the service's power and resources. One practical consequence of this was the decision to replace some of DINCOTE's best police agents to ensure that the tasks, information and power were centralized in the SIN. Another factor that enabled Montesinos to shore up his leading role was the close relationship he established with representatives of the CIA. With its new power, the SIN also took charge of developing and disseminating an official version<sup>4</sup> of «pacification.»

#### HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AFTER THE COUP

With its «comprehensive strategy,» the government expanded anti-subversive operations to areas where there had previously been restrictions. According to the military, prisons and public universities were two of the main bastions of subversion. This was true in the case of the prisons, which operated as subversive schools. By the early 1990s, this was more than clear, and the problem, which had been going on for years, required an immediate solution.

Legislative Decree 734, issued in November 1991, gave the military discretionary powers in prisons. On April 7, 1992, Army troops and the National Police took charge of the country's two largest prisons, Miguel Castro Castro and San Pedro, and began implementing reforms to reorganize the prison population, especially the inmates accused of terrorism. On April 8, the government announced that the National Penitentiary Institute (*Instituto Nacional Penitenciario*, INPE) was being reorganized and put the Ministry of the Interior — through the PNP — in charge of internal and external security as well as management of the country's prisons and related establishments, limiting INPE's functions. A month after the coup, with no Congress and with oversight institutions such as the Attorney General's Office and the judiciary under government control, a police raid on the Castro Castro prison, which the government said was an effort to restore authority in the penitentiary, eliminated some of the top Shining Path leaders imprisoned there.

On May 6, the police operation called «Transfer One» began in the cellblocks holding Shining Path members in the Miguel Castro Castro prison in Canto Grande, with the goal of transferring more than 100 women to the Santa Mónica prison in Chorrillos. Because of resistance from the prisoners, the operation lasted four days and ended with a high death toll among inmates. In an official statement on May 12, the Ministry of the Interior announced that 35

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<sup>4</sup> Some police officers have said that General Nicolás Hermoza Ríos maintained that only when he took charge of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in late 1991 did the transfer of the new strategy to the police begin.

prisoners accused of terrorism had died. Altogether, however, there were 41 victims,<sup>5</sup> including Hugo Deodato Juárez Cruzatt, a member of the PCP-SL's Politburo, and other members of the Central Committee, such as Yovanka Pardavé Trujillo, Elvia Nila Sanabria Pacheco and Tito Valle Travesaño.

The university law that had been in effect since the beginning of the Fujimori administration allowed the National Police to go onto university campuses by court order and at the request of the rector, but eliminated those requirements in cases «[...] of flagrant crime or imminent danger of perpetration of such a crime.» Legislative Decree 726, issued in November 1991, authorized the armed forces and National Police to go into a local university with nothing more than authorization from the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Interior or a political-military command. That was one of the decrees that Congress had modified, but which Fujimori enacted with its original language after the coup.

The government issued a new decree law expanding the armed forces' powers in universities. It was in this context that a military incursion occurred on July 18, 1992, in a student dormitory at Enrique Guzmán y Valle University, better known as La Cantuta, ending with the abduction and disappearance of nine students and a professor. The operation was different from those that had been carried out earlier at the National University of the Center of Peru, where selective elimination as part of the armed forces' comprehensive strategy, under the direction of the political-military command, had led to the disappearance of dozens of students.

In contrast, the operation at La Cantuta was carried out by a group of SIE agents who were not assigned to the area and who were directed by the SIN. That was not the first time this occurred, nor would it be the last. A series of apparently unconnected human rights violations — executions and disappearances — had occurred previously in metropolitan Lima and nearby areas. It soon became known that these had been carried out by the same perpetrators, the squad known as the Colina Group, which before the coup had committed a massacre in Barrios Altos, in downtown Lima. Other crimes committed by this group included the murders of nine peasant farmers in the district of El Santa, Ancash, in May 1992, and the disappearance of journalist Pedro Yauri in Huaura, Lima, in June 1992.

The CVR believes that because of the *de facto* regime's command and decision-making structure, those crimes could not have been committed without the knowledge and approval of President Fujimori and Vladimiro Montesinos. Discontent with the regime in one sector of the armed forces, which became evident with the coup attempt on November 13, 1992, soon found other public expressions. In early 1993, information began to filter from the Army about what had happened at La Cantuta. On April 3, a group calling itself «*León Dormido*» (the «Sleeping Lion») sent opposition Congressman Henry Pease a document stating that the 10 people who had disappeared had been abducted, murdered and secretly buried by a military death squad operating with the approval and

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<sup>5</sup> CVR. Event 10151401.

support of the top Army commanders and the SIN. Based on Pease's charges, Congress appointed an investigative commission, even though the document's credibility was questioned «because it has no seal or signature.»

Reactions were not long in coming, either from Change 90 lawmakers, who denied the report, or from the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who sent tanks into the street in an act of intimidation. Finally, in May, the congressional majority approved a motion that prevented officers implicated in alleged human rights violations from appearing before congressional investigative commissions once a case had been opened in the military courts.

### THE SIN'S SPECIAL OPERATIONS

Army General Rodolfo Robles publicly claimed that the SIN was using military personnel and giving orders outside the official chain of command, so that the operations no longer fell within anti-subversive efforts, but responded to the orders of the presidential-military clique. These undercover SIN operations were approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, which as the Operational Command of the Internal Front (*Comando Operativo del Frente Interno*, COFI) was part of the chain of command and directly commanded operations on the anti-subversive fronts beginning in early 1990. With that backing, the SIN deployed its own forces for special missions, using personnel from the Army Intelligence Service (*Servicio de Inteligencia del Ejército*, SIE), and sent them to the theaters of operations, notifying only the military chief of the front or zone so he would provide guarantees for the operation — in other words, basically telling him not to stick his nose in or ask questions, and to allow the group to operate. That is what happened in the case of the disappearance and murders of the students and professor at La Cantuta.<sup>6</sup>

Special intelligence operations were part of regular military operations and could not be planned or carried out behind the back of the operations chief or the head of the military region or anti-subversive front where they occurred. Nevertheless, that is precisely what Montesinos did through the SIN. The military chiefs were convinced to allow special operations to take place in their jurisdictions; those operations were organized and directed by the SIN and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The objectives and personnel for the special operations — under direct control of the SIN or the Joint Chiefs of Staff — were often unclear or simply unknown to the local military chiefs. This parallel structure enabled

<sup>6</sup> Major Martín Rivas appeared before General Luis Pérez Documet and informed him that a special operation was going to be carried out to detain “subversive criminals” at the university residence hall, and that he needed a certain lieutenant for the operation. When the general asked why it had to be that lieutenant and not another, Rivas answered that the lieutenant had recently been stationed at the military base that controlled the university and could identify the subversive criminals who were being sought. The chief of operations agreed, on the understanding that it was a special operation under the direct responsibility of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the SIN. He assigned the lieutenant and arranged for the special group to have access to the university at night. Martín Rivas' truck entered the campus, carrying the special group, and left hours later without the chief of the military base examining what was in the truck or knowing where it was headed.

Montesinos to use intelligence agents and special operations military personnel for dirty jobs, such as settling scores with drug traffickers, or specific retaliation, such as the murders in El Santa, Ancash, as well as threats, blackmail, bribery and terrorist acts against dissident officials or political opponents, or for special psycho-social operations aimed at changing public behavior, such as the massacre in Barrios Altos. Instead of limiting itself to analyzing, authorizing and supervising operating plans and the results of the country's various intelligence services, the SIN planned and carried out operations on its own, taking advantage of the operational capacity of the various branches as though their personnel were at its disposal. It had intelligence agents, entire networks of informants and joint special operations squads under its direct control. In other words, the same office — or, rather, the same person — carried out operations as well as providing authorization and oversight. Besides having the SINA law in its favor, this capacity was facilitated by a directive issued in January 1990 that gave the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff the function of operations chief of the COFI. As a result, General Hermoza Ríos had at his disposal all military personnel of all branches at any time and for any reason. Martín Rivas and the other commandos of the «Colina Group» did not acknowledge the military heads of the combat units as their superiors. Their orders came directly from Montesinos, with the approval of Hermoza Ríos, as head of all military personnel, and President Fujimori, who by law was the only person responsible for supervising the SIN.

After the Barrios Altos massacre, if not before, the government's presidential-military power clique engaged in a series of activities that violated human rights in a premeditated, systematic way with the goal of radicalizing its supporters and forcing them to defend positions that implied a complete lack of democratic control over anti-subversive efforts. Even after the Colina Group itself was deactivated, special intelligence operations continued because of the prerogatives and faculties that had been granted to the SIN. The goal of these operations was to terrorize the regime's opponents.

## IMPUNITY

### THE «CANTUTA LAW»

In June 1993, the congressional majority rejected a report from the investigative commission that found the officers in charge of the military base and General Hermoza Ríos himself criminally responsible for the La Cantuta case. The majority approved a report that abstained from assigning criminal responsibility on the grounds that military courts were investigating the case. The case had broader repercussions the next month, however, when a press report led to the discovery of four graves containing burned human remains in Cieneguilla, on the outskirts of Lima. The armed forces announced that they would launch their own investigation. This led to a jurisdictional dispute that Congress resolved in the military's favor with Law 26291, known as the Cantuta Law. The measure



established that disputes over whether civilian or military courts should have jurisdiction in cases other than drug trafficking would be resolved in the appropriate chamber of the Supreme Court by simple majority, reducing the number of required votes. This was one of the first laws drawn up by the SIN and approved by Fujimori's majority in Congress that violated the recently approved 1993 Constitution. The Supreme Court judges loyal to Fujimori dispatched the La Cantuta case to the military court. Days later, the military court issued a verdict sentencing some of the officers implicated in the case. Among them were Santiago Martín Rivas and Carlos Eliseo Pichilingüe, both of whom were sentenced to 20 years in prison.

#### OPERATION ARIES

During those years, the anti-subversive military bases in the Huallaga were languishing because of inaction and a lack of resources. Special operations against drug traffickers allied with the PCP-SL or in favor of certain drug-trafficking firms concentrated activities and resources in the hands of commando groups that were flown in for the job and that answered directly to the SIE, DINTE, Joint Chiefs of Staff and, ultimately, the SIN. This stalled the anti-subversive effort again, as extensive coca-producing areas controlled by the PCP-SL in Huánuco were left untouched and consolidated. That paved the way for a new Army offensive that abandoned the anti-subversive strategy of 1989, which was based on limited use of force. The new campaign involved massive firepower, the destruction of subversive bases in coca-growing communities and even bombardment from helicopters equipped with artillery.

The armed forces launched the frontal assault known as «Operation Aries» against subversive «pockets» [clusters of nine to 12 PCP-SL «people's committees»] known as «Cuchara» and «Primavera» in the province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco, between April and July 1994. In that area, the psycho-social tactics used in earlier strategies, especially «repentance,» had not produced results. Local people were reduced to servitude by members of the PCP-SL, which kept them isolated, threatened and under ideological control. Anyone who attempted to flee was shot by armed PCP-SL militants at piers or at the mouths of the rivers, the only routes out of the areas. The Army prepared anti-subversive companies for this operation with help from Israeli experts. The new strategy, especially in its second phase, led to the highest death toll of the entire conflict. Although the remote location made it difficult to document cases completely, human rights organizations began calling national and international attention to the situation in the region in general and Operation Aries in particular. The first reports of human rights violations resulting from the operation were provided by local church groups or the local press. After a trip by members of the National Human Rights Coordinating Committee (*Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos*, CNDDHH) and a group of journalists, a congressional investigative commission was formed. About 50 people testified before the commission even though soldiers escorted the members throughout their visit (Youngers 2003: 286-288). In two communities that the Army allowed the

commission to enter, Moyuna and Moyuna de Anda, bodies were found.

In the face of the evidence, instead of beginning an investigation, the government launched a campaign against its critics, especially the National Human Rights Coordinating Commission. Through the media, officials accused human rights groups of blocking the final offensive against subversion and pressuring Congress to take action against it. As a result, on April 28, 1994, the majority of CCD members approved a motion condemning the CNDDHH for having released «negative versions» — complaints from residents of Leoncio Prado— of the «armed forces' actions in the last bastions of the Shining Path.» The congressional Human Rights Commission eventually closed its investigation.

#### THE AMNESTY LAW

Support for impunity reached its height with the approval of a broad amnesty law in June 1995. The law was passed just over a month after provincial criminal prosecutor Ana Cecilia Magallanes brought court cases against the head of the SIN and four other military officers for the murders of 15 people in the Barrios Altos case. Because of the case, the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, titular SIN chief General Julio Salazar Monroe and adviser Vladimiro Montesinos were called to testify by Antonia Saquicuray, the chief magistrate of the 11th Examining Court in Lima.

The draft amnesty law was presented without warning by members of the congressional majority on the night of June 13 and approved in the early morning hours of June 14 by a vote of 47-11. The General Amnesty Law (26479) benefited anyone sentenced for human rights violations during the fight against terrorism. In an effort to appease opponents, it also included those involved in the coup attempt on November 13, 1992, and those who allegedly committed acts of disloyalty and offenses against the nation and the armed forces during the recent conflict with Ecuador. President Fujimori signed the law the same day. Shortly afterward, Supreme Court President Moisés Pantoja announced that the judiciary would honor the amnesty law. Judge Antonia Saquicuray, who was investigating the Barrios Altos case, spoke out against the law. In response, the attorney general closed the case and warned that if Judge Saquicuray tried to reopen it, she would be guilty of «prevarication.» Congress approved a second law that stated that the judiciary had no power to review the amnesty law. President Fujimori signed the second law in July.

The CVR considers the amnesty law — which was defended and supported by congressional representatives including Francisco Tudela, Julio Chu Meris, Martha Chávez, Gilberto Siura and Rafael Rey — a disgrace.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK THAT FOLLOWED THE COUP

##### ANTI-TERRORISM LEGISLATION AND INNOCENT PEOPLE IN PRISON

The judicial system's inefficiency or inability to help snuff out terrorism in the 1980s was a major problem. The problems were left unchecked, however, aggravating the situation for several years. Among the most alarming indicators

were the huge disparity between the number of people detained and the number tried, and of these, between those tried and those sentenced. In addition, a large number of people who were sentenced were released quickly because of prison benefits. Specific measures were urgently needed given the emergency situation created by the internal war. Believing that the end justified the means, however, the government chose a utilitarian path that did not take into consideration either guarantees or oversight mechanisms.

The legal provisions adopted after the coup led to the exacerbation of certain human rights violations. The large-scale problem of innocent people in prison was one result. Much later, after the National Human Rights Coordinating Committee launched a campaign, an Ad Hoc Commission was established to review individual cases and make recommendations to the president for granting pardons in cases in which the conviction had been based on fabricated or insufficient evidence, or coercion. Between August 1996 and December 1999, 1,087 innocent people who had been unjustly imprisoned were released.

#### THE SPECIAL PRISON REGIMEN FOR CASES OF TERRORISM AND TREASON

In 1999, about 2,700 people were being held in prisons after being indicted or sentenced for crimes of terrorism or treason, a fairly small number compared to 1996, when the Ad Hoc Commission began reviewing cases. The imprisonment of so many people posed various problems for government prison policy. They were solved by building new prisons or remodeling existing ones to house the inmates serving sentences on terrorism charges, who represented 15 percent of the country's total prison population. These inmates also had special prison regimens. In terms of the number of inmates, the crime of terrorism ranked third after crimes against property and drug trafficking.

The new prisons were built using no criteria other than security and the most extreme isolation. All other elements, such as education or work opportunities, were ignored. The Yanamayo and Challapalca prisons, for example, were designed so that the inmates had no common areas or work areas. Considering that this group of prisoners had been excluded from all prison benefits, it made no sense to invest in anything other than punishment. Gradually, existing prisons (Miguel Castro Castro and Chorrillos in Lima, and Picsi in Chiclayo) were remodeled and turned into enormous «punishment cells.» The special norms issued after 1992 were applied in all areas, including absolute isolation of the inmate during the first year and later access to a patio for only 30 minutes a day. Unprecedented restrictions were placed on visits, and the few visitors allowed were often subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment.

#### ANTI-SUBVERSION WITHOUT SUBVERSION

As was explained in the chapter on the PCP-SL, after Guzmán's arrest and the rapid deactivation of the subversive threat, Alberto Fujimori's administration chose to use the issue of terrorism as a tool. Anti-subversive policy was just another in a set of tools that the government used to dissuade critics, gain citizen support and, ultimately, prolong its stay in power.

In October 1993, for example, letters written by Abimael Guzmán asking Fujimori for talks to reach a peace accord were used mainly as a propaganda tool for political gain.

It should be noted that on the eve of the referendum to approve the 1993 Constitution, the government arranged to transfer Shining Path leaders from various prisons around the country for a meeting of 17 members of the PCP-SL Central Committee in the Naval Base in Callao. The goal was for Guzmán to persuade them to adopt the new political position that he was proposing.<sup>7</sup> The meetings, which began October 8, were successful. On October 28, three days before the referendum, the government revealed a letter signed by Osmań Morote, Martha Huatay, Rosa Angélica Salas and María Pantoja supporting the initiative of Guzmán and Iparraguirre to seek conversations «to reach a Peace Accord, whose application would end the war that the country has lived through for more than thirteen years. We accept this petition as our own and reiterate it.»

Vladimiro Montesinos was responsible for conducting the conversations and dealing with Guzmán, Iparraguirre and the other Shining Path leaders as «academic interlocutor.» These conversations were dominated by circumstantial government interests and trailed off around 1995.

The possibility of ending the problem of subversion was not addressed as seriously as the government claimed. Strictly speaking, the pacification policy consisted of incarcerating the largest possible number of subversives under extreme conditions in maximum-security prisons and isolating the remaining armed groups. The peace accord proposed by Guzmán and the Shining Path leadership paid political dividends for Fujimori and lowered tensions in the prisons, but did not wipe out the organization. Although it did not sign a peace agreement with the government, the PCP-SL did achieve two important objectives: first, ensuring that Guzmán was not killed, which was the greatest concern, and second, reconstructing the «Party» and disseminating its new political position and directives thanks to the meetings of the top leaders organized by Montesinos. In effect, Guzmán salvaged an organizational structure that was based in the prisons. Guzmán and Iparraguirre also indicated that as a result of the negotiations during those months, certain changes were made in prison conditions for PCP-SL inmates and they were given «certain leeway in the other prisons for holding meetings.» Montesinos took newspapers and magazines when he went to see the Shining Path leaders and allowed them to watch the news on television. He also allowed them to «work together a few hours each day» on a history of the PCP-SL and gave them access to the party archive that DINCOTE had confiscated, as well as books from Guzmán's library.

Despite the apparent decrease in subversive actions, which was emphasized in official propaganda,<sup>8</sup> the administration did not reduce the

<sup>7</sup> Fujimori publicly displayed two letters from Guzmán proposing a peace accord, on October 1 and 8, a few days before the referendum.

<sup>8</sup> In August 1994, for example, when Pérez de Cuellar began his electoral campaign as candidate for the UPP, the president of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces, Nicolás Hermoza Ríos, stated that 95 percent of terrorism had been eliminated and that all that remained was the arrest of a few leaders who had no support base.

number of emergency zones. Instead, it maintained an anti-subversive model without subversion. By mid-1995, approximately 68 provinces and three districts of the country were still under a state of emergency. The extension of the states of emergency — which often became a guarantee of tranquility for local residents fearful of new incursions by the Shining Path — meant the prolongation of military dominance over civilian authority through the political-military commands. In several of the rural areas hardest hit by the internal war, for many years the military represented and «embodied» the state, because the civilian apparatus had retreated in the face of the violence. As subversive actions subsided, military authority remained, although it was not as strict as it had been at the height of the war. With the state of emergency in effect, military authorization was needed for public events and meetings, and the military was informed of who was circulating in the area. When it was possible for public officials responsible for economic and social programs to begin operating again military officers frequently served as intermediaries for their contact with the population.

Meanwhile, President Fujimori took advantage of the military deployment, whose pretext was the subversive threat, for his re-election campaign in 1995. Another advantage was the armed conflict with Ecuador, which muted his opponents' criticism and allowed the president to capitalize on his image as leader of the military. Although doubts about the transparency of the elections persisted in light of new facts — such as the disappearance of 37,000 electoral records in the city of Húanuco, an occurrence acknowledged by the Special Elections Board in that department — Fujimori won with 67 percent of the vote.

Shortly after the start of his second term, the administration began preparing to remain in power after 2000. Besides a submissive congressional majority, the government wanted to ensure that it had strict control over the judiciary. With that in mind, it created an Executive Commission. Years later, filmed evidence would show the depths of corruption to which many magistrates had sunk. With that, the regime not only guaranteed impunity for its members — avoiding judicial and political oversight — but also used the judiciary as a political weapon for controlling anyone opposed to its interests.

One key step was the appointment of Blanca Névida Colán, who deferred to Montesinos, as Attorney General after the coup. In 1996, to keep her from leaving the post and on the pretext of creating the Judicial Coordinating Council (*Consejo de Coordinación Judicial*), an Executive Commission was created in the Public Ministry<sup>9</sup> with Colán as president. The commission was given more real power than the attorney general, who became a mere figurehead.

It is important to note that the norms that allowed the judiciary and the Public Ministry to be subordinated were approved by the congressional majority out of submission to, ignorance of and/or complicity with the executive branch and the SIN.

With the reins of the key state institutions firmly in hand, the

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<sup>9</sup> Law 26623 of June 15, 1996.

administration displayed its desire to remain in office beyond the president's second term. The idea of a government that lasted more than a decade was also part of the Political-Military Plan described above. The scheme included the operation of the SIN as a body that carried out espionage and threats, and whose work focused not on subversion, which by now was barely visible, but on any organization or person who appeared to oppose or represent political competition to those in power.

#### Operation Chavín de Huántar

In August 1996, Fujimori's intention of remaining in power became clear. Legislators loyal to him approved a measure known as the Law of Authentic Interpretation. The legislation stated that although the 1993 Constitution allowed only one re-election, that did not apply to Fujimori because he had only been elected once under the new Constitution and was therefore eligible to run a third time — which would be only the first re-election since the approval of the new Constitution.

It was in this context that a surprising event, detailed in previous chapters, occurred: the abduction of more than 600 people who were held hostage by an MRTA command in the residence of the Japanese ambassador. The number was quickly reduced to 72 hostages, who would spend four months in captivity before being freed by a military operation known as Chavín de Huántar.

The operation's success caused a notable upsurge in the government's popularity. More importantly, it sidelined the serious and increasingly insistent accusations that were mounting against Vladimiro Montesinos.

For several reasons, however, the government could not maintain the political dividends that it reaped with the operation. First, the accusations continued.<sup>10</sup> The government took advantage of the popularity that it gained as a result of the operation's success to shore up its image while it committed various violations. One of the most serious occurred in May 1997, when the congressional majority fired three judges from the Constitutional Tribunal for having ruled that the Law of Authentic Interpretation was unconstitutional. According to Congress, the formal charge was that they had exceeded their functions by issuing a «clarification» of their decision.

#### The political use of terrorism

In the years that followed, the government continued to stage propaganda operations directed by the SIN and carried out thanks to increasing control over the media, in which it exploited the issue of «terrorism.» Its tactics included accusations of terrorism or use of the word *terrorists* by government officials when referring to activities carried out by the opposition or even some its own members. Beginning in 1998, with greater control over the media, a frequent

<sup>9</sup> For example, in June *Contrapunto* (a TV news program) revealed 197 cases of phone tapping carried out by the intelligence services.

practice was to dissuade citizens from participating in protest marches by circulating rumors that the marches were infiltrated by the Shining Path. The demonstrations were presented on television, by stations closely allied with the administration, as «terrorist» acts, rather than what they really were, demonstrations of political opposition to a regime that allowed no other outlets for expression.

During Alberto Fujimori's 2000 election campaign for a third term, there were ongoing irregularities, such as the use of military personnel deployed on the pretext of combating subversion. The state apparatus — still largely supported by the military in the emergency zones — had clearly established itself as the main voice for the administration's campaign nationwide. This time, however, several organizations of election observers confirmed and documented serious irregularities in certain parts of the country.

One of the clearest examples of the government's manipulation of information about the fight against subversion was the arrest of Óscar Ramírez Durand, *Feliciano*, who was a founder of the PCP-SL, a member of its Central Committee and leader of the «Red Path» (*Sendero Rojo*) after Guzmán called for the peace accord in 1993.

While Fujimori and his cohorts had repeatedly assured the country between 1993 and 1998 that terrorism in Peru had been defeated, by mid-1999 information began to appear about actions carried out by *Feliciano's* followers in the eastern part of the central highlands. The reports made the PCP-SL seem more dangerous than it really was at the time. The context in which these events occurred explains the importance of the arrest of the weakened *Feliciano*. On the internal front, the use of *Feliciano's* arrest as propaganda was only too clear, in light of the approaching presidential elections. Apart from that, the arrest took place under circumstances very different from those described in the government's version. *Feliciano* was detained on an inter-provincial bus being driven by an off-duty police officer named Juan Alfonso Salazar, who alerted a group of police and military officers about the strange presence of the vehicle's only passengers.

The final months of the Fujimori administration followed the tone of the previous years. The SIN focused its attention and resources on persecuting, spying on and harassing opponents of the regime and manipulating public opinion, using the threat of terrorism as a dissuasive argument to the same end.





## **PART TWO**

### **THE LEGACY OF THE CONFLICT AND THE WAY TO PEACE**



## CAPÍTULO 6

### THE FACTORS THAT MADE THE VIOLENCE POSSIBLE

It was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's task to «analyze the political, social and cultural conditions, as well as the behaviors of society and state institutions that contributed to the tragic situation of violence experienced by Peru.»<sup>1</sup> As a result of this analysis, the CVR found that the immediate, decisive cause of the internal armed conflict in Peru was the PCP-SL's decision to launch a «people's war» against the state, going against the will of millions of Peruvians who in the late 1970s were channeling their dreams for the transformation of our society in other directions, mainly through the proliferation of community organizations, largely peaceful demonstrations and participation in elections, which remained high after democracy was restored in 1980.

#### THE PCP-SL'S DECISION TO BEGIN THE CONFLICT

Behind all violence that has a political purpose — specifically the conquest of state power — is a will that organizes it and unleashes it. In Peru, this will was mainly embodied in the PCP-SL, which drew from different political traditions.

One element was the Marxist-Leninist tradition, which grants ontological privilege to the proletariat as the class that will establish a new, supposedly more just society (communism). That society can only be attained through a long process of revolution, and to succeed the proletariat in different countries must organize in parties of select, secret cadres who will be the enlightened vanguard able to interpret the laws of history. Needless to say, the

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<sup>1</sup> Supreme Decree, Article 2, Section a.

PCP-SL considered itself the party of the Peruvian proletariat. Within the Marxist-Leninist tradition, the PCP-SL subscribed to the Maoist way of thinking, in which peasants were given the role of «principal force» in a revolution that would take the form of a «prolonged people's war.» The proletariat, meanwhile, kept its role as the «leadership class.» According to Abimael Guzmán, the Shining Path was the direct heir of Maoism's most radical expression, the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), and its call for an «all-encompassing dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.» According to Guzmán, China's Cultural Revolution was the greatest milestone in human history, because it discovered «how to change souls.»

In the PCP-SL, Maoism was intertwined with a radical Peruvian tradition that was insurrectionist, enlightened and sectarian,<sup>2</sup> and which denied representative democracy and politics as a means for dialogue, negotiation and consensus. It set direct democracy (assemblies) against representative democracy in its quest for real democracy (economic equality). In the development of the Shining Path's plans, the radical Peruvian tradition was always subordinated to Maoism. It only gained importance when, amid disputes within the Peruvian left, the PCP-SL rose up to reclaim the legitimacy of José Carlos Mariátegui, the main socialist representative of the radical tradition, and proclaimed: «Let us take up Mariátegui's cause again and reconstitute his party.»<sup>3</sup> Once the PCP-SL's place within the universe of the Maoist left was more or less defined, however, Mariátegui's image gradually faded away until it disappeared altogether, while Guzmán became «President Gonzalo,» the fourth sword of Marxism, the incarnation of the evolution of «15 billion years of matter in movement.»

Along with the radical tradition, there was another aspect of Peru's authoritarian tradition that was older, more widespread and carried even greater weight: *caudillismo*, or the tradition of political bosses. Debate in Marxist circles over the role of the personality in history was taken to unimagined extremes in what Marxist tradition calls «personality cult,» as was seen in the section on the PCP-SL.

The Shining Path's extreme authoritarianism is also rooted in the social origins of its principal leaders. Several were *mestizo* intellectuals from mid-sized provincial cities who shared the characteristics of the social stratum known as *misti*, a Quechua word for the mestizos — patrons or notables — who lived in Andean urban centers and formed part of the traditional local power structure. While «notable» in traditional society, these intellectuals nevertheless felt that they were looked down on by the elites in the capital. At the same time, overwhelmed by the emerging popular classes, they were losing «respect» after having risen up through schools, trade unions, cities and/or markets. A figure like that of Guzmán and a plan like that of the PCP-SL arose out of this environment. Although it presented itself as radically new, in practice the Shining

<sup>2</sup> That sectarianism includes everything from the slogan of APRA's early decades, «Only APRA will save Peru,» to the Marxist left's most recent thesis about the proletariat as vanguard or the single party as political regime.

<sup>3</sup> See the document by the same name, dated 1975.

Path represented the restoration of a strictly vertical order that was breaking down as a result of modernization. If in traditional landholding society the hierarchy was based on a monopoly of economic and political power and a racist attitude that saw the inferiority of the Indian as «natural,» in the PCP-SL's way of thinking the party's superiority over the «masses» was justified by the monopoly of a «scientific» knowledge of which the PCP-SL considered itself the exclusive representative. That knowledge made it possible to understand the laws of history and therefore guide the entire country to a better future.

What remained constant between the old *mistas* and the new revolutionaries was an authoritarian relationship with the population, in which power was negotiated through the use of physical violence and left its marks on people's bodies. The PCP-SL, therefore, was part of a long-standing tradition that included physical punishment on estates or in police stations, as well as in the peasant communities themselves and even in schools that were still governed by the proverb, «spare the rod and spoil the child.»

At some point during the 1960s, these intellectuals discovered the potential of educational institutions — universities, pedagogical institutes, post-secondary institutes — first as a place for recruitment, and later as a «transmission belt» between the party and the peasantry. The state's neglect of public education and the persistence of a vertical transmission of knowledge, in which the teacher knows and the student learns and obeys, created an environment ripe for the Shining Path's plans. The intellectuals described above established links with small groups of young people who were receptive to talk of a radical break with the established order, but immersed in an authoritarian tradition. In that way, the PCP-SL was able to implement its traditional, authoritarian pedagogical model and also reproduce the old vertical hierarchies *within* the party itself, between the leaders and the militants, with the leader (Abimael Guzmán) as the only one capable of interpreting the laws of history.

How did these small groups manage to forge such a strong will throughout the 1970s? First, parties of cadres highly steeped in the ideology of Leninist tradition tended to form very strong wills. Guzmán himself recalled the case of the USSR: «How many Bolsheviks were there when the October Revolution triumphed? Eighty thousand in a country of 150 million inhabitants!» (Guzmán 1988). Thus the PCP-SL decided to build a small but well-regimented organization that the members themselves defined as a «war machine.»

The PCP-SL offered, above all, a discourse that claimed to be completely coherent, an all-encompassing «great story.» Presented as a scientific ideology that was «all-powerful because it is true» (PCP-SL 1988a: II), this provided an apparently consistent understanding not only of the country, but of the entire universe, a simple moral universe in black and white that gave meaning to the lives of those who shared it. The culmination of this great, all-encompassing story was a utopia, communism:

The society of «great harmony» [...] the radical and definite new society toward which 15 billion years of matter in movement, from what we know of eternal matter, is necessarily and inexorably headed. ... A single new society without substitute, without the exploited or the exploiters, without

the oppressed or the oppressors, without classes, without a state, without parties, without democracy, without armies, without wars (PCP-SL 1986a: 20).

To attain this society without movement, literally «the end of history,» it was necessary to provoke a rupture of apocalyptic proportions. The beginning of the armed struggle marked the separation of the old times from the new. For that reason, when Guzmán decided to cast his party into the «armed struggle,» he changed the tone of his discourses and the party went through a period of internal battles that were understood as personal and collective purification and rebirth.<sup>4</sup> They would be the handwriting on the wall in the middle of the banquet; the people's war would be an extended Armageddon, from which only the communists would come out alive.

The PCP-SL also offered an organizational plan: the Communist Party, which was militarized to wage the «prolonged people's war.» To begin this with only «a handful of communists,» as Guzmán himself admitted, required that the party be a complete institution that organized and controlled every aspect of daily life, providing its active members with a total identity.

While it is necessary to highlight these elements to understand the concentration of political will that the PCP-SL represented, it is also important to keep in mind the group's more prosaic aspects. The other face of *caudillismo* is political patronage, which the PCP-SL practiced profusely in the universities, where it took pains to ensure that its members became directors of student welfare, in charge of managing university housing and cafeterias. The active party members, especially youths, found in the PCP-SL not only order, but the organization of their free time, a place for adventure and the possibility of social advancement «through the party» at a time when it was difficult to achieve this «through the market.»

To that extent, the PCP-SL could be considered an exaggerated version of other leftist vanguard groups in Peru and other parts of the world, which believed that the people's war was the strategy by which socialism would triumph. Other traits, however, made the Shining Path a very special phenomenon. One of these was its extreme *caudillismo*. Building the party around a god-like figure was very important for its cohesion, but this became its Achilles' heel when «the bosses» were captured in 1992.

At the same time, fanaticism became one of the key aspects of Shining Path mentality. It started with the exacerbation of violence in Guzmán's discourse before the armed struggle began. The ferocity of his harangues between 1978 and 1980 foreshadowed the type of violence that would strike the country beginning in 1980 and the types of militants who would make up the PCP-SL: willing to «live their lives on their fingertips» and «cross the river of blood,» which would be necessary for the triumph of the revolution. This willingness to face death increased with the letters of submission to «President Gonzalo» that

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<sup>4</sup> The symbolism of purification, rebirth and salvation abounds in Guzman's discourses before the armed struggle. See: "The New Flag," "On Three Chapters in Our History" and "We are the Initiators."

party militants signed when they joined the PCP- SL. The glorification of the *caudillo* contrasted with the loss of individual identity by party militants, who were encouraged to pay «the quota» of blood and to «induce genocide,» proving that they were willing to die as the party members did in the prisons.

Political will is a decisive factor in explaining the beginning of any armed subversion, but that alone does not explain why it endured. To understand the long «decade of violence,» it is necessary to note how that political will took advantage of certain sets of circumstances, fed on old institutional weaknesses and structural faults, took up certain demands and serious frustrations, expressed a certain mindset, and was able to take root in particular social sectors and geographical places. The historical causes that fostered the explosion of the Shining Path, therefore, must be examined.

#### LONG-TERM OR HISTORICAL FACTORS IN THE CONFLICT

According to testimonies gathered by the CVR, the violence mainly afflicted the poorest inhabitants of the poorest parts of the country. As these testimonies indicate, however, poverty alone does not explain the outbreak of the armed conflict. Rather, it is one of the factors that helped spark it, and it served as the backdrop against which the drama was played out.

The country's many gaps are important in understanding the conflict. The most visible and dramatic gap is between rich and poor. Inequality, the abysmal difference between those who have the most and those who are merely surviving, is as important a factor as poverty, if not more important. It is not just a matter of unequal distribution of wealth, however, but also of political and symbolic power, including having a voice: who «has the right to speak,» who is heard and who is ignored. This is important, because the PCP-SL offered its followers a *discourse* that created the illusion of embracing all of reality, as well as the possibility of making oneself heard and of silencing others. Wealth and power are distributed unequally throughout our territory, resulting in other gaps:

- *Between Lima and the provinces.* Centralization increased in the decades preceding the conflict, exacerbating the distance between the capital and the rest of the country just when they seemed most interconnected.
- *Among the coast, highlands and jungle.* Economic, demographic and symbolic gravitation toward Lima and the coast, to the detriment of the Andes, became accentuated as the 20th century progressed, until it resulted in the crisis of traditional Andean society. At the same time, the Amazon became the frontier where the state's modernization projects came crashing down almost as soon as they were designed.
- *Among Creoles, mestizos, cholos and Indians.* Throughout the 20th century, the old social class differences were breaking down and their boundaries were becoming blurred and more porous. They did not disappear, however. Instead, they were recreated, and ethnic-cultural and racial discrimination continued to weigh on the country.

The mixture of these inequalities and forms of discrimination produced

a growing perception of mistreatment among the poor, who were seen as *cholos* or Indians from the provinces, the highlands and rural areas. That perception became more painful beginning in the middle of the last century, as processes of modernization in the country accelerated, often only to be cut off midstream. The most significant of these were:

- Large-scale migration.
- Widespread school enrollment.
- Expansion of the media.
- Organizational processes.
- Increased number and expansion of social networks in the countryside and the city.

These processes gnawed away at the structural underpinnings and arguments of traditional domination, which saw discrimination based on class, region, ethnic-cultural background and race as «normal.» The structural foundations crumbled because of: i) demographic changes, such as increased life expectancy and urban growth; ii) economic changes, especially the expansion of the market and the terminal crisis of the hacienda system that had produced a society of lords and servants, especially in the poorest areas of the Andes, making it difficult for a sense of citizenship to develop.

The supporting arguments, which made a society with little social mobility and a fairly rigid hierarchical order seem normal and bearable, broke down with migration to the cities, massive school enrollment and expansion of communication channels, especially highways and radio.

The breakdown of the traditional order and the acceleration of modernization deepened certain gaps and made others visible. Among the former, the most explosive was the gap between Lima and the rest of the country, which led to the emergence of important regional movements beginning in the 1960s. The gaps that grew more visible included the generation and gender gaps. Widespread access to schools and universities deepened differences between generations, especially in rural areas.<sup>5</sup> It is important to recall that young people played the leading role in the massive waves of migration and were, to a great extent, also the leaders of the various processes of social organization in rural and urban areas. Somewhat later, women also began to gain access to education, participate and become leading players in the new social organizations, bursting onto the public stage in general.

All of this indicates a process of modernization that was unequal, consisting of scattered, intermittent efforts that were often truncated, either

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<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that in Ayacucho, the main social movements in the decades preceding the outbreak of the armed conflict arose not out of disputes over land, but from educational demands. The first People's Defense Front (Frente de Defensa del Pueblo) arose in Ayacucho over defense of the University of Huamanga's budget, and during its early years, it was strongly influenced by people who would later form PCP-SL. Later, in 1969, there were massive protests in Huamanga and Huanta after a supreme decree issued by the military government threatened to limit free secondary education.



because of a lack of a long-term vision shared by the political, business and intellectual elites who led the country, or because of political stagnation and/or the inadequacy of national plans. If these plans had been successful, they could have at least achieved sustained economic development that would have significantly expanded the domestic market and provided greater integration of the country at different levels: economic, social, symbolic. Because that did not occur, there were:

- *Social sectors receptive to proposals for a radical break with the established order.* These were especially, but not exclusively, young people from the provinces, mestizos, with a higher than average education. Some sectors scattered throughout the country felt that they were in a no-man's-land between two worlds: the traditional Andean world of their parents, which they, at least in part, no longer shared; and the urban-Creole world, which rejected them because they were mestizos or *cholos* from the provinces. A minority of these people was attracted by a model whose absolute consistency freed them from a present that offered little satisfaction and too much uncertainty.
- *Geographical areas where this radical break could occur.* Especially areas located in a sort of limbo between a modernity that existed in political discourse and expectations, more than anything, and the backwardness and poverty that had been removed from the traditional order that had made them somewhat bearable for so long. These were the areas hardest hit by the conflict.

#### INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

This society was accompanied by a state that had little legitimacy. Until the 1970s, law, juridical order and the republican state itself were questioned by revolutionary paradigms that considered representative democracy a «form» devoid of content, which placed little value on individual rights and liberties that were considered bourgeois. Instead of formal democracy, they proposed real democracy, which could only be attained in a popular or socialist democratic state built through a revolution that, for most of the leftist parties of the time, could only triumph through violence.

The rule of law was also questioned by the right through a long tradition of military *takeovers*. In the five decades preceding the outbreak of the internal armed conflict, the country had only 14 years of democratic government. That fragility reflected ways of thinking about and engaging in politics in which a vertical, exclusive order imposed through violence, when necessary, was considered natural.

The absence of conservative and liberal parties that were loyal to the democratic system and had plans for the country contributed to this feeble sense of citizenship and led the military to take an active role in political life, reinforcing its role as a «guardian» institution.

The «Cold War» redoubled this questioning, placing the continent's old militaristic traditions in a new context and framing them within a new doctrine of national security that was energetically promoted in the region by the United States. In the wake of the Cuban Revolution (1959), a wave of armed subversive movements shook Latin America. The response was a series of military coups and repressive regimes. Legitimate hopes for transformation and democratization fell by the wayside. In the 1970s, Costa Rica, Venezuela and Colombia were the only countries in Latin America with governments that met minimum standards for democracy.

Modernity brought an embryonic sense of citizenship. In Peru, the awareness of having and exercising rights developed unequally. Universal suffrage was not guaranteed until the 1979 Constitution. Municipal elections were actually only held in 1963 and 1966, under the first government of Fernando Belaunde. If this process had not been interrupted by the 1968 coup, it would have made it possible to broaden the practice of citizenship, confer responsibilities and resources, and establish a greater presence of the state at the local level. Because this lack of democratic practice, in certain parts of the country the establishment of the Shining Path's «new power» — which was imposed from above and which created subjects (or even servants) instead of citizens — did not seem intolerable, particularly if that «new power» initially imposed a certain order and its own style of «justice.»

If the development of a sense of citizenship was weak, the tradition of an impartial, universal system of justice was almost non-existent. Both in public hearings and in the testimonies gathered by the CVR, there are countless stories in which the protagonists travel from distant rural communities to the departmental or national capital in search of justice, only to have justice turn its back on them. Worse still, when it did act, the judicial system tended to be discriminatory and its personnel abusive.

The great structural changes that transformed the country, therefore, were followed by a weak, intermittent process of modernization, democratization and reform of the state that, in the two decades that preceded the outbreak of the armed internal conflict, led to two different models:

- The liberal democratic model, which began in 1956 and evolved more clearly during the first administration of President Fernando Belaunde (1963-1968).
- The reformist authoritarian model under the government of General Juan Velasco (1968-1975).

#### CIRCUMSTANTIAL FACTORS

The outbreak of the internal armed conflict came at a time when the state was overwhelmed by the democratic transition that began in 1977, which included areas beyond those directly related to the change of political regime. The weak flanks at the time included:

- *The economic situation.* By 1980, the size of the state apparatus (bureaucracy, public enterprises, the state's percentage of GDP) had grown, but the state as an institution had even greater difficulty meeting its basic obligations to its citizens.
- *Power vacuums in extensive rural areas, especially in the Andes.* As part of the process of dismantling the agrarian reform, Morales Bermúdez's government deactivated the National Support System for Social Mobilization (*Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social, SINAMOS*), the state apparatus that in some ways had filled the vacuum left by local traditional powers in the countryside. The cooperatives — SAIS, CAP — created by the collectivist agrarian reform were left as tiny, demoralized islands (often weakened from within by inept or corrupt administration) under attack from within and from the margins by those who should have been their beneficiaries. The Green Sea («*Verde Mar*») operations, which began in 1977 with the support of the United States, aggravated the situation in significant parts of the high jungle, pushing large groups of settlers who had arrived during the preceding decades to take part in the illicit economy, growing coca because of a lack of economic alternatives.
- *Weakness of political parties.* Because of the suspension of national and municipal elections, the parties had lost their strength. Some of their main leaders were in exile and the political groups were discredited by official propaganda that attacked political parties and representative democracy. The absence of party organizations or their retreat from large areas of rural Peru meant that the representation that arose from the elections in the 1980s was tenuous and increasingly revolved around individuals rather than organizations or platforms. That tendency was encouraged by the preferential vote.

Despite these difficulties, the transition sparked by grassroots movements during those years continued. The Constitution approved in 1979 was politically inclusive and tended to make things more democratic. It legalized leftist Marxist parties and granted universal suffrage to illiterate people over age 18. Thus, on May 18, 1980, after 17 years, the country went to the polls to elect a civilian government. The previous day, the PCP-SL began its armed actions.

#### THE DURATION OF THE CONFLICT

The Shining Path was an unexpected enemy. Fernando Belaunde's second administration could have anticipated an armed uprising similar to those taking place at the time in Central America or the Southern Cone — something similar to the MRTA — but not the PCP-SL.

The government and the armed forces distrusted left-wing leaders such as Hugo Blanco, who received the second-highest number of votes for the Constituent Assembly of 1978, after Haya de la Torre, as well as Marxist parties such as PCP-Unity (PCP-*Unidad*), the UDP or UNIR, which would soon form the United Left and which had a strong influence in organizations such as the General

Confederation of Workers of Peru (*Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú*, CGTP), the Peasant Confederation of Peru (*Confederación Campesina del Perú*, CCP) and the teachers' union (SUTEP), all of which were gaining strength in those years. It is important to remember that these parties continued to defend the legitimacy of using weapons to take power.

The PCP-SL had remained on the margins of nearly all grassroots mobilizations in the late 1970s.<sup>6</sup> This helps explain why Guzmán had been arrested and quickly released shortly before launching his «people's war.» His insignificance on the political scene and in the labor movement was an advantage for his military plan. The members of the Shining Path got lost among other groups that shared its violent rhetoric, but were undertaking political and labor-related actions.

In addition, even though it announced a «peasant war,» the Shining Path did not begin its actions in a region where peasant organizations were on the rise, such as Cusco or Cajamarca. On the contrary, in those areas it encountered serious resistance. The conflict began in Ayacucho, an area that had few organizations and peasant movements in the years preceding 1980, and where the state, whose presence in rural areas was tenuous, had especially let down its guard. Thus the small police stations in northern Ayacucho were forced to beat a hasty retreat, while the Belaunde government appeared reluctant to call on the armed forces, as explained above.

Besides the general surprise, another factor that contributed to the PCP-SL's survival was its radically autarkic nature. During the early years, the government tried to find links between the subversives and some socialist country. The PCP-SL itself took pains to discredit this hypothesis launching violent actions to protest the new leadership in China<sup>7</sup> and the embassies of socialist countries.

Nevertheless, all these factors would have been insufficient if the PCP-SL had not won the acceptance or neutrality of significant sectors of society, especially peasants. How did it reach them, and what kind of peasants were they?

During the 1970s, most of the parties that would later form the IU tended to draw their best young cadres from the universities and send them into the countryside, involving them at various levels in a circuit designed to expand the party. This was primarily done by setting up peasant unions. The effectiveness of these groups was measured by their ability to control and mobilize people.<sup>8</sup> The PCP-SL established a different circuit. It recruited cadres in certain universities, but kept them within the educational system, sending them as teachers to rural schools. These teachers, in turn, recruited secondary school

<sup>6</sup> Except for the strike by SUTEP in 1978 and by secondary school students in 1979, PCP-SL had opposed these mobilizations, including the national strikes in 1977 and 1978, because it believed they were being guided by PCP-Unity's «revisionism.»

<sup>7</sup> The famous dogs hanging from posts that appeared in some Lima streets in 1980 with signs that said: «Deng Xiaoping, son of a bitch.»

<sup>8</sup> In the 1980s, the yardstick for effectiveness shifted rapidly from the strengthening and mobilization of unions to electoral success.

students through whom the PCP-SL established beachheads in many communities. The epicenter for party expansion were the so-called «generating organizations,»<sup>9</sup> which fed cadres into the party through the «people's schools.» The criterion for effectiveness was the growth of the party itself and especially the growth of the «people's guerrilla army,» since everything was «at the service of the people's war.» Through these linkages, the PCP-SL wove a net of party membership and support in the northern provinces of Ayacucho.

This enabled the PCP-SL to «conquer bases» on the margins, not only in urban Peru, but in the dynamic, organized sectors of rural Peru. Its plan of top-down equality, expeditious justice, destruction of productive infrastructure and the distribution of livestock and harvests found acceptance in communities that had serious internal or external conflicts, where authorities had little legitimacy, and where there was discontent because of inequitable access to scarce resources. In addition, the PCP-SL appeared early on as an option for a «new state,» a vehicle for establishing order and administering a draconian, vertical style of justice that put an end to antisocial behavior by resorting to physical punishment and «executions.»

The PCP-SL's expansion to other parts of the country showed that the intellectuals and educated youths who constituted «sensitive links» were not only a regional phenomenon, but extended throughout a chain of cities, including Lima. This also showed that poverty, lack of rural organization and the exercising of power associated with the use of physical violence were not exclusively characteristic of Ayacucho. The phenomenon brought to light other highly conflictive rural areas, such as those where the agrarian reform had formed SAIS, or the coca-growing valleys, where entire populations had been pushed into the illicit economy and where the police and judiciary were identified, more than anywhere else, with abuse and corruption.

To explain the duration and expansion of the subversive phenomenon, it is necessary to keep in mind two additional factors. First, the PCP-SL and to a far lesser extent the MRTA became magnets that attracted small, discontented groups that broke away from leftist parties that had changed their discourse at the end of the 1970s from armed struggle to participation in elections, often in a less than consistent manner.<sup>10</sup> Second, in certain places there was regional identification with the subversive groups — the MRTA in San Martín, the PCP-SL in northern Ayacucho — that included not only the countryside, but also the urban periphery. In the case of the MRTA, this identification was determined to a certain extent by the unions over which the group had influence: the Selva Maestra Agrarian Federation (*Federación Agraria Selva Maestra*, FASMA) or the Front to Defend the Interests of the People of San Martín (*Frente de Defensa de los Intereses del Pueblo de San Martín*). In the case of the PCP-SL, the identification was based on the party and violence. This was not an obstacle, however, and it might even have contributed to the development of a very strong identity on the periphery of the

<sup>9</sup> On the definition of «generating organizations,» see the chapter on PCP-SL.

<sup>10</sup> The PCP-SL demanded that the group disband and that its members be absorbed on an individual basis. At the other extreme, the MRTA was the product of the successive mergers of various leftist groups that opted for violence.

PCP-SL, which fed into its «generating organizations.» A sense of «us» was established with very rigid, exclusive boundaries based on ethnic and regional similarities that combined skin color, language and customs with a sense of having been harmed by inequality and discrimination. The PCP-SL provided a «structure of feelings» for poor students who suffered from discrimination and who «found themselves between two worlds,» as well as for small neighborhood groups in Lima and peasant sectors that were fed up with poverty, abuse and exclusion.

None of these factors would have been enough to explain the duration of the conflict if the political elites had been up to the challenge. The PCP-SL fed on the errors committed by the state and the political parties, as well as the understandable confusion that existed at first. Those errors constituted a process of «abdication of democratic authority» that progressed, with ups and downs, until it culminated in the coup of April 1992.

An indispensable element in the Shining Path's plans for survival and expansion was the need to create an enemy in its own image and likeness, first in the mind of its own militants, and later in the country as a whole. The CVR's investigations show that every time the state came close to resembling the Leviathan that Guzmán described in his nightmares, it handed the subversives a victory. The widespread repression in Ayacucho (1983-1984), prison massacre (1986) paramilitary groups (1987) and death squads (1989) were all, in some way, triumphs for Guzmán, because they enabled him to validate his thesis in the eyes of his party members and even appear to be the «lesser evil» for certain sectors of society that were affected by the state's response.

It was not, therefore, simply a matter of the errors, excesses or limitations of the various parties to the conflict. The abdication, which was merely a symptom, revealed the deep «geological fault lines» on which the democratic regime had been rebuilt in 1980, leaving significant sectors of the population and national territory on the sidelines of political representation. The PCP-SL gained a presence in the unrepresented margins of our society and advanced from there into other areas, taking advantage of the state's errors, the economic crisis and, later, the rampant social breakdown at the end of the 1980s.

The mere existence of areas that lacked political representation was a sign of deep cracks in the configuration the nation, which included, but also transcended, the responsibility of government administrations, political parties and the armed forces. The relatively long duration of the internal armed conflict was also related to the fragility of a sense of national community, which should have been grounded in having and exercising civil rights. The fragility of this sense of national identity and citizenship was felt beyond the rural periphery, embracing, to a greater or lesser extent, the entire country.

Viewed from the center of political, economic and symbolic power, the sectors labeled here as «unrepresented» were insignificant: they contributed little to the GDP. In rural areas, because of their scant demographic weight, they were not decisive in elections; in urban areas, because of their extreme poverty, they were easy prey for political patronage. Public opinion, therefore, could fluctuate between indifference and the demand for a rapid solution to the conflict

without caring much about the social cost. After all, the victims were mainly «others»: poor, rural, Indians. They were far away, not only geographically, but especially emotionally. The distance included Lima's «cones,» where the conflict was marked by sweeps conducted by the security forces and the stigmatizing of those who were different — migrants in that case. Centralization and racism thus played their part in prolonging the conflict.

Finally, the extreme economic crisis of the last years of García's administration also contributed to the advance of the subversive groups. If the international community's relative tolerance for the state's human rights violations was added to the mix, a picture emerged in 1990 that appeared to favor the subversive groups, especially the PCP-SL.

### CRUELTY IN THE CONFLICT

We have indicated the limits of the plans for building and modernizing the nation that were implemented in those decades, but it is also necessary to highlight the serious social and political conflicts that arose and were resolved by peaceful means. Between 1958 and 1964, the most significant peasant movement of the time in Latin America arose in Peru. Hundreds of thousands of peasants and farm workers organized and demonstrated throughout the country, taking over hundreds of thousands of hectares of land that were in the hands of large landowners. In those years, however, only 166 people died (Guzmán 1981), fewer than in the first 10 days of August 1991.

In the 1970s, a second wave of land takeovers shook the country as the agrarian reform was being implemented. The mobilization was not as widespread as in the previous decade, but the peasant organization reached its height after the reorganization of the CCP and the creation of the National Agrarian Confederation (*Confederación Nacional Agraria*, CNA) in 1974. Again, the cost in human lives was extremely low compared to the number of deaths in the following decade.

Meanwhile, beginning in 1976 the cities experienced an unprecedented social upheaval that translated into demonstrations and strikes by workers, teachers and regional groups, which in turn led to the national strikes of July 1977 and May 1978. The former had an indirect influence on the return to democracy, because days later the military regime called a Constituent Assembly for 1978. Once again, the number of fatalities in the demonstrations during those years was minimal.

Critics may object to this discussion of social organizations, because the PCP-SL and the MRTA were political organizations. Nevertheless, even political upheavals in previous decades resulted in low levels of violence. In 1955, widespread political demonstrations in Arequipa led to the resignation of the feared minister of government and police, Esparza Zañartu, which marked the beginning of the end of the dictatorship headed by Manuel A. Odría. Those demonstrations produced two deaths. After that, the country suffered no

additional widespread political persecution.<sup>11</sup> In 1956, after more than two decades in the «catacombs,» APRA was allowed to operate legally, and new parties, such as Popular Action (*Acción Popular*), the Christian Democrats and the Progressive Social Party (*Partido Social Progresista*) became more firmly established. No blood was shed in the military coups of 1962, 1968 and 1975. In comparison to other Latin American countries, the wave of guerrilla action inspired by the Cuban Revolution was muted in Peru. In comparison to its counterparts in the Southern Cone, the military regime (1968-1980) was not particularly repressive, despite its authoritarian style and the radical and controversial nature of its reforms.

From this standpoint, the Constitution approved in 1979 seemed to put a symbolic and legal end to the great political exclusion that had blocked the construction of a national state. The Constitution excluded no political parties and finally enshrined full recognition for universal suffrage, granting all men and women over age 18 the right to vote, even if they were illiterate. At the time, the latter category basically consisted of Peruvian men and women who spoke only Quechua, Aymara or Amazonian indigenous languages.

After the deep demographic, economic, political and socio-cultural transformations of the previous decades and the political earthquake of the military government's reforms, the country seemed to be on the way to the consolidation of a modern, democratic national state. It is not surprising, then, that the start of the armed conflict was unexpected. Nor is it surprising that its extent and brutality continue to amaze us.

What was missing in the decades before the outbreak of violence was the will to kill, much less massively or systematically, on the part of the state, peasants, other sectors of society or the main political parties. The PCP-SL leaders had to focus their energy on instilling this will in their party militants and then convincing the state and society that death was, so to speak, a way of life.

In the philosophical, political and even psychological foundations of subversive action, especially that of the PCP-SL, there is a definite blind spot: the PCP-SL «sees classes, not individuals.» This leads to an absolute lack of respect for the person and the right to life, including that of its own party members. In order to maintain the party's cohesion, the leaders instilled in its members a taste for death that became a symbol of identity and gave the Shining Path a terrorist and genocidal potential. The terrorist potential was unleashed with actions ranging from «executions» marked by cruelty and a prohibition against burying the victims to car bombs in the cities. The genocidal potential, explicit when Guzmán announced that «the triumph of the revolution will cost a million lives» or when he called his followers to «induce genocide,» was unleashed especially in indigenous areas, because the PCP-SL perpetuated old concepts of superiority over indigenous peoples.

Meanwhile, «beating the countryside» and building the «new power» required a high cost in human lives because despite the power vacuums, the

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<sup>11</sup> The exception was the imprisonment of leftist leaders in the Sepa penal colony in the central jungle in 1962.



Peruvian countryside still had a far larger population of actors, institutions and organizations and was more interconnected than that of China in the 1930s, which was the PCP-SL's inspiration. For that reason, after the first stage of acceptance, the PCP-SL increasingly had to resort to imposing itself through terror. Its murders were «exemplary punishments.» Many of the testimonies provided to the CVR reflected not only pain, but also indignation at having seen family members die «like animals,» often exacerbated by the prohibition against burying them. After the armed forces moved in to combat subversion, the Shining Path's tactic of «counter-reestablishments» further increased the civilian death toll. From Lima, Guzmán proposed establishing «people's committees» near the places where military bases were being set up<sup>12</sup> to spark a reaction from the state. This policy also contributed to the high death toll.

The other decisive factor in the cruelty of the internal armed conflict was the state's response. The fact that the PCP-SL's deadly provocation encountered a response shows that in the previous decades, which were marked by the «low intensity» of deaths from social conflicts and political confrontations, the country had actually traveled a long and difficult path that the PCP-SL managed to block, at least temporarily. Beginning in 1983, the deep cracks mentioned above began to show: not only the lack of a national community of citizens, but the racism-tinged contempt for peasants that permeated state institutions, including the armed forces. In the early years of their intervention, the armed forces sometimes behaved like an occupying army.<sup>13</sup>

But the violence unleashed by the PCP-SL, whose militants blended into the general population, also sowed fear. The disdained «others,» who were often incomprehensible, began to be seen as dangerous, with no distinction drawn between those who were members of the PCP-SL and those who were not. An entire mythology began to (re)form around them that turned them into beings able to resist torture and impassive in the face of death. The old racist concepts of the stubborn, cruel and treacherous «Indian» reappeared in force. Fear fanned the cruelty of the anti-subversive forces.

Added to this was the influence of the national security doctrine exported to the region by the United States, combined with the shallow roots of the human rights doctrines that had recently become legal instruments, as human rights violations began to be sanctioned under international treaties that were being incorporated into national legislation.

If the previous phase was one of moderation on the part of all involved, the PCP-SL's sudden appearance on the scene opened a «Pandora's box» that turned everything upside down. In the poorest rural areas, the PCP-SL became involved in and often ended up escalating and militarizing old social conflicts within and between communities. In areas affected by drug trafficking, the PCP-

<sup>12</sup> On the «counter-reestablishments,» see the chapter on PCP-SL.

<sup>13</sup> Rather, it was the peasants who somehow seem to have had a greater awareness of national community; when they tell their stories, they refer to those who were killing them as «foreigners,» «gringos» or pishtacos. They could not conceive that their countrymen could kill them «like animals.»

SL aggravated a situation that was already violent in a society that was already on the periphery, a dynamic in which the forces of order also became involved with cruelty. Everywhere, the PCP-SL exacerbated physical punishment, taking to extremes a tradition that ranged from abuse by landholders or police to punishment meted out in peasant communities or low-income urban neighborhoods.

Rebellions against the PCP-SL were also brutal. The violence latent in any community, especially poor ones, welled up in a mixture that also included conflicts between families and generations and conflicts over land. Self-defense committees often went beyond their specific mandate, turning into small, aggressive armies that violently «swept» areas considered enemy territory or areas of support for the PCP-SL.

### THE DEFEAT OF THE SUBVERSIVE GROUPS

When a very violent, motivated group takes up arms, but the conditions for victory do not exist, one possibility is that it will become a «chronic insurgency.» That may be the case, for example, in Colombia. The same thing has not occurred in Peru, despite the persistence of small armed groups in certain parts of the Amazon.<sup>14</sup> Why?

First, subversion began in a democratic context that, despite its limitations, reduced the opportunity for violence to take root. Even at the worst moments, the party system and elections acted as a shock absorber, providing an alternative way of channeling conflicts and building representation. The existence of a legal left further reduced the subversive groups' possibilities for recruiting members. This especially affected the MRTA.

While there were no elections in 1989 and 1990 in a small percentage of provinces, it is more important to note the continuity of elected authorities in districts and provinces that were threatened by subversion. In many cases, these authorities paid with their lives. While the subversives' advance was one of the reasons for the breakdown of democracy, the April 1992 coup came when the PCP-SL was strategically defeated.

The existence of an independent press, even in areas directly affected by the violence, was another factor that helped stem the brutality of anti-subversive actions and create a climate of opposition to the subversive groups.

There were also oversight bodies that questioned the crimes and human rights violations committed by both the state and the subversive groups: human rights organizations and significant sectors of the Catholic Church and evangelical churches. They challenged the legitimacy that the subversive groups were trying to gain nationally and internationally by presenting themselves abroad as a romantic guerrilla force, and the anti-subversive strategies as «dirty war.»

With few exceptions, the subversives also failed to win over grassroots and neighborhood groups, and organizations of workers, peasants and teachers.

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<sup>14</sup> This refers to the so-called «remnants» of PCP-SL in the Ene and Apurímac valleys.

Instead, the PCP-SL became a «social anti-movement» (Wieviorka 1991) that demobilized, destroyed and/or preyed on the organizations that fell near its sphere of influence. The sector whose rejection most contributed to the subversive groups' defeat was the rural peasantry. This sector was to have been the «main force» of the revolution, faithful allies, the second voice, the chorus that would accompany the party and its leaders, who were focused on striking the resounding note that would transform the world. In many places, however, the PCP-SL ended up causing «the chorus to revolt.»

That happened because after the destruction of the «old order» — the elimination of authorities and destruction of productive infrastructure — the PCP-SL could only offer them:

- A subsistence-based economic plan that was archaic even for the poorest peasants.
- The establishment of an egalitarian utopia that quickly showed its authoritarian side, especially in the application of justice that resorted easily to the «death penalty» and a totalitarian organization that regulated every facet of daily life, going beyond necessary order to an excess of vertical organization that reached extremes when the party forbade people to be sad.

The murders committed by the PCP-SL not only ran up against the will to live that exists in any human community, they were also counterproductive in poor economies where communities did not have the luxury of dispensing with the lives of their members, most of whom were young men with families and small children. For that reason, according to testimony gathered by the CVR in different parts of the country, those affected asked the party to «punish, but not to kill.» If the Shining Path was going to kill fathers, women said, it would be better to kill the entire family, because «who's going to support the children?»

The totalitarian approach implied intolerance toward the local culture — not only the celebration of festivals or the election of authorities, but also such basic elements as burying the dead or the use of forms of address that denoted family relationships. These were replaced by the term «companion» (*compañero*).

Above all, however, with peasants increasingly involved in a market economy, the PCP-SL's approach conflicted with the dynamic of rural society. To the PCP-SL's surprise, the «prolonged war» came up against the peasant family's reproductive mindset, which organized activities around the cycle of family life and planned for the children's growth and education. In that context, when the PCP-SL gathered speed to reach «strategic equilibrium,» it broke the fragile balance that it still maintained in many rural areas. The Shining Path began to require more food supplies for the party and more young recruits. This increased ill will among peasants, which, combined with the armed forces' change in strategy, led to widespread establishment of the self-defense committees that handed the PCP-SL its first strategic defeat in the place where the group least expected it.

In addition, as the conflict progressed, the PCP-SL's strategy revealed its erroneous assessment of the role of local authorities. For the Shining Path, these people were outside the communities, part of an «old state» that was not part of the peasantry. To the peasants, however, community authorities, justices of the peace, mayors and often people with university degrees were viewed as resources for a necessary interconnection with a state that really did exist.

Based on their own experiences and historical peculiarities, the armed forces learned to better judge the enemy. From the start, there were officers who sought to gain the people's trust. They were the heralds of a change in strategy that, as has been mentioned, gave greater weight to intelligence work, made repression more selective, and sought to win over the rural population and establish alliances with self-defense groups, or pressured rural residents to organize self-defense committees where there was resistance. In many rural areas, the armed forces were the ones who ended up operating «like a fish in the water.»

The absence of large rural landholders also helped keep paramilitary groups from forming in rural areas like those that existed in Guatemala and El Salvador, or still exist in Colombia.<sup>15</sup>

The international climate also became more adverse for the subversive groups. The end of the «Cold War» directly affected the MRTA, especially because it contributed to peace negotiations and peace accords in various Latin American countries, incorporating into political life guerrilla movements that had been the MRTA's inspiration and sometimes its training ground. For the PCP-SL, post-Mao China's turn toward capitalism made the followers of the Cultural Revolution an eccentricity. The PCP-SL was linked to a Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (*Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista*, MRI) which was made up of 18 small groups with little influence in their respective countries. In Third World solidarity groups, the PCP-SL was increasingly isolated and even repudiated. By the end of the 1980s, its «ambassadors of terror» found no one to whom they could present their credentials. While the PCP-SL was always radically autarkic, this isolation was still significant for a party that considered itself the «beacon of the worldwide revolution.»

The most important factor in the PCP-SL's defeat was the group's inability to learn. Absorbed by strengthening the party and the «people's guerrilla army,» the PCP-SL ended up constructing a very powerful exoskeleton to avoid the consequences of centrifugal force and hold its small body together. This, however, blinded it to reality. While the state and the armed forces corrected the most indiscriminate and counterproductive aspects of their strategy, in different parts of the country at different times throughout the 1980s we see a repetition of the PCP-SL's cycle of conquering bases/counter-reestablishment/rejection by the population. The difference between armed forces that learned and a subversive group that repeated its errors explains why the overall death toll, especially deaths of Quechua speakers and rural residents, attributed to

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<sup>15</sup> To a certain extent, the drug-trafficking areas were an exception.

state agents decreased notably, while the PCP-SL's aggression against those in whose name it was supposedly acting continued or even increased. Abimael Guzmán's decision to «reach strategic equilibrium» showed itself to be a sort of «flight forward.» In practical terms, it meant:

- A spillover of terror into the cities, through armed strikes and car bombs.
- The massacre of rural populations, especially the Asháninka.
- The overexposure of the PCP-SL's apparatus and the fall of its national leadership in 1992.

Finally, the CVR would like to highlight another factor, beyond general public rejection of the subversive groups: the stubborn willingness of Peruvians in general to keep going, especially those who lived and survived in the areas hardest hit by the violence, where authorities, schools, churches, workers and daily life in general continued. All Peruvians should pay homage to this willingness to wake up each morning, take a deep breath and go on with life in the midst of terror.



## CHAPTER 7

### THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CONFLICT

The two decades of violence summarized in this text have caused great, lasting harm to tens of thousands of people and their communities. The actions of subversive organizations and state security forces caused serious physical harm to many Peruvians while weakening and even destroying significant resources and forms of organization that were necessary for communal life.

The CVR has found three main types of individual and collective consequences in the aftermath of the violence. There was psychological harm that affected people's identity and family and communal life. There were socio-political consequences, reflected in the weakening of communities and, on a national scale, the breakdown of the democratic order that finally gave way to the return of authoritarianism in Peru. Finally, there were economic consequences, reflected in the great loss of infrastructure and opportunities throughout the country, as well as in the destruction of productive capacity and resources, especially in rural communities in areas where the internal armed conflict was most intense.

#### PSYCHO-SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

This report has described the behavior of the various armed groups that left tens of thousands of people killed or physically injured. The effects of the violence do not end there, however. Rather, they persist in the survivors and witnesses of these events in the form of deep suffering. In its investigation, the CVR heard many accounts of traumatic experiences aggravated by decades of forced silence that kept the victims from dealing appropriately with the pain through which they had lived.

The psychological harm — to individuals and society — caused by the violence has many manifestations. The most widespread and obvious is the dense climate of fear and distrust created by the abusive and criminal behavior of the armed groups toward a defenseless population. That fear remains an obstacle to recovery in the affected communities. There was also a severe process of family breakdown and abdication of the family's role in providing education and protection. This loss has been especially pernicious for those who were children when the violence struck their families and communities. They were not the only ones affected, however; those who were adults at the time still carry the psychological scars of the violence committed against them and their close relatives, whom they saw die under terrible circumstances. They were powerless to prevent these deaths or to honor the dead according to their religious beliefs.

Besides fear and the breakdown of the family, another crucial element is the harm to personal identity as a result of the abuse and humiliation of which thousands of Peruvians were victims. «We are not the same,» some of these people told the CVR when describing their lives after the tragedies they had suffered. That laconic, resounding phrase speaks eloquently of the potential of violence to destroy the most intimate aspects of human existence, such as the sense of self and the ability to live a life of self-determination with the possibility for self-fulfillment.

#### FEAR AND DISTRUST

For the PCP-SL, as well as the state security forces, instilling fear in the population was a deliberate tactic. That tactic was *successful*, as its repercussions can still be seen today among the direct and indirect victims of the violence.

The PCP-SL's most powerful weapon of fear was its use of public assassinations to teach a lesson. People remember it with terror:

They had cut his throat here. Everything inside, they'd cut it with a knife. They had tied his hands behind him with a cord, they'd tied his feet with a cord, and they killed him like that. They covered him with his poncho and they left him, and all the blood ran out. If you saw that, wouldn't you die? I used to tremble with fear.<sup>1</sup>

The armed forces, meanwhile, used threats and forced disappearances:

The persecution and repression by the Army was terrible at that time. It was enough for a person to have seen a subversive go by, or if some repentant terrorist supposedly went to their house, to have given them a plate of food or a glass of water. If a peasant had provided that, it was enough of a motive for the security forces to go after him and torture him. Many people were disappeared, so out of fear, instead of risking torture or disappearance, people preferred to go voluntarily to make a statement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P295. Testimony 2002799, Ayacucho, November 18, 2002. Female witness in Tiquihua, May 1983.

<sup>2</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P281. In-depth interview. Aucayacu, Huánuco, May 2001. Male, authority in 1993-1994, on the Repentance Law.



The fear instilled in this manner created a deep sense of vulnerability. In the areas affected by the violence, anyone could be a victim, or at least that is what the behavior of the armed parties made people believe. That fear, prolonged over time, turned into anxiety and a sense of an indefinite but imminent risk that disrupted daily life.

The persistence of fear, even after the worst phase of the violence was over, is common among people who lost family members or who were victims of torture or unjust detention. The latter still fear that a hypothetical resurgence of the violence will make them the first targets of arrest or other intervention by state security forces.

The fear that the violence will return is also common among certain groups, especially the Asháninka communities in the Ene River Valley. Cruelly subjugated by the PCP-SL between the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, members of Asháninka communities still feel abandoned by the state and fear the return of the subversives: «I don't think it's really peaceful; the enemies are nearby. As I told you, we hear about people turning up dead in nearby districts, although that hasn't happened here yet. That's why I say it isn't really peaceful. It was at first, but it's going to come back.»<sup>3</sup>

While generalized fear is an effect of the violence, it also does other harm. One of the most visible forms is distrust among neighbors and even among family members, a feeling that often stems from the prior experience of having being accused — justifiably or arbitrarily — by people who were considered close and loyal. That distrust is also an obstacle to the possibility of rebuilding and reconstituting community life. At a more general level, distrust also affects the relationship between the population and state institutions that seldom appeared eager to protect the citizens who were affected.

#### LOSS OF FAMILY PROTECTION

Besides fear, the violence did serious harm to the personal identity of individuals who were suddenly deprived of structures that provided safety and stability, such as the family and the community, as well as cultural points of reference and local community organizations.

First was the breakdown of the family, which because of the loss of an adult — father or mother — became poorer and partially or totally unable to fulfill its role of educating and protecting its minor children. It must be noted that the first blow suffered by the children and spouses was having witnessed the cruel murder of their loved ones. Added to the pain of the loss was a feeling of impotence that sometimes became a sense of guilt. It was especially devastating for minors to watch the father's death, seeing the person who had represented authority and protection being subjugated, abused and humiliated by subversives or soldiers.

For children, being suddenly orphaned constituted profound moral harm. Small children were deprived of the person who had represented authority

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<sup>3</sup> CVR. BDI-I. In-depth studies. Interview with an Asháninka leader.

and order and who had provided protection and guidance. Some witnesses told the CVR of the loss represented by the death of a father who, if alive, would have provided not only food, clothing and school supplies, but also advice, guidance, affection, stimulation and encouragement. Thus the emotional development of the victims' children was changed by the absence of the role models necessary for them to develop and affirm their identity.

In most cases, older brothers or sisters had to take on the parental role: working the fields, tending animals, caring for younger siblings or working to support them. That responsibility, often premature, led to *overadapted* children or adolescents who were forced to grow up too quickly.

Besides orphans, there was the drama of widowhood. Being a widow meant losing rights and status in the community. With the pain still fresh, widows had to fight alone for their families' survival and their children's future. They were forced to take on new tasks for which they were not, or felt they were not, prepared, even as they sometimes faced rejection in their communities.

I suffer. I can't do it alone. How could I? I'm a single mother and I have nothing. I can't do what a man does, and I cry day and night. I suffer. I suffer from everything. I can't find a laborer. [...] I have to do the work myself, turning into a man, turning into a woman. That's what I do, and somehow I get through life. People hate me. They talk about me. That hurts. I suffer from all those things, and I'm not doing well. [...] Our neighbors hate me. They say all kinds of things. [...] They think I am after their husbands. They hate me. [...]<sup>4</sup>

A child's death was painful and upsetting for both parents and siblings. For parents, it meant the end of hope and the beginning of a new fear, that of an unprotected old age. For siblings, it meant the loss of a companion and protector who would remain idealized in their memory and their fantasies of what that person would have been like if he or she had not died.

The violence caused many families to scatter as they fled hurriedly to survive. Adaptation was always difficult in the places where they settled, because ill treatment and instability were aggravated by their longing for the world they had lost.

For adolescents, the physical distance from their homes became an emotional distance from their parents. Just when family unity was most necessary for protecting their children, mothers had to dedicate most of their efforts to supporting their families. The accounts gathered by the CVR are filled with laments about not having been able to give or receive parental protection. Children who lost one parent anxiously demanded the presence of the one who had survived, who was unable to dedicate full time to accompanying his or her children.

For families that were not scattered, life became difficult because of the irritability and depression that affected some of their members. Adults often responded to traumatic events with silence. Their young children's questions were disturbing reminders of the unfortunate events that they had to face.

<sup>4</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P11. Testimony 203238.

## LOSS OF COMMUNAL POINTS OF REFERENCE

For the emotional welfare of residents, the breakdown of community life in rural areas that were affected by the violence was as damaging as the breakdown of the family.

The harassment and massacring of entire communities, as well as the acts of violence committed by the communities themselves, weakened communal bonds, made community organization fragile, altered the conditions under which people lived together, and undermined communal values and practices. In some cases, the communities chose to be watchful; in others, perhaps the majority, the only available option was displacement. In either case, daily life was disrupted and the community lost its strength as a structure that brought order to individual and family life.

Opportunities for shared experience, such as assemblies, began to be seen as dangerous because the aggressors used those occasions to attack. As a result, many community members stopped participating in communal activities and sought ways of surviving on their own.

That time, because we were afraid, we had to go into the hills and sleep there. We slept where we shouldn't have slept, and my children cried like the rain. [...] If there had been authorities ... but with all that fear, where were they? They also left out of fear. [...] There were many of us that day. [...] Those who were there, I don't know where they went. To Lima, to Ica. ... They scattered, like when mother quail take flight and scatter. We scattered like quail, here and there. We suffered so much.<sup>5</sup>

The violence also changed streets and other public places, which were no longer community gathering places, but became the sites of dreadful discoveries. Abandoned corpses or mutilated bodies could appear at any time, accentuating fear of reprisals if anyone sought justice. «So many people turned up dead in the morning in the plaza. My neighbors and I said, 'No, if you try to take it to court [...] they might kill you out of vengeance.' So I dropped it, out of fear.»<sup>6</sup>

Many community members mentioned how upset and desolate they felt upon seeing their crops burned, their homes destroyed, their animals stolen or slaughtered without their consent:

[...] They burned my entire house, they ate all my animals and they did me enormous harm. I had 140 boards. [...] I was bringing wood to build my house. I raised coffee, bananas and cacao. I've been a member of the cooperative [...] for years, and I had a drying floor for cacao and coffee and harvested a lot of corn. [...] I used to get loans from the bank. [...] I've worked for years; I've been a farmer for a long time. [...] I'd worked with the bank since 1955. [...] The Army

<sup>5</sup> CVR. Testimony 201066. Ayacucho.

<sup>6</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P294. Testimony 202735.

burned everything I had. Now I don't have a leaf or a roof tile. [...] I'm an old man now and I have no way to build my house.<sup>7</sup>

Other things, in this case symbolic, affected by the climate of fear were community rituals and festivals, occasions that the aggressors often chose for attacks. The fear of suffering new attacks, which were sometimes tinged with sacrilege, led people in some parts of the country to give up those customs. In other cases, the PCP-SL prohibited them.

Over the years, there has been a cultural loss in certain areas that were ravaged by the armed groups. In some places, according to testimony provided to the CVR, young people no longer want to participate in festivals and have lost interest in their communities' traditions.

It is striking to note that aggression against communities was intense from both subversive organizations and state security forces. Finding themselves «in the crossfire,» with no possibility of turning to any of the armed parties for protection, aggravated people's daily anxiety. «The PCP-SL came and accused people of being snitches. They murdered people in cold blood. Then they left and the self-defense patrol or the soldiers came and the same thing happened.»<sup>8</sup>

To save their own lives, people were regularly forced to help the PCP-SL and the security forces by providing them with food or shelter. This forced collaboration was often punished with death by the opposing party.

None of the people in that area lived in peace again, because just as the soldiers had been killed, they started killing local residents, saying, «Why didn't you tell us the subversives were coming?» Later, they would go to different places and demand things. They practically forced people, and people had no choice but to give them what they asked for. A little while later, the subversives would come and do the same thing. They would kill people because they'd helped the security forces, and it became a vicious circle. They went in, they killed, and people suffered unspeakable things even though they weren't guilty.<sup>9</sup>

When the worst years of violence in the rural Andes ended, efforts to re-establish community life encountered a major obstacle: the rancor that remained among neighbors who, for various reasons, had faced off as victims and perpetrators during those years. Feelings of sadness and resentment color the lives of those who lost family members or property and those who were accomplices to or perpetrators of those violations. Some have re-entered community life without paying for what they did, and some over the years have risen to positions of authority from which they deny their past actions and avoid taking responsibility.

Besides conflicts among members of communities, in many cases an entire community has suffered from being stigmatized. The clearest and most common

<sup>7</sup> CVR BDI-SM-P101. Testimony 430194.

<sup>8</sup> CVR. Testimony 100704.

<sup>9</sup> CVR Testimony 100490.

case is that of the department of Ayacucho, a name that in the 1980s and 1990s was automatically associated with terrorism and violence. Many people from Ayacucho have suffered because of this abusive association, which made life even more difficult for displaced people in their new homes.

The same thing occurred in many places that gained national notoriety because of news reports of some episode of violence. One especially significant case was that of the community of Uchuraccay, which became known solely for the deaths of eight journalists there in 1983, with no mention of the dozens of community members who died in the following years and no recognition of the local people's efforts at reconstruction.

### **Personal scars of suffering**

The breakdown of the family and deterioration of community life severely affected the social environment in which people sought self-fulfillment. That damage, however, merely complemented other, deeper, more intimate types of harm that resulted from the personal experience of suffering and the way it permeated the identity of the victims and those close to them. The perpetrators' unprecedented cruelty, whether they were members of subversive organizations or agents of state security forces, reached the extreme of forbidding survivors to honor their dead and attempting to strip the victims of their human condition. That brutality has given the violations a perverse persistence: murders, rapes, beatings, insults are still present in the memory and the identity of thousands of Peruvian citizens.

### **Changes in ways of grieving**

The lack of pity and basic respect for the dead was one of the characteristics of the perpetrators that left the deepest mark on the affected population. Besides the loss of a father, mother, child or sibling, the survivor underwent changes in forms of grieving, the rituals and customs by which people process their losses and prepare to get on with their lives. Grief is a very intense emotional process that implies a certain temporary lack of balance and in which people respond to pain with their mental and emotional resources. If these resources are overwhelmed, the person remains trapped by the loss, unable to respond appropriately. He or she remains a prisoner of pain.

Many of the people who lost family members during the internal armed conflict are still grieving. This is not «pathological grief,» but results from the particular circumstances under which the loss occurred. It is, therefore, «special grief.»

One factor in these changes in ways of grieving is the uncertainty about whether the person is dead. In the 1980s and 1990s in Peru, the detention and subsequent disappearance of people was a strategy frequently used by agents of the state. In every case in which the detainee's whereabouts is still unknown, the person's relatives have no access to evidence about his or her current condition. Grieving, therefore, becomes charged with uncertainty, combining the need to

know whether the loved one is dead or alive with an unending search and the anguished hope for news of the person's whereabouts.

[Weeping] I would like to ask you, please, to tell us the truth. If he's dead or alive. I want to know because my children are also suffering. Sometimes when they see a heavy-set person go past, they say, «I think that's my dad coming.» They look at someone and say that.<sup>10</sup>

The uncertainty opens the door for imagining, fantasizing and denying reality. The survivor still imagines that the victim may somehow have escaped death. The CVR has found many versions of this process. Although 15 or 20 years have passed and all indications are that the person was executed, family members still harbor a glimmer of hope: «maybe he was able to escape...», «perhaps he lost his mind and is wandering in some distant town...», «someone said they saw someone who looked like my dad in a prison.» The official position, which denied reality and opposed the truth, turned the disappeared person into a ghost. Thus a significant part of the lives of the victim's family members remained in suspense.

*Not knowing*, however, is not the only obstacle to bidding an appropriate farewell to the lost relative. Another is knowing too much, having witnessed the brutality of the death inflicted on a father, mother, child or sibling.

Many people took on the painful task of searching for their loved ones' remains, sometimes for several days or weeks. The bodies were often found in a state of decay, hacked to pieces or burned. Sometimes they had to be rescued from animals that threatened to devour them. Dumped in streets, on riverbanks or outside towns, the corpses revealed the ferocity and abuse suffered. «They killed him there where the landslide was and a dog was eating him. It had already eaten part of his face.»<sup>11</sup>

Fifteen or 20 years later, witnesses described to the CVR details of scenes that they will never be able to erase from their memories. «He was tied up. When I found him tied up like that, I nearly went crazy. That's always before my eyes, and at night it's all I can see.»<sup>12</sup> Sometimes the unrecognizable bodies were identified by clothing or other belongings found with them:

When I found my husband, I had to take him and bury him. He was already being eaten by dogs. He had no blood, not even a tongue. [...] No tongue, no nose, no eyes. His hair and clothes were rotting, his flesh was all white. There was no skin. His hair was off to one side, all rotten, and I had to gather it up to bury it.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> CVR. Testimony 435036. Woman, wife of a disappeared man who was detained by soldiers in Aucayacu, in the department of Huánuco, on April 8, 1990.

<sup>11</sup> CVR. Testimony 201804.

<sup>12</sup> CVR. Testimony 203731.

<sup>13</sup> CVR. Testimony 500620.

Those who recovered their loved ones' bodies from a place where corpses were dumped often found their pain exacerbated by a sharp sense of humiliation: their fathers had been treated like animals. «They killed my father there. They cut his head with a knife as if he were a sheep. They cut him up in pieces and burned him. My father's body was nothing but ash.»<sup>14</sup>

The condition in which bodies were found — tortured, hacked to pieces, naked — raises painful images of the indignities and abuses the victims suffered:

Sometimes the first thing that comes to your mind is your parents — what happened to them, how they died, who did it. It's very traumatic. Too much. I remember years later reading the autopsy report, the criminal way they killed him. Sometimes I say: «If they'd killed him, if they'd killed him with one well-aimed blow and he hadn't suffered.» But unfortunately, they killed him as if they were tilling the soil, because they hit him over the head, they brutally cut his jugular, and when a person bleeds to death, I think they suffer a lot. My father lived for several hours because they didn't kill him outright.<sup>15</sup>

In many cases, the brutalities suffered in life were prolonged after death, increasing the suffering of the survivors, whom the perpetrators forbade, under threat of drastic punishment, to honor their murdered relatives with a funeral.

It must be remembered that burial ceremonies are crucial to the grieving process. They allow for a timely expression of pain and help people accept their loss. They are also a time when the survivors feel the solidarity of other community members. All societies have meaningful funeral ceremonies that must be carried out according to certain procedures and time frames. People scrupulously follow tradition in honoring the dead, thus ensuring that the deceased rests in peace, which is also a source of relief to the survivors.

In many places during the years of violence, burying the dead was prohibited as part of the terror strategy. The lifeless bodies had to be left in plain view. That posthumous dishonor was a lesson — of submission and silence — for the community. «'This is how informers die.' Everyone who died along the road died with a sign. They said no one should pick them up. And they all remained along the road, dead.»<sup>16</sup>

Sometimes survivors defied the threats and carried out hasty, desperate burials without indispensable rituals such as washing the body, changing the clothes or holding a wake. These were uneasy, inadequate burials, *bad burials*, incomplete processes that have left a legacy of sadness and uneasiness that still remains.

We didn't see their bodies, we couldn't bury them. To this day, whenever we remember them, we cry. My mom remembers her children and it makes her sad. «I should at least have buried them so my heart would rest easy,» my mother says, and then she bursts into tears.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> CVR. Testimony 203858.

<sup>15</sup> CVR. Testimony 100557.

<sup>16</sup> CVR. Testimony 487551.

<sup>17</sup> CVR. Testimony 200670.

This incomplete grieving had other consequences. The survivors felt themselves forbidden to show outward signs of grief, such as wearing mourning clothes, and that kept them from receiving signs of community compassion and solidarity. It was impossible to experience loss and sorrow collectively. Intimidated, the community demanded rapid, discreet burials. The survivors were left alone with their grief.

As explained above, in many cases the changes in grieving processes left the survivors imprisoned by their loss. Although a deceased family member is never forgotten, the person is given a special place in memory that enables the survivors to get on with their lives. To do this, it is vital to have duly honored the loved one who has died, secure in the knowledge that the person has been treated with respect.

In some cases, these processes are still pending. The lives of the survivors are strongly marked by the missing family member's presence. The scenes of the violence that caused the death are more alive than ever in the relatives' thoughts, memories and dreams.

Just like my younger sister, I still dream that they're killing him. He says to me, «Please help me, help me.» I dream of my father, and I suffer a lot because of that.<sup>18</sup>

One particularly disturbing element is the sense of guilt. Many family members feel partly responsible for the events or reproach themselves for their impotence at having been unable to avoid a loved one's death or disappearance.

If only my son hadn't come. ... Because we were living in Vinchos; my son was studying over there. [...] He was studying there and my husband told him, «You have to come help me plow the field on Saturdays and Sundays.»<sup>19</sup>

Giving the lost family member a place in memory so that survivors can get on with their lives is especially difficult in the case of victims who were disappeared. Deprived of the certainty of death, the relatives still hope that the person will return. «Whenever my dog barks, I think that my daughter is going to knock at the door. That's what I always think.»<sup>20</sup> «I feel sad because he is gone. I cry and think, «Maybe he'll come back, maybe he'll come back. Maybe one of these nights he'll come back.» I think that. But he never comes.»<sup>21</sup>

Often added to the hope of a possible return is a search that lasted several years. Very few found answers in their searches; most only encountered silence, lies and mistreatment. In some cases, the hope was nurtured by stories about disappeared people being held in some prison or on an island in the middle of a river.

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<sup>18</sup> CVR. Testimony 500634.

<sup>19</sup> CVR. Testimony 203903.

<sup>20</sup> CVR. Testimony 200337.

<sup>21</sup> CVR. Testimony 500627.



The most frequent demand of relatives of the disappeared is reliable information about their loved ones' fate or whereabouts. Only with that information can they get on with their lives.

I want them to give me an answer. Maybe he's alive, or maybe they really did kill him or disappear him; I want to know the truth so I can be at peace, so I no longer hope for his return. That's what I want. [...] I want to tell my children, «Your father has died. He's no longer with us.» That way I can tell my children, so they won't keep thinking about him. «He'll come back, he'll come back, he's alive,» my children say. So that's what I want.<sup>22</sup>

Along with this demand, naturally, comes the desire to hold funeral rites in honor of the loved one whose death is confirmed. «We'd be content to at least know that we had buried him and we would remember him.»<sup>23</sup>

That's why we've come to the Truth Commission. Perhaps I can at least get my son's bones back. I want to see him buried, and I'll forget about my son forever. If I see him buried, I'll forget forever.<sup>24</sup>

The tragedy of the disappeared and the demand for the truth about their fate is tied to another terrible legacy of the violence: the thousands of clandestine burial places — mass graves, in the terminology used in past decades — where survivors believe they can find their loved ones' remains.

One of the CVR's tasks was to gather reliable information about these burial sites. The CVR and the Public Ministry jointly exhumed human remains from some such sites. These few cases provide an idea of the extreme importance of these investigations to family members and their great value for justice and as a humanitarian act.

The ease with which this task was carried out at the first exhumation site, Chuschi, ending with the identification and subsequent burial of the bodies that were found, raised the expectations of relatives, who expected the rest to be exhumed. In one case, family members who had carried out the hasty burial hoped to have the opportunity to perform the necessary rituals. At the second site, however, the work became particularly difficult, because the graves had been disturbed by animals and the elements.

The most notable reaction from family members was their anxious expectation, charged with pain. What would be found? What would their relative's body look like? Would they be able to recognize it? We recognize people from our memories of their physical appearance. But when we find remains, bone fragments, body parts mixed with scraps of cloth decayed by time, how can they be recognized? Who is left to be recognized among those remains?

Those who were able to recognize a murdered family member and those who were sure that their relatives had been found were relieved, but that was

<sup>22</sup> CVR. Testimony 400039.

<sup>23</sup> CVR. Testimony 201256.

<sup>24</sup> CVR. Testimony 201205.

not the case for those who did not find out, or who could not recognize or resisted recognizing their loved ones. For some, opening a grave was an opportunity to re-encounter the deceased relative. One grieving woman felt the fleetingness of this encounter, saying: «You went away for such a long time, only to come back now and leave again so quickly.»

#### HARM TO THE NAME AND THE BODY

Names are a sign of our identity; they identify us and single us out. Names enable us to recognize and be recognized by others. The violence of the conflict and the conditions it imposed forced many people to change or deny their names or those of their relatives to save themselves and their loved ones. By doing so, they also concealed their family ties, places of origin, roles and lived experience, all of which are important aspects of personal identity. For many people, it was dangerous to identify themselves, to make themselves known, especially because of the risk of being associated with or confused with a «suspect.» Some people were confused with others because of their names and were punished or unjustly detained. As has been indicated, the name of a community, a town or a family could lead to stigmatization. In the long run, concealing or denying one's name or other aspects of the self led people to question their own identity and self-esteem, besides causing other people to fail to acknowledge or value them.

Those who still suffer the physical effects of violent acts bear on their bodies the visible signs of the horror: faces disfigured by gunshots, the shock waves of a bomb or sophisticated methods of torture; limbs mutilated or paralyzed, resulting in disability, among other things. These marks change people's concepts of their own bodies, leading them to doubt or lowering their self-esteem, especially because the harm usually affects their ability to live independently and work. When a body is damaged in this way, feelings of vulnerability and loss affect the person's entire identity. The people who offered their testimony indignantly described how humiliated they felt when they were forced to strip or were violently stripped of their clothes. They felt ashamed, defenseless, exposed to ridicule or sexual intrusion. Forced nudity is the prelude to being stripped of one's defenses, of protection. «Imagine someone hauling you out in the middle of the night, naked. [...] And the police laughed to see us like that, to see us naked. They laughed. It was humiliating.»<sup>25</sup> «I don't even know how to describe the feeling. All I can say is that they handed me my clothes and I wanted to go somewhere to change, and they told me I couldn't move, that I had to do it right there. I felt completely humiliated.»<sup>26</sup>

#### SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Sexual violence, especially rape, is a trauma in itself, because it exceeds the victim's capacity for response. During the years of violence, rape was used as a means of subjugating or dominating people. Women were the main victims of this type of abuse, but not the only ones. Male detainees were also subjected to

<sup>25</sup> CVR. BDI-P23. Testimony 100444.

<sup>26</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P20. Testimony 100188. Lima, 20-year-old woman detained by the police.

violence and rape. Rape leaves victims with painful scars on their self-image and damages their self-esteem. It affects people's sexuality as well as their ability to relate to others and to the world, which they see as a threat. Many psychological phenomena come into play in the defense of the emotional integrity of a person who is raped. Some affect the cohesion of the sense of «self,» fragmenting the person's psychological unity. People frequently experience a sense of «no longer feeling the body» or «seeing it from a distance,» «becoming disconnected» or thinking «this isn't happening to me,» or «this is just a bad dream.» After suffering a rape, the capacity for emotional sharing is usually changed, and there is great fear and distrust of new bonds. The association between sexuality and torture that rape produces is difficult to overcome; the person's sex life and ability to enter into an intimate relationship are seriously harmed.

The CVR has gathered the testimony of countless victims of rape; we are convinced, however, that the number of victims is far greater than we know. Because of the humiliation and shame that accompany these wounds, because of the enormous defensive need to deny and refuse to acknowledge the deeds, the victims remain silent or refer to it as «sexual violence,» without admitting that they suffered «rape.»

Over the years, fear, intense rage and deep humiliation turned into indignation, pain and a demand for justice. For some victims, however, these events remain in the shadow of an experience that they simply wish to forget. When they recounted the events, the victims showed the deep pain and shame they felt; many had been unable to speak of it before, to share their humiliation or report the crime. In more than one case, upon recounting their experience, their body language revealed the trauma through trembling, sweating, profuse tears and extreme tension.

## TORTURE

Torture and physical and psychological abuse are another way of doing harm to a person's body and identity. The goal is to diminish the person by weakening the body as much as possible. This is the most brutal face of violence. All torture and physical abuse is also psychological, because it is always a humiliating experience and an attack on the person's dignity. It is also a power relationship in which the person committing the abuse exercises power over another in a destructive way. The intentionality of torture is associated with the loss of a sense of self.

Most torture victims were detained in prisons, military bases or police facilities, although in some cases the abuse began at the time of detention, with public acts witnessed by the detainee's children.

They didn't say, «Good evening, sir.» At that moment, they began to beat me in front of my children and my wife, with no explanation. I even said, «But why?» I said, «But why, please?» There was no district attorney there; only the police had come. They searched the house.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P23. Testimony 100444.

An analysis of the testimony of people who were tortured reveals the intense feelings of lack of protection, vulnerability and humiliation they experienced when subjected to brutal mistreatment. The results indicate that the experience of torture is frequently accompanied by feelings of intense fear, hopelessness and resignation, a sense of humiliation, guilt and a death wish, the loss of motor functions and alterations in sensory perception, as well as what the victims refer to as «trauma» and general «psychological problems.» Also associated with torture are strategies and methods for controlling thoughts and feelings that the victims used to gather the strength to resist the beatings.

Then he brought a basin full of water and stuck my head in it like this. He held me underwater for a long time, so I couldn't even talk. «Yes, I'll tell; yes, I'll tell,» I said. «OK! Sit down and talk!» he said. He wanted to write down what I was going to say. I told him I had come alone. That went on for a long time, over and over [...] «Have you thought about it?» He came in from time to time, saying that. Sometimes he hit me. [...] I got nervous when he came in. I was afraid he was going to hit me. [...] He left me lying there, handcuffed [...] until dawn. My arms hurt. I had slept because I was tired. I was thinking, What am I going to do now, why are they doing this to me? I thought about everything. I even remembered my mother. Everything goes through your mind.<sup>28</sup>

The PCP-SL also used physical and emotional abuse to punish and instill fear. «They threatened to kill me. They hit me and kicked me like an animal. Afterwards they told me never to speak out against the party again.»<sup>29</sup> «They shot my friend. They doused him with gasoline and set him on fire. Another person turned up with no eyes, no tongue, no fingernails.»<sup>30</sup>

To the person who is tortured, the torturer appears to have unlimited power and abilities. He claims to know more about the victim than the victim does and accepts no criticism. He demands only submission. He has the victim's life in his hands. This affront to the person's dignity makes the beating or physical abuse even more destructive to personal identity. The people describing their experiences spoke of having been treated «worse than animals.» The fact that they were human beings was completely ignored and they were treated with the utmost contempt.

They made me listen to a radio that had a cassette, and I couldn't tell what it was about. They beat me over the head, on the ears. They hit me on vital parts, my back, my spine. They beat me and said, «We've got to make this good-for-nothing completely useless.» They said, «He's a damned terrorist,» «We should kill him and make him disappear from the face of the earth.» I passed out twice from the beating and later ... you know, under those circumstances, when they're beating you, they insult you and say anything.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> CVR BDI-P124. Testimony 200175.

<sup>29</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P238. Testimony 301074.

<sup>30</sup> CVR. Testimony 10317, Lima, police officer.

<sup>31</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P322. Testimony 411276.

The perpetrators tried to strip their victims of their humanity. Many people said they were treated «like animals» or «worse than animals.» In extreme cases of alienating humiliation, the people who are mistreated even say that they doubted their own humanity. All of this reveals the ways in which these acts of violence destroyed the victims' dignity.

[...] Because I didn't know anything and I was innocent, I couldn't answer the questions they asked me, so all I could do was scream and cry. I felt like I was dying, and I remember, as though it were yesterday, that once I asked them outright to kill me, to stop torturing me. Finally I passed out. They took me back to the same base. The next day I was still alive, because I didn't really want to die. I had my two children, who were very small, and I realized that I had to keep living. I remember feeling a little hot water, I don't know if it was a water heater or hot water that they had boiled. I remember that when I came to, they said, «This dog hasn't died,» because they had wanted to bury me. [...] Dump him [...] with the pickup truck, because this dog is already dead. Dump him [...].<sup>32</sup>

Believe me, from the time we entered the [...] prison, they treated us like garbage.<sup>33</sup>

Fleeing in fear and taking refuge in hills and caves meant «regressing» to a state of extreme poverty and rootlessness, because only people who have no community live in caves. Therefore this experience, although only temporary, injured people's dignity and made them feel like animals.

[...] In those years, I had another child, another little boy, in 1991, and we escaped to the hills. We lived in the hills like dogs. Day and night we kept running away because they said the Sinchis had settled in the area [...] cutting and cutting they are going to kill us, ruin us, [so] we escaped quickly, I grabbed my little girl and she let go of the little boy [...] my little boy's head broke, smashed like an egg. I grabbed my baby and we went over the hill to live. That's where we all lived. [...] They took everything I had in the house.<sup>34</sup>

We didn't even sleep in our house at night. We lived like deer or like foxes. We had to look for caves. I took my blankets there every night. I lived like that for three or four years. So did my mother and children. It was a completely chaotic, terrifying life. Even now, I can't find peace.<sup>35</sup>

People's sense of dignity was also affected by the fierce, arbitrary dominance that others had over their lives. The Shining Path made clear that it had absolute power to harm or eliminate anyone it chose. The members of the armed forces treated with contempt those whom it should have protected. There

<sup>32</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P376. Testimony 100862.

<sup>33</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P23. Testimony 100444.

<sup>34</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P221. Testimony 301060.

<sup>35</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P232. Testimony 510257.

are many accounts of the ways in which those who bore arms acted as the masters of other people's lives.

For those most affected, the climate of terror had the face of death. A resident of one community said: «[...] We were oppressed. We were alive, but dead. We were worthless.» The destructive message that a person's life is worth nothing is the greatest affront to dignity and self-worth.

#### PLEAS, DESPERATION AND SUBMISSION

Another affront, of course, was having to beg to remain alive or to save the life of a loved one. There are accounts from people who, finding themselves at the mercy of their persecutors and unable to defend themselves, establish dialogue or appeal to reason, had to resort to begging. This was a desperate response, which they sometimes saw as the only way to escape a certain death or free themselves from detention, which they also knew would be fatal.

And when I begged them for my children, I got up from where they were aiming at me and I went down on my knees there and I said to them, «Please don't do this. You are also children of God.» I said to them, «Some day, this could happen to your family, too.» And one finally took pity on me and said, «Take your kids and get out of here.»<sup>36</sup>

The testimonies reveal how, in their desperation, people offered animals and money in exchange for lives. «Those people were robbing me. I said, 'Take anything. I'll give you my cows, my calves, but let my husband live. I beg you. Here's the money I have. I'll give you all of it.' They took everything; they left me with nothing.»<sup>37</sup>

The pleas often fell on deaf ears. That contributed to the sense that the abusers had absolute power, and they responded with new abuse and humiliation.

When I was escaping, they surrounded me and captured me, and I begged them not to kill me. «I have nothing; don't kill me.» That's what I told them. There was a tall one, a man, who wanted them to kill me. «You want to live? Then dance in the dirt,» he told me.<sup>38</sup>

I begged the commander. I cried and begged him. I cried like the rain or like a river. So the commander accused us of being thieves. «I'm going to accuse you and send you to prison. What do you think of that, you old terrorist woman? You're a terrorist, too, because you're her sister. Now I'm going to send you to prison,» he told me. When I cried, he didn't comfort me. «Get out of here. Go to the hills or the river and cry there.» That's what he told me. [...]. So he sent a soldier, saying, «Take this woman anywhere. Throw her in the garbage or send her home and let her cry there.»<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> CVR. Testimony 415155.

<sup>33</sup> CVR. Testimony 202397.

<sup>34</sup> CVR. Testimony 201920.

<sup>35</sup> CVR. Testimony 203816.

Besides revealing the dynamic that was established between representatives of the state and the subversives, the violence in the prisons also shows how the state intimidated, forcibly extracted information from and annihilated those who were allegedly subversives or terrorists.

Besides harming them, in many cases the cruel and intimidating regimen to which prisoners were subjected had the opposite of the desired effect: many innocent people later joined the subversive groups, having found in them refuge and protection in the face of the abuse and torture to which they were subjected by prison guards. The brutal violence that was unleashed in the prisons is clearly seen on the prisoners' bodies, but the emotional experience, the impact it had on their sense of self, has gone unspoken. That silence, which is reflected in testimony, is a result of two things: complex psychological processes to repress pain and suffering as an individual defense mechanism for restoring a precarious balance, and a policy based on the repression of emotions and individual needs and interests, placing «the overall interest of the people» above all else.

#### PERPETUATION OF VIOLENCE

As a result of the violence they suffered, many of the people affected still harbor feelings of pain and rage, exacerbated in some cases by the spectacle of impunity fostered by the authorities.

Those feelings of hatred and rage, as well as the desire for revenge, are not aimed only at those who inflicted the harm. Feelings of impotence associated with aggressiveness, which sometimes slip out of control, are also directed at people who are closer, including loved ones. They become part of daily life. Perhaps to distance themselves from the enormous sense of impotence and rage left by the violence, some people let loose their own destructive tendencies, turning them on those whom they perceive as being weakest. The manifestations of aggression range from irritability and intolerance to violent behavior, including a desire to hit others, to punish their children severely, etc.

I don't know. Sometimes I feel afraid. I mean, I don't feel right. Sometimes I remember, and maybe that's why I punish my children. Sometimes ... [weeping] it's affected me a lot, I am weak where these things are concerned. They have affected me a lot, and affected my children.

Q: And why do you hit your children?

A: I don't know. Maybe I've become aggressive because of everything I've seen. Maybe it's because I've seen so much violence since I was just a little girl, about six years old.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P149. Testimony 400093, resident of Uchiza 1980-1990.

In some cases, aggressiveness is manifested in fantasies and desires to kill, in an indeterminate way, as we see in the testimony of two desperate youths:

Q: What about the effects? Who suffered more harm in the case of your father, who died? Who has suffered most from all this?

A: I haven't so much...

Q: How many brothers and sisters do you have?

A: We're seven, but of the seven I stayed alone in [HJUASAWASI], working with the self-defense patrol until I was 22. I went into the Army when I was 22. I got out when I was 24. But I went on patrols until I was 22, and I think, it's not that I'm sick, but I've been traumatized, because I saw my father when they blew off his head. I scooped his brains up off the ground and put them back in his head and wrapped it up in a rag. What's in my mind, simply, is killing. Nothing but killing. If I fight with someone, my goal isn't to hit them and go away. No, the only thing is to kill, kill, kill.<sup>41</sup>

I've seen so much violence. I feel so violent at home sometimes. Anything that happens, I hit them. Like I said, I lived in a violent neighborhood. Violent! And I feel violent! So much so that I feel desperate. I get desperate; I don't know how to solve a little problem. I think I need psychological help.<sup>42</sup>

The awful thing is, I used to say: «After a few years, a year or two, you'll forget everything.» But what's worse, not a day goes by that I don't remember. Everything that happened is engraved on my mind. Sometimes I don't feel like doing anything. When I was in school, my mind was like that. I was always complaining. I would say, «Why don't I have a weapon so I can do the same thing to them?» When I saw the people who had threatened my father, when I saw them in the street .... [weeping]. I went home [...] but I didn't tell anybody. I just went home- I cried. But my life wasn't peaceful. I know I've been hard on all my brothers and sisters, because I have an awful personality. I don't know. The day I run into one of the people who did that to my father, I may do the same thing to them.<sup>43</sup>

The violence has left its scars in intense hatred that sometimes leads to aggressiveness toward children or partners, especially in situations in which the person feels powerless. Some people are aware of the increased aggressiveness in themselves and in their relationships with others and say they are concerned and frightened because they do not know how to handle it. Some ask for help.

Besides the family, there has been an increase in violent behavior in other areas of society. Instilling fear and terror as ways of protesting, imposing ideas or forcing others into submission seems to have become common behavior

<sup>41</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P122. Testimony 302728.

<sup>42</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P336. Testimony 100959.

<sup>43</sup> CVR. BDI-SM-P86. Testimony 417023.



for many Peruvians. Violence, in varying degrees, has become a handy way of dealing with conflict and compensating for feelings of impotence at home, at school, in the neighborhood and in the community. The fact that during the political violence all the parties involved resorted to the same methods transmitted the idea that those methods «could be used by everyone.» Because there was little condemnation, the violent terrorist style was reproduced in daily life. Threats became common. Control, watchfulness, distrust and extreme suspicion have permeated the fabric of society.

## SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES

### DESTRUCTION AND WEAKENING OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

#### **Scattering and fragmentation: displacement**

Families and even entire communities left the places where they were living in search of less hostile areas. This phenomenon was massive and widespread, especially in the countryside. Small communities affected by the armed conflict were deserted. In the thousands of accounts gathered by the CVR, the phenomenon appears clearly as a response — often desperate and unplanned — to threats, forced recruitment, the murder of relatives, massacres or the destruction of communities. Its impact on community life is reflected in the words used in the testimonies to describe the communities after the displacement: «desolate,» «empty,» «uninhabited,» «silent,» «no-man's land,» «solitary.» The intense, indiscriminate violence of the various parties was a direct attack on each member of the community, which turned them into either victims or witnesses of violations of the rights of individuals and communities. One witness said: «When we didn't listen to them, they threatened to kill us, and if we had stayed there, if we hadn't escaped to the hills, they would have killed us. We left our houses and lived in the hills. We didn't take anything with us, not even our animals. We went away to save our lives.»<sup>44</sup>

The flight from home in search of protection and safety broke down the various community institutions that had been built up over a long period of time. In some cases, families returned when the threat subsided. In others, however, the flight was an uncertain road with no return.

The effect of displacement was disintegration. Communal space became a place of silence, and the houses and land finally belonged to no one. «With the PCP-SL, everyone left. Huanta was practically desolate.»<sup>45</sup> The social order was upset to such an extent that traditionally safe places, such as the home, community building, school or chapel, became dangerous.

The breakdown of the community began with the departure of adolescents and youths, who from the start were prime targets for forced

<sup>44</sup> CVR. Testimony 301060.

<sup>45</sup> CVR. Testimony 200711.

recruitment or detention. The displacement of this sector of the population was also related to the difficulty that young people encountered in continuing their studies normally in communities where schools were considered dangerous or stopped operating because the teachers were the targets of threats and persecution: «If they found us, they would beat us, both the military and the subversives, and they took the young people away with them. That's why young people didn't want to study [here] any more; they went to the city.»<sup>46</sup> Thus the young people, mainly boys, abandoned the community, leaving the women and children to their fate.

Testimonies also show that other groups displaced in the early years included authorities and wealthier residents. As a result, not only did the population shrink, but the community also disintegrated: it lost its young people, its authorities, its teachers. The resulting sense of disorganization and insecurity led to more displacement: «After that, the community was completely destroyed. There were no authorities, no men. Those who had remained also left eventually. They've been displaced to Lima and Huamanga. Just a few of us have stayed.»<sup>47</sup>

The decision to leave in search of protection and safety implies countless losses, among which material goods take on particular importance. These losses, which might be less significant under other circumstances, must be understood in an economic and cultural context in which land is the main source of survival and, along with the home, is the most important, if not the only, property that peasants own. While people were sometimes able to sell property before being displaced — which still constitutes a loss — in most cases that was impossible because of the desperate and secret nature of their flight from the community. For these reasons, there are frequent references to homes, lands and animals that in many cases were lost forever, taken by other community members or expropriated by one of the parties to the conflict. «They went to Ica or Lima out of fear, leaving behind their fields and their animals.»<sup>48</sup>

Because of their abrupt departure, most people arrived at their destinations without resources and had to start over from scratch. It is not difficult to understand, then, that the bulk of the displaced population that went to cities became the poorest of the poor. In addition, having lost their homes, lands and animals discouraged those who might have wanted to return: «[...] I have nothing to go back to.»

As soon as they reached a place of refuge, the displaced people had to start over again under especially difficult conditions. Finding a place to sleep and something to satisfy their hunger were the first problems to be solved. Faced with the chaos of large cities, deprived of their usual food, far from their land and without the company of those who were left behind, the displaced people experienced intense feelings of nostalgia and a desire to return: «I came here to Huancayo, down in Chilca. That's where I'm living. My children haven't gotten used to it. They're suffering there. They

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<sup>46</sup> CVR. Testimony 201347.

<sup>47</sup> CVR. Testimony 200499.

<sup>48</sup> CVR. Testimony 201642.

used to run away. They ran away to Huamali; but I don't have family or anything. There's one neighbor there who is good, although she's poor. They would go there. [...] They didn't want to be here. [...] They couldn't get used to it.»<sup>49</sup>

Families who returned to their communities of origin had similar, although less intense, experiences. In those cases, it was often the children and youth, accustomed to the pace of city life, who had the hardest time adjusting to rural life.

Because of their lack of resources, the displaced people, who were accustomed to working the land for a living, were forced to obtain money to survive, and street vending was an accessible source of income.

I devoted myself to selling staple goods, which at the time was everything. The cost of living was high, and I only earned enough for food, because the things we got from the field used to help. I missed the things we used to produce. In the city you need money for everything, but in your field you can harvest. You're better off with your field, because in the city you have to buy everything and it's expensive. You have to buy everything there. I got a job, but it wasn't stable work. It was only occasional. I was sorry I'd gone to the city, and I came back after eight months.<sup>50</sup>

Many of the people who settled on the periphery of the cities did not speak Spanish, which severely affected their essential ability to communicate. «You arrive in the city from the countryside and it's deadly. On top of everything else, we didn't know how to speak. In the highlands, everything was in Quechua. We didn't know how to speak Spanish. We were lost. We didn't know who we could talk to. What we went through was really sad.»<sup>51</sup>

The displaced people were also victims of ethnic discrimination, even by people who shared their roots.

It was the first time I'd gone to the city. It was big. I felt strange. I had friends and neighbors who called me «*serrano*,» but it didn't give me a complex no matter how much they treated me like that. My brother helped me a lot. «Don't pay any attention to them — we're all equal.» [...] It was the same at school. They called me «*serrano*,» but I didn't pay any attention and I studied. I beat them all. I was the best student in my school.<sup>52</sup>

Even for children, the risk of being mistreated increased when the displaced person was from one of the areas hardest hit by the violence.

They called us «terrorist,» even at school. The teachers would say to me, «Hey, little terrorist.» There was a young teacher, she was afraid to talk about the Shining Path. «Are you, have you been a terrorist?» she asked me one day. «Oh yes,» I told her. From then on, she was afraid of me. She was scared. When I told her, like I'm telling you today, how they killed, she started

<sup>49</sup> CVR. Testimony 304023.

<sup>50</sup> CVR. Testimony 453378.

<sup>51</sup> CVR. Testimony 100704.

<sup>52</sup> CVR. Testimony 205380.

to cry. After that, she became my friend. ... I was the only person from Ayacucho, and Ayacucho was considered the land of the Shining Path. They thought anyone from there was a terrorist, and my classmates kept their distance. They weren't very friendly. They said, «If we do something to him, he might kill us»... But I talked to them. I tried to make them understand that it wasn't like they thought, that I hadn't been a member of the Shining Path.<sup>53</sup>

### Disorder and generalized violence

The armed incursions disrupted everyday life in communities and destroyed the norms that governed the existing organizations' internal dynamics. In addition, the presence of people from outside the community upset the norms for coexistence: public spaces were forcibly taken over, expropriated without the community's consent, and various actions took place outside the bounds of law and customs. All of these invasive acts exacerbated the disorder of community life, which in many cases translated into anomy.

When they least expected it, communities found themselves caught up in violent acts perpetrated by unknown people or, later, by people from their own areas, often with no comprehensible motive. These events made people in the same community suspicious of one another and created a general climate of distrust. That was added to the residents' sense of impotence, turning what had been a relatively orderly social structure into a chaotic environment with no direction.

The destruction of communal space began with the takeover of villages and the temporary expropriation of facilities that were considered communal. These were declared «liberated zones;» the places were temporarily expropriated or military bases were established in the middle of towns. Under these circumstances, abuses by both the subversive groups and the security forces increased. Both parties sought the population's immediate submission and demanded various services, either in exchange for «freedom» based on the establishment of a new social order or in exchange for the promise of national security. In either case, what happened in practice was the forced appropriation of culturally defined spaces and, in the end, an invasion of community space and the destruction of the community's relative tranquility.

Because one goal of the subversive groups was territorial expansion, the «liberated» zones fulfilled multiple functions: they were rehearsals for a «new democracy,» places occupied by the «support bases,» as well as places for obtaining food and medicines. These zones, which were the product of decisions made by PCP-SL members, therefore had a dual meaning: they eliminated any form of legitimately established authority, and they provided a place to establish an organization that had totalitarian ideological goals. The existence of these places created so much confusion among local people that the legitimate authorities did not know to whom they were relating, and their roles were ultimately shaped by the requirements of those who possessed the weapons.

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

People who lived in the PCP-SL's «liberated» zones or near military bases lost a certain degree of freedom. They were at the mercy of those who bore arms, and as time passed they became accustomed to living in subjugation or under protection. Although it was temporary, this situation left deep scars of confusion and discontent among local people and groups. At times, abuse by either a subversive group or the military led people to try to rebel, although these attempts were not always successful and the cost was the loss of human lives. It must be noted, however, that in other cases people managed to organize themselves and get rid of the subversive groups, recovering their customs and returning to a more normal life.

The armed groups' strategies ultimately confused people and reduced the notion of authority. «They came in and said, I'm the authority. [...] There was confusion. No one knew for sure who they were, if they were soldiers or the Shining Path camouflaged as soldiers.»<sup>54</sup> That confusion led to the stereotyping of groups and people that stigmatized certain social groups, which were excluded, discriminated against or eliminated because they were considered the enemy.

For local residents, there was no clear image of visitors, especially when visitors were armed. Soldiers could look like terrorists and subversive groups could appear to be military patrols. This mimicry heightened the sense of fear and distrust and exacerbated relationships of subjugation or submission, despite efforts at gradual democratization through such initiatives as the election of local authorities.

The emergency zones were quickly plagued with assaults, systematic robbery and gangs, which affected merchants and residents to a certain degree and for a long time. Violence had taken over the streets and highways, becoming a *modus operandi* by which young people perpetuated the behavioral patterns that had been stamped on their environment. The increase in youth violence has no parallel. The cultural mechanisms that had been shaped over many years broke down in many cases, or were simply unable to resist such an unexpected form of violence.

Many youths neither acknowledged nor respected authority: «[...] When they're drunk, they fight, they insult each other. They've lost all respect. [...] They don't respect their elders, either. When we tell them that we used to be more respectful and that the things that are going on now didn't happen then, they don't believe us.»<sup>55</sup>

[...] Some started committing robberies. They weren't afraid of anybody. Before, when there were terrorists around, they made out all right taking other people's things, so we're going to do the same. That's what they say. That's the way it is. They get involved in things like that and don't want to work. I think their heads are full of the things they've seen both the terrorists and the military do, because they slaughtered their animals and took the

<sup>54</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P56. Interview with a resident, age 50, teacher, Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002.

<sup>55</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P648. In-depth interview, Oronqoy, La Mar (Ayacucho), November-December 2002. Woman, age 70, who led the women's revolt against one of the Carrillos.

meat. The others came in and did the same thing. They took our animals. That's the way it was before, and that negative habit has been reinforced.<sup>56</sup>

### Exacerbation of internal conflicts

The armed conflict exacerbated many long-standing local conflicts, escalating them destructively and leading to community disintegration. The armed groups used the conflicts for their immediate strategic purposes, fueling internal hatreds and resentments, encouraging revenge and adding other elements that made it difficult to restore local order.

To exercise power, the subversive groups tried to take advantage of people's discontent and contradictions that arose in the community. Conflicts over land or access to natural resources, family feuds and personal enmities that sprang from various sources enabled them to turn community members against each other when necessary. Upon arriving in communities and villages, the subversive groups established contacts and named leaders, setting up a «new order» based on rigid discipline accompanied by specific moral gestures. From the start, therefore, they found a certain degree of acceptance among some community members, because their presence coincided with a desire for order and justice in the community. This «new order» provided the opportunity to denounce authorities for the misuse of public funds or to make accusations against important townspeople.

The talk of a «new order» resonated with many people, especially when they witnessed specific gestures of discipline and morality. «Damn! The people with money were sweeping the streets, everything was orderly, no one slacked off. There were no longer any *waqras*, they were punished. Everything was clean and orderly in those days.<sup>57</sup> one resident of Sancos said. Punishment of the powerful was a sign of justice and the establishment of a new, egalitarian order, the apparent elimination of gaps between rich and poor. Not all community members agreed with the new way of doing things, however, which led to even greater tension among residents.

The envy and resentments among residents created greater distrust and uncertainty, especially, for example, when the PCP-SL, for no apparent reason, failed to punish some member of a family whom others had thought would be punished. Some people's prosperity also led to enmities, doubts and suspicions within the community. The conflicts were not always explicit, and amid the fear and uncertainty some people decided to leave their communities. People who were poorer and remained behind had no choice but to follow the orders of those who were in command.

The abrupt departure from communities forced people to abandon goods and land, which were then used by those who remained in the community, who expected to become the owners of the land, sometimes with the consent of local

<sup>56</sup> CVR. BDI-II-P505. Interview with a young woman, a former community authority, in Huamanga (Ayacucho) in January 2003.

<sup>57</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P335. Interview with former authority between March and May 2002 in Sancos, Huancasancos, Ayacucho.

authorities. Some time later, many community members or landowners returned to their places of origin only to find that their property had been taken over by other people, some of whom had even acquired title. The new owners used threats and other maneuvers to keep the property that they had acquired illicitly, sometimes even accusing the former owners of being terrorists.

They've returned to the community of Accomarca and are always causing problems over the land they abandoned when their lives were in danger. [...] Now they want to get back the land that has been taken over by residents of Accomarca. [...] Those people are still behaving like the Shining Path leaders. They're terrorizing people, especially those with whom they have some dispute.<sup>58</sup>

With the establishment of the «new order,» submission to the norms dictated by the subversive groups was unquestionable. People who did not submit were warned, physical punished or executed after a summary trial before the entire community. The «people's trials that ended with executions were not the only murders committed by the People's Committees, but they were the most important, because they were carried out publicly. They had the greatest impact and are the ones that the community members remember most.»<sup>59</sup>

Finding themselves under violent attack, the communities sought to defend themselves with various means, organizing self-defense committees or adopting religious practices that in some places became strategies for survival. The indigenous and peasant self-defense committees were a way of protecting and safeguarding the communities, as well as signs of an alliance with the armed forces. Although there were some initiatives among the communities to form self-defense committees on their own, most of the testimony reflects a certain pressure from the armed forces and police to form armed civilian groups capable of supporting, or in some cases replacing, those forces in various conflict zones.

#### BREAKDOWN OF THE SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATION AND THE HIERARCHICAL ORDER

With traditional leaders gone from the communities because they had been murdered or forced to flee, there was an interruption in the transmission of the knowledge needed to guide a group of human beings in accordance with their customs, tradition and history. The use of power was taken from its legitimate possessors, and basic functions such as the administration of justice were usurped. One consequence was that the communities lost the people who had been their ethical guides.

Because of this vacuum, people were slow to learn new forms of political and social representation. This was aggravated by the fact that young men had left their communities for the reasons mentioned above. It would be some time before those who were children or adolescents at the time were old enough to

<sup>58</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P68. Field notes from informal interview with farmer, age 48, Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002.

<sup>59</sup> Report, Huancasancos.

hold leadership positions in their communities. That brought another consequence: with no clear guidelines for organization, residents had to invent new forms of leadership and adapt to the new situation created by the internal armed conflict. The new leaders were caught between the destruction of the order under which their communities had operated for years and the new circumstances. Finally, besides destruction, interference by people from outside the community caused a serious distortion of norms and guidelines for organizations.

### **Elimination of leaders and the power vacuum**

According to the data gathered by the CVR, the subversive actions were aimed especially at the leaders who had the closest ties to their communities, organizations and local governments. The elimination of local and community authorities was one of the PCP-SL's main objectives, first to gain control of villages, and second to replace them with leaders loyal to the party. Authorities and leaders who did not flee were murdered.

The figures gathered by the CVR provide a clear idea of what happened in the countryside: approximately 2,267 authorities and leaders were killed or disappeared. There was a concerted effort to remove the heads of communities and organizations. Disorganized, these communities and groups became easy targets for invasion by the PCP-SL. The imposition of new forms of organization that discredited democratically elected authorities and imposed new ones was another form of violence against the communities. Witnesses testified that in some cases local residents felt obligated to accept posts out of fear, to hold them under the command of either a subversive group or the state security forces, and to participate in actions against their will. In other cases, they simply left the community to seek refuge elsewhere.

The people voted. Because it was a dangerous time, no one wanted [to hold office]. I didn't want my husband to take an office, but the military forced him to, because we didn't have any authorities. They beat people to make them accept. [...] And out of fear, beating him, they forced him and appointed him. He didn't want to take office, and he didn't last a month — barely a week.<sup>60</sup>

The establishment of power by force took two different forms. One was aimed at the village's general population. This occurred, for example, when Shining Path columns arrived in a community and required people to attend assemblies or take part in forced labor, or imposed a new model of organization that ignored or discredited forms that already existed in the community. It also occurred when military patrols arrived in the community in search of suspects — often accusing residents indiscriminately — and to re-establish or impose order.

The imposition of an authority in a community not only disrupted and created imbalance in the existing organizational model, but also produced

<sup>60</sup> CVR. Testimony 203701.



confusion and anarchy. The disruption and imbalance occurred because the real representatives were physically or symbolically eliminated and replaced by others in a change that did not reflect the will of the people. Confusion and anarchy resulted because the disappearance of authorities led to lack of control in the community, accompanied by a decreased sense of safety and identity. «In those days, there were no authorities here. The authorities were the leaders of the Party. [...]. They were the ones who gave the orders, but there were no authorities who represented the government.»<sup>61</sup>

Opportunities for dialogue and decision-making, such as community meetings and assemblies, became dangerous. On more than a few occasions, the aggressors took advantage of the fact that people were holding a meeting to capture, accuse and execute local authorities. Many testimonies tell of attacks in which the population had no possibility of responding. Given the lack of protection, the individual or family survival instinct became paramount. «Everyone escaped with their own life, in groups or individually.» Distrust had become deeply rooted in the communities, where people considered their neighbors suspects or enemies.

#### **Abuse of power and usurping of functions**

Once the armed groups had taken over public spaces, they eliminated legitimate community representatives in a clear act of *abuse of power and usurping of functions*. They declared that the Party's word was not to be questioned and that its commands were to be carried out without hesitation. In that way, the subversive groups simultaneously established executive, legislative and judicial roles. Anyone who disagreed or opposed them could be eliminated without a second thought.

In many communities or villages, authorities were nominally replaced by others who were under the command of the armed groups or the Army. «There were no authorities. The terrorists were the ones who governed, until the military came and appointed people — the governor, assistant prefect, etc.»<sup>62</sup> Out of fear of being killed, authorities and community leaders resigned or refused to participate in certain community activities. In that way, internal order and norms for social and political behavior were systematically destroyed.

Leaders were subjugated and forced to perform a series of services that benefited the group giving the orders. Depending on the place, leaders or authorities were required to make payments to the subversives and sometimes to the military. Otherwise they had to force the population to do work or engage in other activities.

My husband was an authority. He was president. One day when he went to the field, the «hikers» recruited him. They took him prisoner for a day. «You have to support me.» They forced him to support them. After that, he

<sup>61</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P284. Interview with authority from the community of Primavera (province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco), May 2002.

<sup>62</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P321. Interview with a shepherdess, age 70, Sancos (Ayacucho), March 2002.

supported them. So when he was accused, we didn't leave. We stayed in the hills with my children. We slept there, terrified.<sup>63</sup>

The new authorities took justice into their own hands and used revenge to resolve old disputes with opponents or local enemies. The subversive groups executed people based on nothing more than the community's consent or, in some cases, simply their own authoritarian, ideological decision. Enemies were pre-judged and sentenced, and their friends were accepted with some degree of suspicion. MRTA members apparently did not engage in «people's justice,» and while they sometimes took police officers out into a plaza to frighten them and win the people's trust, the results were never to their benefit. The mere fact that they frightened and humiliated community representatives led people to reject and fear them, and the supposed meting out of justice did not necessarily guarantee public support for the subversive group.

With «people's trials,» many long-standing systems and procedures disappeared, giving way to a political guillotine that not only eliminated the community's representatives, but also instilled fear and terror in the population. It reached such a point that «in those years, there were no longer any authorities. The PCP-SL had taken over every form of justice. They meted out justice in their style, as they thought best. That's why they killed without mercy.»<sup>64</sup>

The violent arrival of the military also had an impact on the communities' legitimate power structures. Abuse by members of the security forces took the form of arbitrary detention and torture of local residents. The aggression was an attack on the people's cultural patterns, reducing them to a position of inferiority. The «re-establishment of order» was no different from the conquest of the liberated zones. In both cases, instead of building an institution that would guarantee continuity, power was used to dismantle the relationships on which social organization was based. Tacit agreement to «punish the relatives» of members of subversive groups probably led the military to carry out extrajudicial executions.

In 1989, they captured me in San Martín Plaza and took me to DINCOTE again, accusing me of terrorism. I was there for 14 days. The first two days, they hung me by the feet to make me confess to things I'd never done. After 14 days, I was freed and suffered from extremely violent repression by the state. Given those circumstances, it's possible that many of the people who are in prison now aren't guilty, but there's also a fair contingent that may be there for good reason.<sup>65</sup>

The violence weakened community and grassroots organizations, which were unprepared to resist or respond collectively.

<sup>63</sup> CVR. Testimony 202479. Ayacucho.

<sup>64</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P415. Gender workshop with men in Huamanga (Ayacucho), October 23, 2002.

<sup>65</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P512. Thematic public hearing on "Political Violence and the Educational Community." Lima, October 28, 2002. Testimony No. 2.

### Breakdown of the system of citizen participation

One of the consequences of the abuse of power and usurping of functions was the weakening of the normative system of organization. When the PCP-SL recruited young people, it indoctrinated them with the idea that power lay in weapons. Young people were sent to a school where instead of learning to defend and respect order, they learned to violate ancestral patterns of authority. In other words, the subversive groups put themselves above all laws, replacing them with violent action and doing away with procedures based on traditional communal norms. Far from benefiting the communities, the imposition of a «new order» or «re-establishing order» became a way of subjugating or eliminating people whom the new power brokers thought were causing or might cause problems.

Authorities could barely do their jobs. The norms governing organization had been hijacked by whichever subversive group took control of the area and wielded power. The phrase about «a thousand eyes and ears» undermined public community life and turned society into a sort of prison with a lookout tower, where everyone felt they were being watched, which disturbed their sense of freedom. Overnight, daily life turned into a closed sphere that was under constant surveillance, where the only way to survive was to distrust everyone.

Because of the absence of authority due to elimination, flight or replacement, these places became a «no-man's land» where it was impossible even to maintain public institutions and record everyday events such as births, deaths and marriages. The elimination of organizational leadership not only decapitated the community, it ultimately scattered local residents for a long time. «It was a no-man's land. We had no authorities, not even a mayor, from 1987 to 1990. The local government offices closed. There was nothing. The community had no leaders. There was no type of organization and there were no authorities from 1987 to 1990.»<sup>66</sup>

The beginning of the armed conflict itself was an event that broke the continuity of political institutions that were trying to gain strength through local, regional or national elections. The «election boycott» was an attack on civil and political rights that had been sidelined for years. Other attacks included the destruction of identity documents, ballots and voting records; the murder of candidates; and threats against people who attempted to exercise their primordial right and responsibility as citizens.

There could no longer be authorities. There could no longer be candidates for mayor. Not any more. Everyone was afraid to serve as a mayor, governor or judge, or to say they were from such-and-such a party. When elections were held in those days, 20 or 30 people voted and they were taking a risk. But people didn't want anything to do with elections or parties or any kind of group, because panic and fear were everywhere. The people who were in

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<sup>66</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P403. In-depth interview with a local government official and writer. Uchiza, Tocache (San Martín), August 25, 2002.

charge of IER at the time and those who wanted to continue with their parties, I don't know if they found some other way of doing so. I don't know.<sup>67</sup>

The traditional system of rotating leadership within communities was systematically destroyed by those who usurped that function. The «new» order imposed by the subversive organization was socialist and people were forced to follow it, even if they did not understand it, out of fear of being branded a traitor.

Meanwhile, the Army's presence in places where the repentance law was being promoted led not only to confusion, but also to distrust among the population. Many people looked askance at the Army's actions because of the bad experiences they had had during the conflict.

When the repentance law came out, the Army didn't investigate who you were or where you were from. They just came and grabbed you. The entire town went to repent, and many people died because of it. The PCP-SL killed them. From then on, there were no authorities. We've only had authorities again in the past two or three years.<sup>68</sup>

Daily life was altered by the fight for hegemonic control over territory. Villagers had to «ask permission» of the de facto authorities in order to travel. Not only were freedom of movement and other aspects of daily life suspended, it was impossible to continue with barter systems and markets, creating a life that was limited, controlled and a dead end. «Anyone who traveled had to inform the military base. They said our mission was to fight terrorists, and for that reason they needed the collaboration and compliance of all members of the community. The military base is at the service of everyone.»<sup>69</sup>

The law and order that was hijacked by the violence of the armed conflict has been difficult to re-establish, even now. The much-desired rotation of leadership was difficult to start up again. The loss of leaders because of murder, disappearance and forced displacement interrupted the transmission of learning that was part of the process of the transfer of leadership and dissuaded, because of fear and distrust, those who should have taken on leadership roles.

## SOCIOECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

### CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARMED CONFLICT FOR HUMAN AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

The violence has had a very dramatic impact on human capital, with repercussions in various areas, including the economic, which is addressed in this section. A first element to be noted is the destruction of human capital by such acts as murder and

<sup>67</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P256. Interview with a Colombian Dominican religious sister, Ayacucho (Ayacucho), May 2002.

<sup>66</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P302. Group interview with women, community of 7 de Octubre (province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco), May 2002.

<sup>66</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P43. Transcript of the minutes of the Community Assemblies of Accomarca (Ayacucho). Minutes from 1988.

forced disappearance, as well as its deterioration because of the poor physical and psychological condition in which the violence left people. Another element that contributed to the notable decrease in human capital in the affected communities was the large-scale displacement of the population. Finally, the armed conflict also caused changes in labor conditions, increasing unemployment and underemployment. All of these circumstances have had a serious impact on the affected population's quality of life.

As has been seen in other sections, Ayacucho and Huancavelica were the areas most affected by the violence, which was accompanied by a serious deterioration of the economy. The main reason was the decrease in the economically active population, which dropped from 154,000 to 131,000 in Ayacucho and from 107,000 to 104,000 in Huancavelica between censuses. That was not the case in other zones that were equally affected by the armed conflict, such as Apurímac, Junín, San Martín, Huánuco or Pasco, where the economically active population increased (CUANTO 1980-1993; 1993 census). The death or disappearance of part of the economically active population in the communities affected by the violence had countless effects on the lives of families. These are briefly summarized in the following sections.

#### **Decrease in families' productive capacity**

The violent actions of the subversive groups and the security forces charged with fighting them led to the loss of many human lives and had other harmful effects, decreasing the productive capacity of families in those areas and entire regions. In the opinion of one witness, during the years of armed conflict «what really destroyed us was the [loss of] human resources, even for community labor at the time. We didn't have many people. So the labor force was small or nonexistent.»<sup>70</sup> The scope of the problem is even greater if the value or meaning of this loss for families is taken into account.

In most cases, the loss of physical conditions and of certain family members' ability to work resulted in a reduction of the income that was crucial to the family's survival, as well as a decrease in the quality of family life. In the rural economy of the areas affected by the armed conflict, it is the father or mother who provides the family with security, protection and stability, and each of the other members plays a specific, complementary economic role. In this family structure, the man (adult or youth) is responsible for the main agricultural activities, while the woman performs activities related to household maintenance.

Under these circumstances, the absence of a male (adult or youth) meant the loss of the main source of income and often the family's only means of support. This implied a complete restructuring and reorganization of the family. According to testimony gathered by the CVR, of a total of 22,507 victims (dead or disappeared), 73 percent had performed a profitable economic activity to

<sup>70</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P343. In-depth interview, Lucanamarca, Huancasancos (Ayacucho), March 2002. Male council member, age 50, who was a student during the time of the violence.

support their families, and most were considered heads of households. These figures indicate the heavy impact of the armed conflict on the family economy. The absence of these people, who had been economically active, resulted in the scattering and fragmentation of the family, which meant that in the short run, the rest of the members had to find ways to survive under highly disadvantageous conditions.

The «definite» absence — because of death or disappearance— of fathers or young men of working age created a gap in the chains of production, distribution and consumption. According to information gathered by the CVR, the majority of victims (dead or disappeared) were males between ages 18 and 34, with little education (illiterate, with a primary education or with some secondary education), married or living with a partner. Most were Quechua-speaking peasants living in the department of Ayacucho.

The most immediate consequence of this forced absence was that women were widowed and children were orphaned. About this, one witness said:

[...] The violence we experienced had a series of consequences. There were many orphans, many widows and many poor people who have been unable to study. In our community, in particular, there are many women who were widowed. The terrorists killed their husbands during those years. There are many orphaned youths. That is the history of the community of Huaychao.<sup>71</sup>

It has been impossible to determine the exact number of widows, widowers and orphaned children. According to Revollar (2000), the number of women widowed by the armed conflict could be as high as 20,000, and the number of orphans (boys and girls) 40,000, not counting children who have suffered from post-traumatic stress, whose number is estimated at more than 500,000.

For women, the consequences of the man's absence were not limited to reduced possibilities for production; they were also reflected in problems of security and social and emotional stability. The section on psycho-social consequences provides a detailed description of these effects on the lives of women who were victims of the violence.

Because of the permanent absence of parents, minor children were abandoned. In some cases, close relatives took them in temporarily, but in others they were cast adrift, depending exclusively on their ability to look out for themselves. The temporary absence of one parent because of imprisonment or forced displacement also had negative consequences for the family's productive capacity, quality of life, and social and emotional stability.

Prison inmates unjustly accused of being terrorists were usually peasants from the emergency zones who had been detained and imprisoned as the result of an arbitrary and unjust accusation. They were taken to prisons far

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<sup>71</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P416. Workshop with self-defense committee members, Huamanga (Ayacucho), October 23, 2002.

from their homes. For the family, the person's imprisonment in one of these facilities meant a forced absence that had an immediate, serious impact on the family members' lives. The victims of unjust imprisonment were mainly male heads of households, although youths and women were also imprisoned.

In most peasant communities, a man cannot be replaced by another community member because most lands are not communally owned. Each family supports itself with its crops and livestock. When a man was gone, therefore, the family's fields were abandoned and the livestock poorly tended or stolen. Left alone, women had to spend much of their time seeking information about the whereabouts and condition of their imprisoned or disappeared husbands. This not only severed the chain of production, it also led to the disintegration of the family as an economic unit.

The forced absence of a parent as a result of the armed conflict triggered a long series of negative economic consequences for family members, causing a deterioration of the quality of life and the physical and psychological condition of family members.

#### **Displacement of the labor force**

Temporary or permanent absence because of the forced displacement of one of the main elements of the production chain caused serious problems not only for families, but also for communities. The displacement of the rural work force to other areas, especially cities or urban peripheries, led to another debacle in the rural communities and regions. The number of people displaced from the areas affected by the internal armed conflict is estimated at more than 600,000 (Diez 2003).<sup>72</sup>

According to the 1997 *Survey of Characteristics of the Returned Population* by the National Institute of Statistics and Information (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*, INEI), in 437 districts of the departments of Ayacucho, Apurímac, Huancavelica, Junín, Huánuco and Ancash, more than 50 percent of the people interviewed had changed residence because of the armed conflict and had returned to their places of origin as a result of pacification. There was widespread displacement of the work force, and many communities became ghost towns. The depopulation left communities without a labor force, greatly reducing possibilities of economic development for those who remained behind. Although the pace of economic life was different at the national level, the absence of a labor force created dramatic local imbalances.

In places where the local labor force was displaced, local residents interpreted that absence as a sign of the «backwardness» of village life, as the following testimony indicates. According to this account, the poorest people were the ones left behind, because they had no alternative.

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<sup>72</sup> According to a document on displaced people in Peru prepared by Francis Deng, representative of the United Nations Secretariat Unit on Internal Displacement (1996), the number of displaced people in the country is probably between 600,000 and 1 million.

The best-educated people had to leave. There was a flight of professionals and successful merchants, who could leave because of their economic situation. Those who were less fortunate had to stay behind, and there was a loss of professional and other job opportunities. The result was backwardness.<sup>73</sup>

Displacement impoverished not only the community, but also the displaced people themselves. After the armed conflict subsided and the country's economic situation stabilized, some displaced families began to return to their home communities. The returnees, however, probably represented only about half of the displaced population.<sup>74</sup> The socio-economic conditions that many of these people encountered in their home villages and the scant aid they received from the state made it impossible for them to remain, and they were displaced again, returning to the areas where they had originally taken refuge. Many of the returnees who remained in their communities of origin were unemployed people of working age, according to INEI (1997). A total of 62.1 percent of the returnees were of working age and actually employed, while 37.9 percent were unemployed people of working age.

According to the same INEI survey, more than half the returnees returned mainly to rural agriculture. This can be seen in the following figures: 52.2 percent of the returnees worked (at the time the survey was done) in agriculture or livestock, while the rest were involved in commerce (14.6 percent), construction (13.4 percent), crafts (6.4 percent) and other activities (9.3 percent). Another survey in the areas hardest hit by the armed conflict found that agriculture was the main activity of 90 percent of the families, while 32 percent said they raised livestock. Fifteen percent of the families worked as day laborers on other people's lands (Matos 2002).

Considering that the impact of the armed conflict on farming in the affected communities was great because much of the agricultural land had been abandoned for long periods, it can be concluded that people who were actually working the land were doing so under extremely disadvantageous conditions and without much economic success. The INEI survey (1997) found that more than 60 percent of displaced people returned to their homes after a long absence (between six and 15 years), reflecting this prolonged abandonment of the countryside.

### **Changes in labor conditions: unemployment and underemployment**

The continuous attacks by the PCP-SL and the actions by the security forces decreased work opportunities for families and communities, not only because the means of production were destroyed, but also because of the absence of the principal members of the production chain, which resulted in changes in relationships of production and in production itself. The decrease in the rural work force affected

<sup>73</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P176. Testimony taken in Huertas, Huancayo (Junín), in May 2002. Authorities tell of the confrontation in Los Molinos.

<sup>74</sup> The number of returnees is estimated at about 320,000, according to the state-run Repopulation Support Program (Programa de Apoyo al Repoblamiento, PAR); the same PAR report notes that MENADES-CONDECOREP estimated the number of returnees at 200,000 (PAR 2001).



family, local and regional production systems to different degrees. In the opinion of those who testified, there was a dual problem related to rural employment, because the situation affected not only employment patterns, but the very right to work, reflected in forms of unemployment and underemployment.

First, with the breakdown in social and productive support networks because of the absence, displacement or unemployment of the male labor force, women and even children had to redouble their efforts to ensure their families' day-to-day survival. That is reflected in the testimony of many displaced community members.<sup>75</sup> At the same time, for the people affected by the violence, the problem of unemployment and the difficulty in finding employment also had indirect effects: they could not plant because they lacked seeds, they could not tend their fields or they were afraid of losing their crops because they could not see them through to the harvest.

Employment decreased in the affected communities for these reasons, and the problem persists today. The violence disrupted production dynamics in the communities and made it impossible to carry on with economic life as usual: «So we stopped working. We couldn't work any more. People were afraid. You couldn't even walk around.»<sup>76</sup> It also affected commercial activities, as the following testimony indicates: «[...] so we were walking [...] and we returned home because we were afraid. We didn't go out in the street any more, and there was no business. We didn't have anything for our children to eat, because no one came to the store. It was closed, and we stayed inside out of fear.»<sup>77</sup>

The villagers' fear isolated them and forced them to adopt lifestyles that were temporary and insecure. Community development through collective labor came to a standstill. The lack of trust had damaged relationships, making it difficult to maintain friendships and cooperation among communities, neighbors or even family members. The lack of work forced displaced people to take up activities in the informal sector or accept low-wage jobs that did not provide them with even a subsistence income. For these families, informal employment created insecurity and uncertainty that they had never experienced when they had their land and their animals.

Added to these problems was the job discrimination that affected women living in poverty. As one woman put it, «Because I'm not a man, I can't work. [...] Because I'm not a man, where could I go even to do day labor? Nowhere.»<sup>78</sup>

For displaced people, the employment drama was even more acute. There was a gradual deterioration of the relationship with the family that had received them because of the economic burden of supporting displaced relatives even

<sup>75</sup> See, for example, the following testimony: “[...] Our life changed a lot because I couldn't work. [...] My wife wore herself out to support me, and I couldn't help with the work.” CVR. BDI-I-P482. In-depth interview with a peasant victim of PCP-SL who was injured by a bomb. Ledoy, Bellavista (San Martín), August 20, 2002.

<sup>76</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P762. Interview with male settler, age 49, with fifth-grade education. Cushiviani (Junín), October 22, 2002.

<sup>77</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P518. Public hearing in Lima. First session, June 21, 2002, case 2.

<sup>78</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P704. Public hearing in Abancay (Apurímac). Second session, August 27, 2002, case 8. Alleged violation: torture, sexual violence and murder.

temporarily: «The drama continued, because despite my age, I couldn't find work in Lima. Neither could my wife. Under those circumstances, even the family starts looking askance at you. We usually got along well, but we could tell that they sometimes got tired of it.»<sup>79</sup>

Unemployment and poverty aggravated the uncertainty and desperation that many people felt. Even those who managed to pull themselves up with a great deal of effort or family investment still felt the effects: «[...] If this hadn't happened, my children would have finished their studies normally. [...] Now that they've finished however they could, now that they're professionals, what's the use of being professionals if there are no jobs?»<sup>80</sup> The situation also created a sense of frustration because people were unable to complete the educational-labor process: «And even when they finish their studies, they end up on the street without jobs.»<sup>81</sup>

#### DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY, LOSS OF AGRICULTURAL CAPITAL AND IMPOVERISHMENT

The internal armed conflict resulted in the destruction of public and private property, as well as the looting, theft and destruction of goods, with serious consequences for families and communities. This led to even greater impoverishment. This section briefly describes the material damage caused by the violence and its effects on the economies of these communities.

#### **Destruction of social and community infrastructure**

It is impossible to determine the exact cost of damage to state property during the internal armed conflict or the cost of the harm inflicted on the civilian population. Nevertheless, there are some figures that indicate the cost of the violence between 1980 and 2000. In 1988, a Special Senate Commission responsible for a study of «Violence and Pacification» concluded that the economic cost of damages perpetrated by the subversive groups was approximately US\$8,184,584,648, equivalent to 66 percent of that year's total external debt and 45 percent of GDP. The following table shows the economic cost of the violence by sector as indicated in that study.

<sup>79</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P438. Public hearing in Huamanga (Ayacucho). Third session, April 11, 2002, case 12. Relative of the victim; the witness is a teacher.

<sup>80</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P450. Public hearing in Huamanga (Ayacucho), April 9, 2002, case 17. Testimony of relative of one of the victims.

<sup>81</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P704. Public hearing in Abancay (Apurímac). Second session, August 27, 2002, case 8. Relatives of a victim of torture, sexual violence and murder.

TABLE 1

PERU 1980-1988: ESTIMATED ECONOMIC COST OF THE INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT (In Us\$)

| SECTOR                            | TOTAL                | DIRECT COST          | OPPORTUNITY COST     |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <b>TOTAL US\$</b>                 | <b>9,184`584,648</b> | <b>2,804`584,648</b> | <b>5,400`000,000</b> |
| Agriculture                       | 1,800`000,000        | 300`000,000          | 1,500`000,000        |
| Defense                           | 980`000,000          |                      |                      |
| Energy and mines                  | 1,976`535,217        | 1,076`535,217        | 900`000,000          |
| Industry and trade                | 3,800`000,000        | 1,300`000,000        | 2,500`000,000        |
| Transportation and communications | 542`649,431          | 42`649,431           | 500`000,000          |
| Other                             | 85`400,000           | 85`400,000           |                      |

Source: Taken from the study "Violence and Pacification," Special Senate Commission, DESCO and the Andean Commission of Jurists. Lima, 1989.

According to other studies (Desco), the destruction of high-tension power lines by subversives between 1980 and 1991 caused losses of US\$2 billion.<sup>82</sup> Another study of «Economics and Violence,» prepared by the organization Constitution and Society (*Constitución y Sociedad*) in 1993, estimated the country's economic losses between 1980 and 1992 at US\$21 billion (Puicán 2003: 12).

The PCP-SL's violence was also directed against organizations involved in production. In the central highlands, acts of violence were launched between March 1988 and January 1989 against the Heroínas Toledo and Cahuida Public Interest Farming Cooperatives (*Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social, SAIS*) (Sánchez 1989). The former stopped operating after its buildings and property were destroyed in March 1988. The Cahuida SAIS, located in the upper Mantaro Valley, was considered the most important of the agricultural businesses established in the region under the agrarian reform. According to Puicán, one of the reasons for the PCP-SL's constant attacks on this cooperative was that the SAIS was able to bring peasant communities together in the market system. That led to the decision to destroy it (Puicán 2003: 19). It finally closed in January 1989 after a series of attacks. Because of economic difficulties, the company could not afford the cost of security systems that would have enabled it to avoid destruction. Added to that was the lack of police support and the slow response from the police, factors that did not affect other SAIS, such as Túpac Amaru, Pachacútec and Ramón Castilla, which had resources for security and defense.

In the southern highlands, the PCP-SL attacks occurred particularly in the department of Puno. According to a study by Rénique (1991), the main attacks were aimed at cooperatives. Shining Path incursions increased from 15 in 1983 to 22 in 1984 and 33 in 1985. In 1986, there were 83 attacks and 32 victims. In

<sup>82</sup> According to ELECTRO-PERU, 335 towers were destroyed in 1989. That figure includes towers owned by subsidiary ELECTRO-NORTE, which would increase the total by US\$600 million, according to estimates by ELECTRO-PERU.

1987, the number of violent actions decreased after a PCP-SL column was destroyed at Cututuni. During that year, however, there were 35 attacks. The number increased to 77 in 1988 and 97 in 1989.

The damage took its toll on communities. A study in Ayacucho<sup>83</sup> indicated that it would have cost the state more than 1.3 million soles to rebuild the affected communities. Another study found that 28 percent of the homes in 99 communities in six provinces of Ayacucho were destroyed, along with 35 percent of the community buildings.<sup>84</sup>

Although it is impossible to determine the number of houses or amount of property destroyed as a result of the violence, many of the people who testified expressed a sense of emptiness and impotence in the face of those events: «In Incarajay, our houses were burned down. The Shining Path members and the soldiers beat the men. [...] Those wretches left me in poverty. They burned down my house. Everyone in my community has suffered a lot.»<sup>85</sup> A member of a peasant self-defense group testified: «[...] They destroyed our community. They burned down our houses and our school [...] and the PCP-SL came to take away the authorities and the children.»<sup>86</sup>

Estimates of losses suffered by families whose houses and crops were destroyed either by the PCP-SL or by members of the forces of order are shown in Table 2. These families had to deal with the total or partial loss of their assets, which seriously compromised their ability to support themselves.

TABLE 2

PROPERTY LOSSES OF AN AVERAGE PEASANT FAMILY  
(in nuevos soles calculated in 2002)

| PROPERTY   | COST IN SOLES |
|--|---------------|
| <b>TOTAL (*)</b>                                 | <b>17,922</b> |
| Housing (kit of corrugated metal sheets)         | 981           |
| Set of tools (kit)                               | 1300          |
| Set of kitchen utensils                          | 400           |
| Plowing equipment                                | 1220          |
| Threshing equipment                              | 4470          |
| Blankets   | 92            |
| Sheep (2)  | 840           |
| - Small animals (module)                         | 44            |
| Seed potato (S/. 8,575 per hectare * 3 hectares) | 8,575         |

(\*) Equivalent to US\$5,120 (S/. 3.50 = US\$1)  
Estimates based on costs calculated by PAR

<sup>83</sup> Evaluations by CEPRODEP in 10 communities in the districts of Vischongo and Tambo, in the provinces of Vilcashuamán and La Mar, respectively, in the department of Ayacucho.

<sup>84</sup> "Diagnóstico de desplazamiento en Ayacucho 1993-1997. Héroes sin nombre," a study of displacement done by CEPRODEP in 1997, based on 167 family surveys with people from 99 communities, 33 districts and six provinces in the northern part of the department of Ayacucho.

<sup>85</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P414. Gender workshop, Ayacucho (Huamanga), October 23, 2002. Female villager.

<sup>86</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P411. Workshop with self-defense committee members, Satipo (Junín), November 4, 2002.

Some studies mention the destruction of roads by the PCP-SL, which restricted the flow of trade among local and regional markets (Del Pino 2001). For example, Huancasancos (Ayacucho) had been linked commercially with coastal provinces such as Nazca, Ica and Lima. The PCP-SL restricted commercial traffic in these areas, not only prohibiting people from traveling to the coast, but also keeping people from exchanging their products with valley regions such as Cangallo, Huancapi, Hualla, Canaria, Sarhua and other provinces.

### Abandonment of land and loss of capital

The internal armed conflict forced affected families and communities to leave their villages and abandon their homes, farmland, livestock and other property. According to the INEI survey (1997), 71.4 percent of the people polled had some sort of property in their home communities, including houses, land and/or livestock, and only 28.6 had no property. In the same survey, 94.1 percent of the returnees said they had agricultural land, 13.4 percent had pasture land, 3.9 percent had woodland and 20.2 percent had livestock, as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

PERU 1997: PERCENTAGE OF RETURNEE HOUSEHOLDS  
BY PROPERTY OWNERSHIP AND TYPE OF PROPERTY

| TYPE OF PROPERTY (*)    | PERCENTAGE<br>OF HOUSEHOLDS |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS</b> | <b>100%</b>                 |
| <i>With property</i>    | <b>98.6%</b>                |
| - Agricultural land     | 94.1%                       |
| - Pastureland           | 13.4%                       |
| - Forest                | 3.9%                        |
| - Livestock             | 20.2%                       |
| - Dry-goods store       | 1.8%                        |
| - Craft workshop        | 0.1%                        |
| <i>Without property</i> | <b>1.4%</b>                 |

(\*) Each category of household property is independent

SOURCE: INEI – Survey of Characteristics of Returnee Population

Most of the people in the affected communities were small farmers. The amount of land under cultivation was drastically reduced, seriously affecting the income of peasant families.<sup>87</sup> A family that had about 1 hectare of land under cultivation before the violence was planting less than half a hectare (Del Pino 2001). Some continued to sow their fields, but they spent as little time there as possible because of the PCP-SL's presence in those areas.

<sup>87</sup> These were families in six communities of returnees in the department of Ayacucho: Bellavista, Umara and Pomatambo (province of Vilcashuamán) and Laupay, Cunya and Uchuraccay in the north (province of Huanta).

According to the Third National Agriculture Census of 1994, 30,655 hectares of cropland were no longer cultivated because of terrorism. Besides terrorism, the census noted that the lack of a rural labor force and changes in employment were also factors (see Table 4). The areas most affected were Junín and Ayacucho. According to the 1997 INEI survey, by the end of 1996 about 3,000 hectares had been abandoned in Junín and about 9,000 hectares in Ayacucho. The number of agricultural units affected, however, was as high as 10,575.

TABLE 4

## PERU 1994: AGRICULTURAL AREA NOT PLANTED, BY MAIN CAUSE

| REGION       | UNIT OF MEASURE    | TOTAL a/   | MAIN CAUSE |               |                  |       |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|------------|---------------|------------------|-------|
|              |                    |            | Terrorism  | Lack of labor | Found other work | Theft |
| National     | Agricultural Units | 1,745,773  | 10,575     | 84,312        | 4,853            | 3,015 |
|              | Hectares           | 35,381,808 | 30,655     | 104,498       | 5,368            | 1,615 |
| Ayacucho     | Agricultural Units | 87,263     | 4,608      | 6,655         | 265              | 74    |
|              | Hectares           | 1,715,207  | 8,665      | 4,381         | 156              | 32    |
| Junín        | Agricultural Units | 118,360    | 2,115      | 4,301         | 320              | 190   |
|              | Hectares           | 2,264,730  | 13,093     | 6,124         | 492              | 82    |
| Huancavelica | Agricultural Units | 85,337     | 758        | 5,460         | 561              | 138   |
|              | Hectares           | 1,305,491  | 621        | 2,360         | 201              | 42    |
| Puno         | Agricultural Units | 184,610    | 776        | 31,764        | 1,246            | 1,249 |
|              | Hectares           | 4,384,904  | 366        | 2,277         | 164              | 117   |
| Huánuco      | Agricultural Units | 93,156     | 9571       | 4,386         | 390              | 200   |
|              | Hectares           | 1,343,787  | 12,695     | 34,088        | 401              | 355   |
| Apurímac     | Agricultural Units | 68,430     | 255        | 5,816         | 178              | 158   |
|              | Hectares           | 1,437,144  | 222        | 1,375         | 54               | 54    |
| Pasco        | Agricultural Units | 28,079     | 119        | 2,115         | 549              | 156   |
|              | Hectares           | 997,807    | 795        | 5,720         | 1,482            | 70    |
| San Martín   | Agricultural Units | 63,062     | 117        | 2,184         | 91               | 72    |
|              | Hectares           | 1,107,356  | 1,148      | 12,001        | 561              | 171   |

a/ Includes other variables that appear in the survey. SOURCE: INEI – Third National Agricultural Census 1994.

With regard to the «lack of labor» figure in the preceding table, it is important to remember that the violence resulted in a drastic reduction of the labor force in the communities affected by the death, disappearance, imprisonment, and physical and psychological deterioration of their members, especially those of working age, as well as forced displacement. Logically, the reduction in the rural population due to these factors resulted in a loss of capital for agriculture and increased impoverishment of families.

Peasant families' production strategies broke down because the PCP-SL not only hampered production in the highlands (Coronel 1994), but also kept people from doing temporary work outside the community to supplement their income and meet their families' basic subsistence needs. For local residents, the violence was another factor in decisions related to economics and production. Families sought to minimize their crop losses, planting smaller areas to reduce

the risk of losing their investment if the PCP-SL attacked again. Their goal was not only to guarantee production, but also to ensure their survival.

### **The impact of theft and destruction of property and impoverishment**

Both the subversive groups and members of the security forces perpetrated direct attacks on people's rights and property. Although they used different means, in both cases the theft and destruction of property had a negative impact. When the violence arrived,

[...] men and women slept in other places, in the hills or places where there had been landslides, to escape and save their lives. [The attackers] were burning their homes, taking their livestock, blankets, pots, tools and anything else they found. They took everything, and if you didn't want to help them, they would kill you or burn you alive in your house with your kids out of revenge. You couldn't escape and you'd be burned to a crisp. Children, mothers ... they even destroyed the churches and schools.<sup>88</sup>

That account describes the theft, looting, destruction and pillaging that occurred in various places where confrontations took place. The number of cattle and sheep, which are a form of savings for these families, decreased notably, in some cases because they were stolen or killed by the PCP-SL or the military, and in others because people sold them at less than their market value to obtain money to emigrate. As a result, 34 percent of these families saw a sharp decrease in the livestock they owned, which led to a loss of capital (Del Pino et al 2001).

In general, people suffered the theft and destruction of their livestock and all animals on which they depended for survival:

[...] They burned everything, the house. They took everything, whatever they wanted. My mother had a pig. They killed the pig. What had come from the planting had gone to feed the pig [...]. There was also a turkey. They ate the turkey, they took the hens. [...]. My brother had gotten away, but they loaded the burro with meat from the animals they'd killed at the house. They escaped with that. They escaped at night. I don't know where they slept, but in the morning they were in Parcco, and the next day you could see everything they'd done. There had been pigs. They'd cut everything up [...].<sup>89</sup>

The subversive groups burst into the communities and took over the property of the wealthier merchants as well as small shops or private businesses run by community members, as one victim recounted at length:

They looted the shops. [...] They kicked in the door of the shop and opened it, and took sacks of rice, sugar, everything. Where could you go to complain? [...] I was working in the shop. The shop was empty. I was discouraged. I

<sup>88</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P415. Gender workshop for men, Huamanga (Ayacucho), October 23, 2002.

<sup>89</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P59. Interview in San Juan de Lurigancho (Lima), June 2002. The interviewee is a seamstress, age 43, from Parqo.

didn't work anymore. [...] Only recently are the shops opening again. Before, as I told you, they also went into all the houses and took corn, fava beans, whatever was there. They ate that; they even ate cats. They prepared it there. They brought meat from nearby. They slaughtered it. [...] For the Party, [they said], for the Party! They needed provisions every day. [...] There were animals all around them. All their food, all their meat was free. They took clothes from the merchants who came from Huamanga. They assaulted them and took all the clothes. For the Party! Do you want to stay alive or not? They said, We're fighting for the poor! The merchants who brought clothes, eight or 12 sets of clothes, they attacked them. They [merchants] don't come any more.<sup>90</sup>

The looting and the burning of homes and community buildings was a common practice of the PCP-SL. One witness said: «[...] I'm from the native community of Aguaytía. We have also suffered from the violence. The PCP-SL came in 1989 and our village was destroyed, our houses were burned and the school was robbed of everything — tools, pots. [...]»<sup>91</sup> The value of these goods to their owners was more than monetary. Seeing their belongings go up in flames or finding nothing in their houses when they returned was a psychological and emotional shock. Many people testified that they had to abandon their belongings to save their lives: «My neighbors stayed in the community of Kimbiri. I've been living here in Anapate for three years. They burned everything I had in my house. They burned my sewing machine, my typewriter, my radio. They left me with no clothes. We escaped with the clothes on our backs. We fled into the forest.»<sup>92</sup>

Businesses and cooperatives also suffered the effects of the violence. One witness described in detail what happened to the community-run business:

Early the next day, we reached the cabin and found that they had slaughtered 200 animals. The corrals ran with blood. It looked like a river. We were shocked. The women said, What is this? It's the end of the world. How could they punish us this way? What have we done? This wasn't a gift from the government; this was the fruit of our hard work and effort, because we live in poverty and want to have our own income, since the authorities ignore us. It's just because we live in the Andes, in the hills. [...] They singled out the women and men who had opposed the killing. Now you're going to take the place of the alpacas, they said. And everybody else said, Why are they going to kill our brothers and sisters? They should just kill us all. Since you want to kill our business, kill us all. Two or three men came and readied their machine guns. Whoever survives this will stay alive. Today and tomorrow, for just a few hours, you'll stay alive. So we resisted somewhat, but unfortunately we were unarmed. What could we do against people who were armed? They killed the 480 alpacas, including the young ones and pregnant females. After they slaughtered the animals, they made us line up.

<sup>90</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P333. Interview in Sacsamarca, Huancasancos (Ayacucho), March 2002, with a villager, age 58, who witnessed the massacre in Lucanamarca.

<sup>91</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P410. Gender workshop for men, Satipo (Junín), November 4, 2002.

<sup>92</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P412. Workshop with displaced people in Satipo (Junín), November 4, 2002.



Every man got two or three alpacas. The guts were discarded and the condors ate them. We didn't gather up the little ones. We left them there for the condors.<sup>93</sup>

That account and the following one show how the subversives destroyed the economy of the businesses, such as the Illary SAIS, by forcibly distributing their property (livestock) among the peasants, who often had conflicts with the cooperatives' workers:

[...] Huacauta was burned down and people were killed there. I think I have it written down. Seven people were killed, peasants and workers. Of course, at the time, the community members, the peasants were in conflict, but in the end, they were poor peasants. [...] The Charquismo farm belonged to the Illary SAIS. It was completely burned by the PCP-SL. They distributed the animals, but with no planning. There wasn't a planned distribution of the livestock. People were told to take it. Some people took one or two, some took 50, some took more, some didn't take anything. The next day came the repression, the Army, the police. They said that anyone who had livestock was a terrorist. You're a member of the Shining Path, a terrorist. But when they found people who had nothing, they still didn't say anything clear, but those people had saved themselves. They'd won a little something.<sup>94</sup>

The security forces' actions were also marked by violence, abuse and discrimination. Although the Peruvian Army «behaved well at first, later there were abuses. The Army [...] went into the fields quietly, took the crops, took hens, but later you said something to them and they were afraid.»<sup>95</sup> Soldiers from certain military bases committed many abuses: «They ate the animals, raped the women and made the people submit to them. [...] [When they left] they took all our things. They took 50 sheep, tools, clothing, a tape recorder, a typewriter.»<sup>96</sup> «In Accomarca, they started to loot goods and grain. They said, 'It's the pig's birthday,' and they asked for money and grain.»<sup>97</sup> Villagers tended to give in to the soldiers out of fear of what might happen to them if they did not: «We cooperated. When they asked, we gave them potatoes, and corn. There were four neighborhoods, and each month we had to give them a calf. Each neighborhood gave one each month.»<sup>98</sup> As long as the military remained in certain communities, they did not miss an opportunity to take the peasants' goods: «When the soldiers arrived, they took all the animals. Sometimes

<sup>93</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P708. Public hearing in Abancay (Apurímac). Second session, August 27, 2002, case 11. Woman and man, residents of the community of Cotahuarca.

<sup>94</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P247. Focus group, Puno (Puno), May 14, 2002. Participants were new and former leaders of the Departmental Federation of Peasants of Puno (Federación Departamental de Campesinos de Puno).

<sup>95</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P299. Interview with a female member of the 7 de Octubre community in the province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco. May 2002.

<sup>96</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P26. Accomarca (Ayacucho), August 2002, merchant, age 38, alleged former PCP-SL member whose brother was killed by the Army.

<sup>97</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P30. Focus group of men and women. Lloqllapampa (Ayacucho), June 2002.

<sup>98</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P33. Interview in Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002. The interviewee is a farmer, age 54, who was an authority in that community.

they took them away in a helicopter. They left us with nothing, even now. It has hurt us a lot.»<sup>99</sup>

People had no way to protect themselves from the abuses that came from both sides: «What can you do if four of them come with guns? Even if you tried to protect yourself, they would hit you with the rifle butt. They didn't even respect women. They didn't respect anybody.»<sup>100</sup>

The security forces also appropriated the goods that people left behind when they fled the violence in their communities:

[...] Some people were abused and mistreated. Neither the people nor the animals were safe. The soldiers, the security forces, took advantage of the fact that many of us had fled, leaving our belongings behind. We abandoned our homes and our animals. We abandoned our fields. The police and the Army took advantage of that. We couldn't file a complaint because we didn't know who had done it.<sup>101</sup>

The destruction of property was aimed, among other things, at subjugating the villagers and leaving them defenseless. People who did not flee were forced to serve the PCP-SL or the military, as the following accounts describe: «We had to take firewood to the camp. They forced us, because if we didn't do it we would be punished. It was the same with the military.»<sup>102</sup> «They asked for our collaboration. They stole, and besides that they asked for collaboration. Each neighborhood collaborated by providing calves and sheep for them to eat, for however many people were at the base. That's the kind of collaboration they wanted.»<sup>103</sup> «Captain García ate my burro to celebrate Mother's Day with the women in town. [...] It was stolen the night before and they had a barbecue with it.»<sup>104</sup>

In general, stealing animals and food destroyed the peasants' and villagers' principal sources of wealth and means of survival. Moreover, as the testimony shows, the loss and destruction of goods and property reached high levels. Many people lost everything when their homes and means of subsistence were burned:

So around two in the afternoon, more or less, we saw that they had burned everything. There were 15 vendors there. The Army burned everything.

<sup>99</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P48. Focus group of women in Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002. Five women participated.

<sup>100</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P33. Interview in Accomarca (Ayacucho) in June 2002. Farmer, age 54, who was an authority in that community.

<sup>101</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P701. Public hearing in Abancay (Apurímac). First session, August 27, 2002, case 6. Male community member recounts the murder of villagers in Toraya, province of Aymaraes, Apurímac.

<sup>102</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P39. Field notes from an informal interview with a female farmer, age 48. Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002.

<sup>103</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P48. Focus group of women in Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002, held with five women.

<sup>104</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P53. Field notes from an informal interview with a 60-year-old farmer and alleged former member of PCP-SL in Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002.

Despite my age, I still went to complain. How could you burn down their houses, their businesses, if we're not members of the Shining Path? You're the terrorists. You've also killed people and dumped them. We went through a lot. It was sad. I went to my house and found nothing. Bottles melted like candles. Even the tin roof had melted. The hens we had raised were burned up. The guinea pigs were burned up. I cried. It was a shame.<sup>105</sup>

It is important to note that all the situations mentioned here dramatically affected living conditions in the countryside, impoverishing the affected areas and communities even more than they had been before the conflict began:

The political violence brought more poverty, because people didn't work in the fields any more. They spent their time trying to keep the community safe, giving up their few free days to work together so they could survive. The subversion brought a lot of poverty. If it hadn't been for that, the community would have progressed. You've seen how it is. The kids have changed. They're resentful, they complain, they're tired of life because of everything that has happened. And they know the problems we had with such-and-such a person. Now we call people uncle or cousin, but back then everybody was an enemy. That's been ingrained in the children's minds. It's a terrible complication. There's a total lack of trust. In the community, we have almost no trust. No matter how close you are to someone, there's no trust. That's what it brought us in agriculture, in the economy and also in our way of being. We used to be united, we used to trust each other. Now it's every man for himself. Those who look out for themselves win and live; those who don't, don't. Everything broke down. And I worry about it, because I grew up with a different kind of life. I look at how I grew up and I look at how my nephews and my little brother are growing up now, with resentment, with that distrust, and I want to say something, but I can't because I'm afraid, and we're worried. It wasn't like that before. If we had a problem, we went and talked about it. They didn't tell us to go to hell. We looked for some way to solve it. But now people say, What do I care? That's your problem. Things are complicated, aren't they?<sup>106</sup>

The magnitude of the economic consequences is greater for the communities that have been destroyed and the families that have lost everything. But in one way or another, all the communities and families that lived through, or still live amid, violence have been affected that way. It is not difficult, therefore, to find evidence of that impoverishment in the thousands of accounts recorded by the CVR:

The political violence made us poorer. In those days, we didn't even have seed to plant. Our crops decreased. Nothing was the way it used to be. Only now are we recovering. In those times of violence, the price of seeds rose and we didn't have enough money to buy them. We couldn't produce

<sup>105</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P298. Venenillo (province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco), May 2002. The interviewee was a community authority.

<sup>106</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P768. Interview with a leader of the community of Cushiviani (Junín), October 2002.

the way we used to. The prices we got for our products dropped and we didn't take our crops to market any more.<sup>107</sup> Production has decreased. The fields are abandoned. We don't work the way we used do. There's not the same strength. What's more, now we all work in our own fields.<sup>108</sup>

As indicated, the total or partial loss of their basic means of subsistence and the resulting impoverishment forced many people to abandon their communities and move elsewhere in search of refuge and better conditions for survival. Nevertheless, the new situation was also adverse, because they could not establish an adequate socio-economic level in their new places of refuge. Those who returned to their communities, however, now face serious economic difficulties because of the terrible conditions in which their villages were left by the violence — conditions that still have not improved.

The testimonies gathered by the CVR show that the current economic situation of the families hardest hit by the violence remains a concern. They have been unable to improve their situation significantly because many of the problems have not been resolved. For that reason, many of the people who testified expressed to the CVR their wish for the government to make reparation for the damage done to them, with special attention to widows and orphans:

She's in Corilla, but she's from Sanaveni. She says, «I have suffered from the political violence.» The PCP-SL took us and killed my husband. Now the children are left. I am a widow. I have several small children and no one takes responsibility. They have no clothes to wear. So I would like the Truth Commission to insist that the government pay reparations to all these orphans who have been left behind. Not only them; there are many people who have suffered. Our Asháninka brothers and sisters have suffered. They should also receive reparations. I see how my children have been orphaned, too. They're malnourished. They have nothing to eat. And I feel all alone, having seen how they killed my husband. It's not like it used to be, when I lived with my husband. We had everything. We had food to eat. But when we went with the PCP-SL, we didn't eat and we started to suffer from anemia. How many children died of anemia. That's all I can say.<sup>109</sup>

#### DETERIORATION OF ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

The internal armed conflict has also had an impact on local community development institutions. In this sense, the term «institutions» refers to the implicit agreements among community members to preserve a stable way of life, and reciprocity is one of the tools for sustaining and strengthening a group. Others include their expectations and their way of teaching themselves to obtain what they need. From this standpoint, the ways in which groups

<sup>107</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P416. Workshop with peasant self-defense committees in Huamanga (Ayacucho), October 23, 2002.

<sup>108</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P421. Gender workshop with men, Pichari, La Convención (Cusco), October 25, 2002.

<sup>109</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P409. Gender workshop with women in Satipo (Junín), November 4, 2002.

and communities organize themselves have been significantly transformed because of the effects of the violence.

The actions by the armed groups affected the communities' ways of organizing production and distribution, as well as their sense of family and community development. Production, which was often ritualized in planting and harvesting, in community festivals, was directly or indirectly affected. These events had been opportunities for the exchange of agricultural goods or livestock, but this custom was changed by the armed groups, who sought complete control and often prohibited such events or used them for purposes other than those stipulated by ancestral practices. This created confusion and distrust among the population, and these practices soon disappeared.

This section provides an overview of the way in which the armed violence changed the productive organization of families and communities, created major problems in the exchange of goods and affected expectations for personal and local development. The disorganization of the production system was accompanied by a lack of attention to improving production techniques, proper management and resolution of inter-community conflicts.

#### **Changes in collective forms of organizing labor**

Local production organizations constantly resorted to the reciprocal provision of labor and resources to support their members and achieve economic development. This system allowed for an exchange of labor for production in the field and ensured the survival of families and the community. The armed groups' sudden arrival changed this model of production, bringing chaos and imbalance to community life. People's perceptions of one another also changed, and there was greater distrust in relationships, which affected community organization in various ways.

In families and communities that had no role in the armed conflict, people who had been the sole supporters of their groups died, disappeared or suddenly fled. The temporary or permanent absence of these people seriously compromised the economic system. In the lives of families, villages and regions, there was a disruption of unprecedented magnitude in local production systems.

The turmoil that the armed conflict created in family and community life was reflected in changes that directly affected the way in which groups and individuals related to one another. Old models of personal and collective cooperation and collaboration weakened and were altered in ways that affected their members and institutions differently and to varying degrees.

Peasant life is fundamentally communal and is strengthened by bonds of family and community relationships. The permanent absence of a member affects this organization, because the person's activities were important for supporting the family and the community. Economic organization based on communal labor (*minka*) or reciprocal labor (*ayni*) was seriously affected because the armed groups distorted these practices, using them in ways that were not part of communal customs. Both *ayni* and *minka* are forms of exchange that imply long years of relationships based on knowing one another, rooted in the assurance

that the services provided will be repaid in kind sometime in the future. Trust, therefore, forms the basis of continuity for social and economic relationships.

In many cases, however, relationships of trust were destroyed, giving rise to others based on individualism. «There used to be *minkas* here [...] work for the good of the community. Now people won't participate unless you offer them liquor,»<sup>110</sup> one person said with a combination of nostalgia and concern. Communal labor is no longer an institution that brings individuals together for collective benefit, strengthening the group.

They're coming back, one by one. As they see that the village is calm now, they say, I may as well go back. They work in their fields, but relationships aren't good. In those years, we were united and we worked for the good of the village. Now people aren't united. [...] Things have changed a lot. The village is sad, and the park is all overgrown. People seem to have lost their enthusiasm for working for the community. That's how things are now. Why did they have to kill the leaders of the community? We've been abandoned, completely abandoned.<sup>111</sup>

In some cases, entire communities have become discouraged and lack the energy to start over with their economic activities. Residents «no longer want to participate in community labor,» said one leader of the peasant community of Accomarca.<sup>112</sup>

Willingness to engage in civic action is practically disappearing. [...] It's going to disappear. People are willing to work for one day, but no more. How will we eat? [...] It's a situation that's hard to explain, and now, with government aid, it's worse. Now nobody wants to work. Even the mothers have become lazier. They want to receive food handouts. They expect that. Even the men are like that now.<sup>113</sup>

Despite the constant, intense attacks to which communities were subjected, however, reciprocity did not disappear altogether; rather, it re-emerged at difficult moments. Even in the hardest times, the people who were most affected by the armed conflict could occasionally turn to cooperation or mutual aid for survival, to rebuild property that had been destroyed or to repair productive infrastructure.

Communities and families also suffered as their members were scattered. This fragmented the organizational model and kept it from recovering quickly. As a result, each member found his or her own means of survival. This change in ancestral customs, prompted by fear and distrust, led to discouragement, neglect and failure to fulfill designated roles.

<sup>110</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P3. Focus group, Vilcashuamán (Ayacucho), June 2002. Four male participants.

<sup>111</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P412. Workshop for displaced people in Satipo (Junín), November 4, 2002. Displaced residents participated.

<sup>112</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P33. Interview with a farmer, age 54, who was an authority in the community of Accomarca (Ayacucho), June 2002.

<sup>113</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P350. Interview in Sancos, Huancasancos (Ayacucho), March 2002. The interviewee is a resident, age 65, who works at the community health center.

The most serious problem, as I've said, is that people are negligent. They don't come to communal labor, they don't fulfill their responsibilities, they don't come to meetings. [...] I think they don't love their village. Each one works in his own field and everybody minds their own business. [...] There's a lot of indifference. I've talked with the captain at the base about going from field to field and getting people together for communal labor [...] to clean up the village and fix up the health center. But the main work we need to do is cleaning up.<sup>114</sup>

For many authorities and community leaders, communal organization was no longer a way of sustaining and supporting community life. Because of the fragmentation, ancestral types of relationships faded. In the opinion of one leader, a community such as Huancasancos «is a peasant community organized in four *ayllus* [clans] that perform *minkas* and *ayni*. Before, they planted collectively, but that custom is disappearing, according to the people we've talked to. People have become very lazy. The community uses that land now as a meeting place.»<sup>115</sup>

Solidarity and cooperation were also undermined. Many of the people affected, such as widows and orphans, who lost family members because of the violence, no longer had material and social support. They became destitute, often suffered discrimination and were frequently stigmatized as described in the following testimony:

Community authorities look down on poor children, orphans and widows, because they have no money to pay laborers to help them work the land. People aren't good any more. They charge you for everything when they help you. They've gotten used to charging for every job they do. There's no *ayni* any more. It still exists in some communities, but not in others. For example, when widows want to work the land, no one helps them because they don't have money to pay the laborers. The authorities don't say anything, but they look down on them because they're poor. Orphaned children can't build their houses, can't repair them. And no one says anything. Even though those widows lost their husbands in action against the Shining Path, trying to protect everyone else, so nothing would happen to us.<sup>116</sup>

### Suspension of trading networks and opportunities

The changes in economic systems were accompanied by a decrease in production and, therefore, a reduction in what was available for bartering. The presence of subversive groups or security forces in the communities directly affected the system of distribution and exchange of products. Many families and communities ended up without money or products, either because of theft and looting by the

<sup>114</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P298. Interview in Venenillo (province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco), May 2002. The interviewee is a community authority.

<sup>115</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P320. Field notes from an informal interview with a community authority in Sancos, Huancasancos (Ayacucho) in March 2002.

<sup>116</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P416. Workshop on peasant self-defense committees held in Huamanga (Ayacucho), October 23, 2002. The participants are members of the committees.

armed groups or security forces, or because they were forced to abandon their fields without harvesting or selling the crops.

The armed action also destroyed networks and other opportunities for communities and villages to trade their products. In some cases, such trade was restricted or controlled, while in others it was prohibited, altering the local system of commerce. Markets and plazas were empty because peasants no longer had products for market. These places also became dangerous, because the opposing forces could identify residents there and later disappear them. That increased the sense of fear and distrust.

Constant robberies and assaults also decreased commercial movement in many places and led to the failure of small businesses: «I used to go up from Pomabamba and trade with a merchant from Huancavelica. Then I would buy cattle and take them to slaughter. I have a relative, D.Q., who is doing well at that kind of work. But the members of the PCP-SL stole my money and I went broke.»<sup>117</sup> People who lost their goods and had no way to continue their local economic activities were severely affected and had little chance of starting over.

While I was in Lima, they searched my house in San José: I'd asked a neighbor to take care of my dog. They killed him there. I found my house destroyed and the intelligence service kept following us. They made life impossible. They left a note in the house telling me to turn myself in or my house would be ashes. So we abandoned everything out of fear. As a result, my children have been affected. They're ill, traumatized or paralyzed. One of them lost the ability to speak. I'm nervous, too. I have a bad heart, I get headaches. My children have heart problems and headaches, too. They've fallen behind in their studies. If it hadn't been for that, my children would have finished their studies normally, they would have gotten jobs. But the way things have ended up, now that they're professionals, what good is that if there are no jobs, if no one will hire them? I just ask that the Truth Commission support us. I ask for that support.<sup>118</sup>

The closing of small businesses was not only disadvantageous for the owners, but also a problem for the community, which lost access to the few goods that modernity had to offer. In many cases, the owners of commercial establishments could not bear to see what they had earned through long years of effort and sacrifice vanish in an instant.

In 1987, there was another attack against my father. [...] Business got worse every day. My father wasn't the same. He didn't have the business savvy that had made him a leader, even though he'd worked for and represented important companies — National, Panasonic, Philips, Singer, Honda, and others. They said, You now what, Jorge, keep working with us; we're going to help you. But he didn't have ... the same ability, the same drive. [...] Business got worse

<sup>117</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P371. Interview with a rancher, age 50, Lucanamarca (Ayacucho), March 2002.

<sup>118</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P450. Public hearing in Huamanga (Ayacucho), April 9, 2002, case 17. Relatives of victims of disappeared people from the province of Víctor Fajardo.



every day. We were afraid, but not Jorge. No, Jorge wasn't afraid. [...] He wasn't afraid, and I thought that was strange. He wanted to keep living here. Business got worse every day. [...] A few days before the wedding, he arrived here in Ayacucho and found his store robbed. It was another attack on my father, this time a robbery. ... My father filed a police report and the necessary investigation was done. They never found out who did it. At the time, we were afraid. We didn't even want to know who it was, because we were afraid they would kill us. But now we want to know. [...] He kept working, trying to get the store going again, but he couldn't. The debt wore him out. Time got the better of him, and little by little he fell apart. [...] My father broke down.<sup>119</sup>

The people who lost their goods and shops had to find new ways to make a living, which created great instability and insecurity for their families. In many cases, they also found it impossible to plan and reorganize their own lives and those of their families. One result was the limited possibilities of these families to educate their children. Given the value of education for the families in the zones affected by the armed conflict, the inability to offer it to their children brought the threat of cultural death.

Now there are more orphaned children who don't eat well. The children who dress well are those who have mothers and fathers. As mothers, we see that and suffer greatly wondering how those children will get an education. We can't help them either, because we are widows and we don't have money. We wonder how we'll be able to afford to educate our children. So we get even more discouraged. We cry because we're sad that our children can't get an education.<sup>120</sup>

The destruction of their means of production left property owners and merchants disoriented and discouraged. Under these unfavorable conditions, many community production organizations chose to give up, declaring bankruptcy. These failures have continued, without much hope of recovery.

[Community members] don't want to have anything more to do with it. It's practically bankrupted us. [...] Today no community has much support in livestock management. You don't see the fruit of agricultural management or good administration. Things were going well before, but we don't see much possibility for recovery.<sup>121</sup>

### **Paralysis of community development**

Because of the effects of the armed conflict on the countryside, which are described above, the CVR is convinced that development in the communities was paralyzed, and that this has persisted in various ways. The paralysis is seen not only in communities, but also among individuals, because impoverishment and

<sup>119</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P443. Public hearing in Huamanga (Ayacucho), April 2002, case 15. Testimony of the victim's relatives.

<sup>120</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P414. Gender workshop with women. Huamanga (Ayacucho), October 23, 2002.

<sup>121</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P246. Focus group of female peasant leaders from the Departmental Association of Peasant Women of Puno (Asociación Departamental de Mujeres Campesinas de Puno), June 4, 2002.

abandonment of the affected areas has had an obvious impact on their possibilities for development.

[...] There was death, and that caused setbacks in community development. Why? Because the Shining Path, especially, destroyed bridges, canals, churches, local government buildings and other things — savagely, so you could see that their motive was to destroy. For example, they didn't want a road to reach a certain community. To me, that's a setback in community development. Now the things they destroyed or damaged have to be repaired.<sup>122</sup>

Many people who had contributed to local and regional development through agriculture or livestock suddenly had to abandon the land and farms that they had built up over many years with great effort and sacrifice. They not only stopped harvesting their crops, they also abandoned fields and left them uncultivated for several years. In short, the absence of investment in the communities not only impoverished landowners, it also kept people from finding solutions to their production and marketing problems.

They came the next night, and everything went to hell until now. The subversives came, and the people who were investing left. Since the man who was investing had already recovered the capital he had put into the road, he said he couldn't do any more, and everything was left just as it was. In the end, we all had to work ... we had to do it ourselves.<sup>123</sup>

For many of the people who testified, the abrupt end of production in the countryside or the city because of armed action meant «a setback» in their communities' development, as well as an end, in many cases, to their dreams and aspirations. On top of this, the disappearance or absence of certain family members also decreased possibilities for adequate development. «That's why development is impossible in the village of Pomatambo, because there are more widows than men,»<sup>124</sup> one person said in testimony to the CVR.

People affected by the violence also felt a sense of impotence and desperation because of the loss of their property, which increased their sense of insecurity and lack of protection. «[...] Nobody thought about getting ahead any more — not in their fields, where they used to work, not in their pastures. Everything was practically abandoned. [...] They lived on the little they had in their houses, in their storerooms. Their livestock. Nothing more. There's not much grain here, for example. When it's clear at night, the frost burns it.»<sup>125</sup> For these and other reasons, the families affected by the armed groups'

<sup>122</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P415. Gender workshop with men. Huamanga (Ayacucho), October 23, 2002.

<sup>123</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P184. Interview with two brothers, one of whom is a member of a peasant self-defense group. Monobamba (Junín), June 6, 2002. They are villagers who forced the PCP-SL to leave.

<sup>124</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P431. Public hearing in Huamanga (Ayacucho). Second session, April 8, 2002, case 6. Victim of torture by the armed forces.

<sup>125</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P350. Interview with a villager, age 65. Sancos, Huancasancos (Ayacucho), March 2002.

actions believed that family and community development in the countryside had been «murdered.» The violence left people defenseless and often unable to recover.

In Tarma, according to one of the people interviewed, the subversion killed rural development. That was one of the first effects I could see, because in those movements, no one builds things. ... And those were promising rural areas. ... Tarma is full of people now because no one wants to live in Palca or Tambo or Huasahuasi any more; the guerrillas were strong there.<sup>126</sup>

The sense of community development was also changed by external factors that affected schools, which were important for social mobility and growth. The PCP-SL's actions not only corrupted the schools' function, it also made them dangerous places for the community. In the classrooms, villagers were lectured about the doctrine of subversion or even killed. As a result, both students and teachers fled.

[...] I didn't finish my studies because of the subversion, because of threats from the members of the community defense patrol and the military. [...] Young people fell behind out of fear. We didn't want to study any more. If they found us, they'd take us away and kill us. Our parents wouldn't even find out. We were afraid to go to school. We were afraid to go to the fields. They were like tigers — if they found us, they'd eat us. That was a great setback to the economy and to education.<sup>127</sup>

In places where there had been violent confrontations, young people were forced to do work and take on roles for which they were not prepared and which were not appropriate.

That's how we passed the most difficult and most critical moment at the ... at the hands of those murderers, of those damned terrorists who had all the children. More than 120 children were orphaned, all of them minors. I was my father's first-born son and I have younger brothers. There are 10 of us, and we were orphaned. The same thing happened to many other children, with eight or nine. And since then, we've had no education. We haven't been able to study. From that moment on, we really didn't have anything to hang onto, because my younger brothers were just little. They didn't know how to work. [...] Since then, I've had to take care of my brothers the way many other older brothers have. So many brothers really have been like fathers, supporting their younger brothers and sisters and helping them grow up. I think that 90 percent or 95 percent of the orphans haven't finished their studies. They stopped at primary school. Well, some in secondary, but they haven't finished. That's the way it is even now. [...]<sup>128</sup>

<sup>126</sup> CVR. BDI-I -P182. Interview with villager and former mayor in La Merced (Junín), June 2002.

<sup>127</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P776. Interview with female pre-school teacher, age 24, Cushiviani (Junín), October 17, 2002.

<sup>128</sup> CVR. BDI-II-P48. Public hearing in Huancavelica (Huancavelica). Second session, May 25, 2002, case 8. Testimony of Rubén Chupayo Ramos.

The transmission of ancestral knowledge was also transformed or mutilated, not only because elders no longer had the freedom and opportunity to teach, but also because of the breakdown of collective social patterns. That led many young people to stop participating in institutions that provided education or training, so as to avoid becoming involved in the violence.

There was a high dropout rate. Very high. Many people dropped out of the university. Others stayed, but when I talk to them now, they tell me, «Miss, we didn't learn anything during those years,» because people were concentrating more on escaping than on their studies. Nothing much happened during those years, and there was constant terror. Things would happen and we'd say, I wonder who it is: the PCP-SL, the MRTA or the Army. Everybody was frightened, wondering who would show up. If they came with hoods and sacks, it was the PCP-SL. If they came with black ski masks, it was the MRTA. And the Army, we already knew ... even before they arrived, the kids knew. The Army! The Army! The Army! And everyone who could leave did so.<sup>129</sup>

In other places, schools disappeared because of the violence, leaving young people adrift and increasing illiteracy rates. The impossibility of offering their children an education became a serious obstacle for families seeking ways to leave poverty behind.

[...] I was just a kid of 14 or 15 at the time, but my goal was to become a professional. But with the violence, my life changed. How I would have liked to have finished my studies, but I wasn't able to. As I told you, graffiti appeared on the walls of our schools, and that's why I wasn't able to finish. At the night school in Huanta, where I studied, the military patrols often went out into the streets and rounded up people. They could pick you up and beat the shit out of you without any reason, and that was terrifying. Because of that, I stopped studying. I dropped out in the fourth year of secondary school. I was almost finished, but there are many families that were left like that. All my brothers and sisters, we're backward because we dropped out of school. I feel that as a great pain now. If it hadn't been for the violence, one of my brothers, or maybe I, would have become a professional. We sacrificed that. We're in the fields every day as if we were nobody. We're not worth anything.<sup>130</sup>

The internal armed conflict, therefore, paralyzed the development of the rural world and left a serious impact on the productive structure, community organization, educational institutions and life plans of the people in the affected communities. If we add these repercussions to the ones analyzed in the preceding sections about human capital and the looting and destruction of the communities' property, we can conclude that the violence left economic desolation that affected an enormous number of people. Our society and state owe a debt of reparation.

<sup>129</sup> CVR. BDI-I-P444. Public hearing in Huamanga (Ayacucho). Third session, April 11, 2002, case 16. Testimony of the victim's relatives.

<sup>130</sup> CVR. BDI-I -P233. Focus groups, Huaycán, Ate (Lima), June 24, 2002. Male residents.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE CVR'S PROPOSALS: TOWARD RECONCILIATION

The CVR understands *reconciliation* as a process of re-establishing and refounding fundamental bonds among Peruvians, bonds that were destroyed or eroded by the conflict of the past decades. Reconciliation has three dimensions: 1) a political dimension, involving reconciliation among the state, society and political parties; 2) a social dimension, involving the reconciliation of public institutions and civil society entities with society as a whole, especially marginalized ethnic groups; and 3) an interpersonal dimension, involving the members of communities or institutions that were in confrontation. Such reconstruction, therefore, requires a social and political pact.

For reconciliation to be feasible, the country must address three vital issues: final resolution of the conflict, critical discussion of the concepts of reconciliation held by different political and social sectors, and the implementation of state policies that address the demands of civil society. The latter implies a profound reform of institutions, compliance with a plan for reparation of damages for the victims, and the application of criminal sanctions against those responsible for crimes and human rights violations.

Reconciliation in Peru must have certain basic characteristics that respond adequately, and therefore justly, to the country's particular situation. First, it must be multiethnic, pluricultural, multilingual and multid denominational, justly taking into account Peru's ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious diversity. Second, it must lead to the state's integration of the rural population. Third, it must give a role to historical memory, understood as a collective reconstruction by people who acknowledge and recognize their responsibility. Fourth, it must emphasize the value of women by recognizing their rights and their full and equitable participation in civic life. And fifth, it must be aimed at building citizenship, fostering a democratic culture and educating in values.

Bringing this concept of reconciliation to fruition demands specific actions, first by the state, and second by civil society. These actions or initiatives are set out in the following sections.

### INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

The proposal for institutional reforms is aimed at modifying the conditions that led to and exacerbated the internal conflict. The CVR's analysis of the violence between 1980 and 2000 found that the immediate cause lay in the action of minority subversive groups with a fundamentalist, totalitarian ideology that used terror and violence to impose their views. This was possible for two sets of reasons. First, the subversive groups exploited fragmentation and misunderstandings in Peruvian society and brought together disenfranchised sectors that were excluded from the social and political democratization that accompanied the return to a democratic regime. In doing so, they took advantage of areas that were marked by backwardness, stalled development and high levels of social conflict, also capitalizing on the absence of state agencies and political and social organizations that could serve as representatives of the people. The CVR's investigations show that subversion was unable to take root in places where there was a greater state presence and a more solid political and social fabric.

Within that context, we present a series of recommendations aimed at solidifying and expanding the state's presence, involving and respecting community and grassroots organizations, local identities and cultural diversity, and fostering citizen participation.

A second set of reasons for the violence is related to the state's inadequate response. The CVR therefore makes certain recommendations for reforming the armed forces, the National Police and the intelligence services in an effort to establish political, democratic and civilian leadership of national defense and the maintenance of internal order, based on respect for human rights and in coordination with political authorities and community leaders.

Another area in which the limitations of the state's response to the challenge of subversion are visible is in the administration of justice. The CVR's investigations show that the judicial system did not adequately use the law to defend the rights of the victims of crimes and violations committed by subversive groups or state agents. For all these reasons, the CVR also makes recommendations to strengthen the judicial system and reform the penitentiary system.

Finally, because the circumstances that gave rise to subversion also include elements related to public education, as we have mentioned, the CVR also makes recommendations for reforms of basic and higher education, especially in the country's poorest and most undeveloped regions.

In accordance with the CVR's mandate, its proposals for institutional reforms are related to the tragic events experienced by the country in the past two decades and represent changes or modifications to guidelines, institutional structures or regulations that will have an impact on a particular sphere, activity

or sector of state action. They are expressed as changes in the organization of institutions or as guidelines for public policy through constitutional reforms, legislation or other government norms or policies, depending on their degree and depth.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRENGTHENING THE PRESENCE OF DEMOCRATIC AUTHORITY

- Develop policies and norms for collaboration among the National Police, local governments and citizens, which is indispensable.
- Strengthen the institutional structure of peasant self-defense patrols and committees, with appropriate regulation. Study the medium-range possibility of creating a rural police force.
- Strengthen the position of Justice of the Peace and give it sufficient authority to resolve everyday conflicts.
- Improve access to justice, increasing the number of public defenders and the number of judiciary offices and allocating more resources for Community Legal Defense Offices (*Consultorios Jurídicos Populares*).
- Establish a Human Rights defense system by creating specialized agencies in the police, judiciary and Public Ministry, especially in the areas where the violence had the greatest impact.

The recommendations made so far refer to the tasks of maintaining internal order and ensuring access to justice. The state's presence, however, must be clear in the rural areas that were hardest hit by the violence, offering opportunities for development. To this end, we propose:

- Establishing short-term goals related to state policies approved in the National Accord, giving priority to their implementation in areas affected by the violence.
- Establishing in these areas institutional policies that ensure that the needs of groups that do not have a voice are included in local government plans and budgets.
- Recommending to regional governments of predominantly rural departments the implementation of plans for land zoning and titling, developed in consensus with local governments, so as to comprehensively address the needs of residents of areas with low population densities.
- Providing incentives to government personnel working in remote rural areas that were affected by the violence.
- Recognizing and integrating the rights of indigenous peoples and their communities into the country's legal framework.
- Creating a state agency or body to plan and implement policy related to indigenous and ethnic issues.

Besides these points, we present recommendations for strengthening political and community organizations so they can serve as intermediaries

between the state and society throughout the country:

- Develop a law for political parties and modify the system of representation.
- Strengthen the Consensus Roundtable to Fight against Poverty and for Development (*Mesas de Concertación de Lucha contra la Pobreza y por el Desarrollo*).
- Encourage the participation of young people in all areas of life (schools, neighborhoods, higher education, the workplace), stimulating leadership formation.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CONSOLIDATING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

The following recommendations seek to consolidate a balanced relationship between democratic authority and the armed forces; they are followed by recommendations for improving the relationship between the forces of order and society.

- Define the scope of the concept of national defense and the meaning of the corresponding policy, so that everything that is considered part of defense and that depends on military personnel and agencies falls under the Ministry of Defense.
- Develop a national security policy that includes a national strategy for pacification that is aimed at reconciliation and at consolidating the state's presence throughout the country.
- Train civilian experts in security and defense issues.
- Regulate states of emergency and immediately repeal of Law 24150, modified by Legislative Decree 749, which gives the armed forces responsibility for controlling internal order. It must be clear that states of emergency do not imply suspension of the Constitution or subordination of political authorities.
- Ensure democratic civilian control over military intelligence services. This includes:
  - o A law regulating intelligence activities, even those that are secret. The president of the National Intelligence Council (*Consejo Nacional de Inteligencia*) must have responsibility for approving operating plans for obtaining intelligence from non-public sources and for counterintelligence, as well as for being aware of and evaluating all operations carried out by bodies that obtain and process intelligence.
  - o Regulating and strengthening the role of the National Intelligence Council as the highest-level body.
  - o Strengthening the intelligence system of the National Police and the Ministry of the Interior.
  - o Establishing a professional career track for intelligence agents to ensure a corps of qualified, university-educated professionals.



- o Creating a national office to oversee the professional integrity and ethics of public officials, including centralized management of access to classified documents.
- In the Constitution (and, based on that, in lower-level regulations), distinguish National Defense from Internal Order and Citizen Security. This should lead to a policy under which the armed forces do not participate in affairs related to internal order and citizen security, except under serious circumstances expressly established by the Executive Branch within a state of emergency.
- Constitutionally and legally define the National Police as a non-militarized civilian institution. Modernize the police career track in accordance with the definition of the National Police as a civilian institution.
- Reinforce, with explicit mention in the Constitution, the function of the Ministry of the Interior as the political and administrative authority responsible for organizing and directing policy in accordance with the law to guarantee public order, crime prevention and law enforcement.
- Changes in military education and the military curriculum to instill in officers strong democratic values, respect for life and the physical integrity of the individual, and loyalty to democratic authority.
- A new code of ethics that gives a prominent place to the principles of democracy. This new code of ethics must include the following:
  - o Officers will swear to defend not only the country, but also the principles on which the nation is based, which are enshrined in the Constitution.
  - o Soldiers and officers will commit themselves to respecting human rights.
  - o Soldiers and officers will be taught that they cannot carry out unconstitutional or illegal orders.
  - o Soldiers and officers will be taught that the armed forces belong to the nation, not to the government.
  - o Soldiers and officers will be taught that they are also citizens and that, as such, they have rights and obligations.
  - o Reporting a superior for having committed crimes does not constitute insubordination.
- Create a Military Ombudsman's Office responsible for handling complaints and drawing up recommendations for relationships within branches of the military.
- Modernize continuing education and formation in ethics and human rights for the police as members of a civilian agency.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REFORM OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

These recommendations involve three areas: strengthening the judicial system's independence and autonomy, compliance with due process and respect for human rights, and changes in the penitentiary system.

- Strengthen the independence of the judicial system. This includes a system for the independent appointment, evaluation and sanctioning of magistrates and the re-establishment of civil service careers in the judiciary and Public Ministry.
- Establish a judiciary made up of permanently appointed magistrates, not temporary or substitute judges.
- Constitutionally and legally incorporate the military court system into the judiciary under the Supreme Court of Justice.
- Create an autonomous body responsible for the Victim and Witness Protection Program.
- Establish a temporary, specialized system to handle cases of human rights violations and crimes. This system should include:
  - A chamber of the Superior Court of Justice of Lima with national authority.
  - A Superior Court District Attorney's office as coordinator.
  - At least three specialized criminal courts, headed by magistrates who have sufficient knowledge of and experience in human rights and international humanitarian law.
- At least eight specialized district attorney's offices, of which three should be in Lima and five in provinces (two in Ayacucho and one each in Huánuco, Huancayo and Abancay).
- Establish a comprehensive system for addressing the issue of people who disappeared during the internal armed conflict between 1980 and 2000. We propose the creation of an autonomous National Commission for people who disappeared during those years, which would coordinate and supervise a National Plan for Forensic Anthropological Investigation, with the participation of the Public Ministry, the Ombudsman's Office, the International Red Cross, churches and civil society organizations.
- Incorporate into national legislation advances in international norms related to the administration of justice and due process. Expressly establish in the Constitution the constitutional hierarchy of treaties related to human rights.
- Begin an ongoing program of training for judges, district attorneys and lawyers in human rights, humanitarian law and democratic culture.
- Establish in the Public Ministry an area specializing in investigation of problems related to human rights.
- Permanent oversight by judges during states of emergency.

The following recommendations are related to reform of the penitentiary system:

- Define an institution specializing in penitentiary issues.
- Modernize the Criminal Sentencing Code, adapting it to the reality of the penitentiary system.
- Implement the enabling regulations of the Criminal Sentencing Code DS 023-2001-JUS.

A general norm, such as the Criminal Sentencing Code, requires the development of enabling regulations that precisely establish its scope and content, and provide the operators of the penitentiary system with clear, precise guidelines for action. It must also ensure that people using the system (inmates, relatives, human rights organizations, etc.) have a public tool that permits oversight of the actions of penitentiary officials in areas related to defense of the rights of those deprived of liberty.

- Establish the procedures and institutional framework necessary for studying and responding to requests for pardons from people sentenced for terrorism who claim innocence.
- Reaffirm in the Constitution that the purpose of the penitentiary system is the inmate's re-education, rehabilitation and reincorporation into society (this is noted in the 1979 and 1993 Constitutions).
- End the indiscriminate transfer of inmates, enabling them to remain near their relatives and, in the case of those sentenced for terrorism, facilitating their concentration in a few installations to ensure better treatment and greater security.
- Specific treatment for inmates convicted of terrorism and treason, differentiating among situations and behavior (PCP-SL and MRTA inmates, those who have renounced their ties, those who took advantage of the Repentance Law and those who claim to be innocent); encourage alternative measures (restoration of prison benefits and the possibility of commuted sentences).
- Improve conditions for the prison population in terms of access to basic services (nutrition and health).

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM TO FOSTER DEMOCRATIC VALUES

- Emphasize education policies aimed at transforming the school into a place where the student's human dignity is respected and which contributes to the student's holistic development.
- Establish a Study Plan that stimulates learning and guides knowledge toward well-being, holistic education and reducing the propensity for violence.

- Foster an education that respects ethnic and cultural differences. Adapt all aspects of schooling to the country's ethno-linguistic, cultural and geographic diversity.
- Reinforce opportunities for participation in and democratization of the school.
- Discipline based on punishment and threats does not contribute to the development of a culture of peace; rather, it creates violence. We propose prohibiting and sanctioning all forms of physical punishment and humiliating or violent practices used as forms of discipline.

The rural school, especially in the areas most affected by the violence, is a particularly critical area. A special program should be implemented that includes:

- Urgent assistance for the most vulnerable population, beginning with the youngest children in the poorest areas. Particularly encourage pre-school education for children under age 5, taking into account the country's ethno-linguistic and cultural diversity, and developing strategies for comprehensive assistance (health and nutrition) both in school and out of school, as appropriate.
- Stimulate a literacy plan, giving priority to adolescent and adult women in rural areas.
- Redefine the content, methodology and coverage of education, taking into consideration skills for entry into the labor market and emphasizing the rural population.
- Restore the dignity and improve the quality of rural schools. This implies changing and adapting lesson plans to encourage learning that relates to the students' real-life situation; restore the dignity of rural schools, ensuring that they become places where students can study with decorum; adequately and creatively motivate educators to work in rural schools, so that these schools attract better or the best teachers; and encourage state education and health agencies to actively support rural schools.

#### COMPREHENSIVE PLAN FOR REPARATIONS

The *Final Report* includes a Comprehensive Plan for Reparations for victims of the violence. Its implementation will depend on the clear political will to carry it out and the cumulative effect of many contributions and efforts. The CVR believes that *victims* include all people or groups of people who, because of the internal armed conflict experienced by the country between May 1980 and November 2000, have suffered from actions or omissions that violate norms of international human rights law. *Beneficiaries* are all victims who will receive some type of benefit, symbolic and/or material, individual and/or collective, under the Comprehensive Plan for Reparations. Besides the direct victims of the violations that have been documented, the conflict affected a wider universe: relatives of

victims and groups of people who, because of the concentration of massive violations in their communities, suffered joint harm and the violation of their collective rights. The beneficiaries may be individuals or groups. The individual sphere includes harm done directly to the person or his or her closest relatives; the collective sphere recognizes harm done to the common social fabric. These spheres are not mutually exclusive. Beneficiaries can be subject to both individual and collective reparation, as long as the same benefit is not duplicated. The plan consists of six programs.

#### SYMBOLIC REPARATIONS

The CVR proposes certain symbolic actions in the form of a series of civic rituals aimed at re-establishing the social pact and demonstrating the will of the state and society to ensure that violence and human rights violations of the type that occurred between 1980 and 2000 are not repeated.

The purpose of symbolic reparations is to help restore social bonds between the state and the people and among people that were broken by the violence. This is done through public acknowledgement of the damage inflicted on them by the action of subversive groups and the action or omission of the state, in an effort to foster national reconciliation and strengthen a sense of solidarity with the victims among Peruvian society as a whole.

This program consists of: public gestures, acts of recognition, memorials and actions that lead toward reconciliation.

#### REPARATIONS IN HEALTH

The purpose of this program is to help the people affected by the internal armed conflict recover their mental and physical health, re-establish social support networks and strengthen capacities for personal and community development. All of this will help the victims develop the self-determination necessary to rebuild their individual and collective life plans, which were truncated by the armed conflict.

#### REPARATIONS IN EDUCATION

The overall objective of the reparations program in the area of education is to facilitate and provide new or better opportunities for access to education for people who, because of the internal armed conflict, lost the chance to receive an adequate education or finish their studies.

The components of access to and restoration of the right to an education are: exemption from enrollment and tuition fees for beneficiaries, a comprehensive scholarship program, and adult education.

#### RESTORATION OF CITIZENS' RIGHTS

The overall objective of the program is to enable people affected by actions or omissions of the state during the internal armed conflict to regain full and

effective civil and political rights, through the legal restoration of those rights. This involves providing a sector of society with preferential access or priority treatment, ensuring that it is on equal footing with all other citizens.

The program includes: normalizing the legal situation of the disappeared; normalizing the legal situation of people for whom there are outstanding arrest warrants; expunging police, legal and criminal records; normalizing the situation of people who lack identity papers; providing legal advice; exemption from fees.

#### PROGRAM OF ECONOMIC REPARATIONS

Economic reparations are part of the state's acknowledgement of damages inflicted on, losses suffered by and moral harm done to the victims of the internal armed conflict. These reparations symbolize the effort and public willingness to re-establish justice and provide reparations for harm suffered by citizens. Granting economic reparations also contributes to a new social pact based on respect for and guaranteed enforcement of human rights and the rule of law, and the reduction of exclusion.

The objective of the program of economic reparations is economic compensation for moral and material harm caused to victims and their relatives as a result of the internal armed conflict, to help the victims and their families establish a new life and face the future with dignity and well-being.

Beneficiaries of the program of economic reparations are:

- Relatives of victims who were killed or disappeared.
- People who suffered partial or total permanent disability as the result of rape, torture, wounds or injuries classified by the CVR that occurred during the period of internal armed conflict.
- Innocent people who have been imprisoned.
- Victims of rape.
- Children conceived as a result of rape.

The beneficiaries will also be considered for non-monetary economic reparations in the form of services.

#### COMPONENTS

The program of economic reparations of the Comprehensive Plan for Reparations consists of the following components, explained in detail in the CVR's *Final Report*:

- Economic reparation in the form of pensions and/or indemnity, consisting of five measures: 1. For relatives of those who were killed or disappeared; 2. For people who suffered permanent partial or total mental and/or physical disability; 3. For people who were unjustly imprisoned; 4. For victims of rape; 5. For children conceived as a result of rape.

- Economic reparation in the form of services, consisting of complementary services granting preferential access to state housing and employment programs.

#### PROGRAM OF COLLECTIVE REPARATIONS

The objective is to contribute to the reconstruction and consolidation of collective institutions in communities, neighborhoods and other population centers that lost all or part of their social and physical infrastructure because of the violence, and compensate for the erosion of capital suffered by entire populations, placing at their disposal the technical resources and capital necessary for comprehensive reconstruction.

Beneficiaries of the program of collective reparations include peasant communities, native communities and other population centers affected by the armed conflict, as well as organized groups of displaced people from affected communities who did not return to their homes and who will receive benefits in the places where they have settled.

The components of the program are:

- Consolidation of institutions.
- Restoration and reconstruction of productive infrastructure.
- Restoration and expansion of basic services.
- Employment and income generation.

#### NATIONAL COORDINATING AND SUPERVISORY BODY

To make the reparations plan feasible, the CVR recommends the creation of a national steering committee to coordinate and oversee implementation of the comprehensive reparations plan. This body must receive legal advice for the qualification of victims, based on the same criteria used by the CVR, and for the qualification and accreditation of beneficiaries.

The CVR recommends that guidance be provided to potential beneficiaries of the comprehensive plan for reparations to ensure that they have access to the benefits to which they are entitled, as well as the implementation of programs to provide information and training, in coordination with agencies of the Executive Branch, through the network of free legal clinics operated by the Ministry of Justice and with support from the Ombudsman's Office.

The comprehensive plan for reparations must ensure confidentiality in granting benefits to avoid any social stigma or discrimination against beneficiaries.

To finance the Comprehensive Plan for Reparations, the CVR recommends creating a National Reparations Fund administered by the national steering committee. The fund would be drawn mainly from public resources, as that is the only way to ensure medium-range financial viability and demonstrate that implementing reparations is primarily the state's responsibility. The CVR therefore recommends allocating funds for reparations in the national budget. As a complement, the CVR believes that the Reparations Fund could be partly

financed by extraordinary funds. It therefore recommends that some of the corruption-related money that is repatriated be earmarked for the fund. These resources are currently available through the Special Fund for Management of Illicitly Obtained Money (*Fondo Especial de Administración del Dinero Obtenido Ilícitamente*, FEDADOI).

Finally, the CVR calls on the international community to stand in solidarity with the victims of the violence by participating actively in complementary funding for the Comprehensive Plan for Reparations. The CVR believes that international cooperation can contribute to the plan's financing in various ways, one of which could be the creation of a mechanism for conversion of the external debt for projects directly related to the reparations policy.

#### NATIONAL PLAN FOR FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

The complexity of the internal armed conflict, especially with regard to the problem of forced disappearances and extrajudicial executions, as well as the number of victims, demands tools for approaching forensic anthropological investigation from various angles adapted to the socio-cultural situation.

One of the most important issues is the exhumation and identification, for both humanitarian and legal purposes, of victims of serious violations of basic rights. The humanitarian task is primordial and involves locating and identifying human remains and returning them to the victims' relatives. This helps the families obtain the legal documents necessary to resolve inheritance problems created by the disappearance of family members.

At the same time, it is vital that this humanitarian goal be accompanied by the objective of obtaining justice. Appropriate judicial processes are needed that include the findings as part of the accumulated evidence, in order to establish the events and circumstances surrounding the victims' disappearance (including time, place and perpetrators).

Public institutions have particular responsibility in this process, but the collaboration of humanitarian organizations and the international community is also important.

The CVR has created a National Registry of Burial Sites based on information obtained during its investigations. By the end of its mandate, the CVR had recorded 4,644 burial sites nationwide and had verified 2,200 of them.

The areas where the National Registry of Burial Sites has been implemented include the following jurisdictions:

- Northeastern (San Martín, Huánuco, Ucayali).
- Central (Cerro de Pasco, Junín, Huancavelica).
- South-Central (Ayacucho, Apurímac, Huancavelica).
- Southern Andean (Apurímac, Cusco, Puno, Madre de Dios).

The information gathered has been processed in a database specially designed for this purpose, which includes general descriptions of each site, graphic and photographic information, and a geographic database that requires



additional analysis in order to obtain specific results. A Pre-Mortem Database has also been developed, which includes information from 1,504 forms of a total of 1,884 forms collected by the CVR during its mandate.

## GENERAL GUIDELINES

### Coordination and supervision

Formation of a permanent multi-disciplinary, inter-institutional task force (Public Ministry, Ombudsman's Office and representatives of civil society) to coordinate and oversee the forensic anthropological investigations.

### Participation of forensic experts

The participation of forensic experts in the various phases of the forensic anthropological investigation is of vital importance. The experts must be drawn from the forensic fields of medicine, anthropology, archeology and dentistry, as well as various fields of criminal science.

### Stages of investigation

The forensic anthropological investigation must be carried out in a series of successive stages that ensure an optimal approach to and appropriate construction of the cases. The stages to be followed in the forensic anthropological investigation are:

- Preliminary investigation and national registry and inspection of sites.
- Inspection and exhumation.
- Analysis and identification of victims.

## DEVELOPMENT OF REGULATORY, LEGAL AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS

### Regulatory and legal aspects

The legal norms for the implementation of the National Plan for Forensic Anthropological Investigation should include:

- Creation of a National Commission on Disappeared Persons to handle cases of people who disappeared during the internal armed conflict that occurred between 1980 and 2000.
- Creation of an Office of Disappeared Persons to handle cases of people who disappeared during the internal armed conflict. The office should consist of the following operational units: Specialized Unit for Preliminary Investigation of Disappeared Persons; Unit for Evaluation, Analysis, Exhumation and Recovery of Human Remains and Evidence; Post-Mortem

Analysis Unit; Unit for Identification of Victims; Legal Unit; and Data Processing and Technical Support Unit.

- The database should become a tool for continuing processes that began during the CVR's mandate. It should include, insofar as possible, processes carried out by other institutions, ensuring their impartial overall scientific management and making them a key issue of national interest.

### **Legal investigation**

It is vital to reinforce the technical and legal aspects of the district attorney's office, as well as its infrastructure and material and human resources. With regard to the latter, the Special District Attorney's Office must have a team that covers the various geographic jurisdictions where cases of human rights violations are reported. These district attorneys must have a deep ethical and professional commitment to the investigations they carry out and, therefore, broad knowledge of their scope and limitations.

### **Accreditation of investigators**

The investigator named for the cases must be skilled in the field of forensic archeology and anthropology (archeological exploration and excavation in the forensic area, mapping, geography and graphic records, as well as estimating age, sex, stature, laterality, pathologies and other distinguishing characteristics, and the observation of lesions and causes of death in skeletal remains). The person must have training in international human rights law and international humanitarian law.

### **Investigative report**

The investigative report provided to the specialized district attorney will include legal medical and forensic anthropological issues resulting from the joint work. It will include, as an appendix, dental and ballistics analyses, a description of the victim's clothing and personal effects, and documents associated with the bodies to provide the necessary support for the investigative report.

### **Final disposition of the remains and legal status of the disappeared**

A technical and legal mechanism must be established to allow for the temporary burial of human remains when it has not been possible to identify them.

### **Protection of information**

All documentary information and testimony generated by the National Registry of Burial Sites and witnesses' accounts, including the pre-mortem forms and post-mortem analysis and genetic information, must be protected.

## Technical aspects

It will be necessary to consider:

- The adoption of protocols and forms for documenting and preparing reports.
- The development and adaptation of logistical infrastructure.
- The preparation of grant proposals to obtain funding.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NATIONAL PLAN FOR FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

### Evaluation phase

Evaluation of the cases under investigation, cases in which human remains are at risk of disappearing or being seriously altered, and cases that have the most solid justification based on preliminary investigation. This phase of the investigation will make it possible to establish strategies for beginning subsequent processes of exhumation and analysis.

### Operational phase

As a result of the first phase, there will be a significant number of sites and cases available for investigation. During this phase, specific strategies for investigation can be adopted, implemented and incorporated into cases to be included in Regional Investigation Plans.

### Number of investigations per year

The number of investigations performed monthly or annually will depend on the complexity of the cases, as well as logistical possibilities. It may be possible to do several «small» investigations in a short time, while other investigations may require more time and resources. It is important to clarify that two or more investigations can be undertaken only when the necessary operational infrastructure is available, taking into account the requirements of such cases. It is crucial that investigations not be left unfinished, and that once the plan is under way, at least one investigation a month be carried out.

## MECHANISMS FOR FOLLOWING UP THE CVR'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Various types of recommendations have been made, and because of their diversity and complexity they require an orderly, consistent process. The CVR therefore recommends the following:

- That a reasonable period be allowed for completing the CVR's technical and administrative work.
- The formation of an Inter-Institutional Task Force similar to the one that gave rise to the CVR, which can draw up proposals for legislation in a short time.

- That Congress consider adopting a law providing for the creation of a public entity to centralize long-term decision-making.

#### THE TRANSITION: TECHNICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CLOSURE

The CVR's work allowed it to gather abundant information that is now part of an extensive set of documents that will be transferred to the Ombudsman's Office for safekeeping and management. Much of this information must be copied or converted into an electronic format for storage, and some is confidential and must be delivered directly to the Ombudsman's Office in an orderly manner. It is also important to prepare administrative, accounting and financial reports, with scrupulous accountability for the funds received through various cooperation agreements signed as part of United Nations Development Program projects. Other goods must be transferred in an orderly manner to the office of the Cabinet chief in order to determine where and how they can legally be used. The CVR recommends that the majority of those goods be transferred to the Ombudsman's Office because of its role in following up the CVR's recommendations.

#### THE INTER-INSTITUTIONAL TASK FORCE

The CVR was established on the basis of a proposal developed by a task force created through Supreme Resolution 304-2000-JUS dated December 9, 2000. The CVR suggests that the Executive Branch also form an Inter-Institutional Task Force to organize its recommendations, help disseminate the *Final Report* and transfer specific proposals to the appropriate public agencies. This Task Force could be created through an administrative procedure and could be given a period of no more than five months to fulfill its tasks. It could be established immediately, without jeopardizing the technical and administrative work described in the preceding section. It could be composed of the sectors of the Executive Branch that are included in some of the recommendations (ministries of Women's Issue and Social Development, Justice, Economy and Finance, Interior, Defense, etc.), the Ombudsman's Office and representatives of churches (the National Evangelical Council and Peruvian Conference of Bishops) and civil society, especially human rights organizations. It should be headed by an independent figure appointed by the Executive Branch and should have a minimal professional team under the responsibility of the Ombudsman's Office.

At the end of its term, this Task Force could present the following results:

- Plan for implementing the recommendations involving the Executive Branch, including each sector's responsibilities, a timeline for implementation and an oversight mechanism.
- Proposals for legislation that the Executive Branch could submit to Congress for its consideration; these would be related to the various aspects recommended by the CVR in its *Final Report* that require legislative initiatives.

- Proposals for administrative decisions that fall under the jurisdiction of the judiciary or other constitutionally autonomous institutions.
- National plan for dissemination of the *Final Report*, its conclusions and recommendations.
- No member of the CVR may be part of this Task Force or any other mechanism for following up the recommendations. This is a unanimous decision of the commissioners.

## THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RECONCILIATION

En enero de 2003, la CVR inició los estudios para elaborar un proyecto de ley que permitiera un impulso sustancial a la ejecución de sus recomendaciones. El proyecto fue materia de diversas consultas con organismos del Poder Ejecutivo, congresistas y sociedad civil, y fue incluso adoptado parcialmente en dos iniciativas legislativas que actualmente están en la agenda del Congreso de la República (proyectos 7045 y 6857). Se reproduce a continuación dicha versión original:

### LAW ESTABLISHING THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RECONCILIATION

#### TITLE I

#### PURPOSE OF THIS LAW

##### Single Chapter

#### **Article 1:** Purpose of this Law

- 1.1. This Law creates and regulates the National Council for Reconciliation as the public body responsible for overseeing the implementation of the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It also delegates power to the Executive Branch to legislate in this area.
- 1.2. The recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, hereafter the CVR), created through D.S. 065-2001-PCM, are implemented in conformity with the provisions of this Law, in accordance with criteria of progressiveness and equity.
- 1.3. The conclusions and recommendations of the CVR, which are included as an appendix to this Law, as well as the report on which they are based, constitute public documents for the purpose for which they have been prepared.

#### TITLE II

#### ON THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RECONCILIATION

##### Chapter I

##### Creation, objectives and composition

#### **Article 2:** Creation of the National Council for Reconciliation

- 1.1. The National Council for Reconciliation (hereafter referred to as the Council) is created as a decentralized public agency under the office of the president of the Cabinet, with due public legal identity and with technical, administrative, economic and financial autonomy for the purpose of centralizing decision-making regarding the implementation of the CVR's recommendations.
- 1.2. The Council has national authority and is headquartered in the city of Lima.

**Article 3: Objectives of the National Council for Reconciliation**

The objectives of the Council are as follows:

- a) To implement and carry out the recommendations of the CVR through actions, regulations and policies that bring together proposals from public and private institutions.
- b) To formulate and implement specific policies designed to strengthen the process of national reconciliation.
- c) To coordinate and implement the comprehensive policy for reparations, subject to the provisions of this Law and according to the financial resources available.
- d) To propose institutional reforms based on the CVR's recommendations, including the formulation of the corresponding legislative initiatives, which will be submitted to the Council of Ministers for its consideration.

**Article 4: Composition of the National Council for Reconciliation**

The Council consists of the following member:

- a) One independent figure of acknowledged prestige and moral standing who will preside over the council, appointed by the President of the Republic.
- b) Two representatives of the Executive Branch, in representation of the Council's Inter-Ministerial Support Committee. These representatives must have at least the rank of vice minister.
- c) The Ombudsman.
- d) The Executive Secretary of the National Human Rights Coordinating Committee (Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos).

**Chapter II****Advisory Committee of Victims of the Violence****Article 5: Advisory Committee of Victims of the Violence**

The Advisory Committee of Victims of the Violence is made up of seven representatives of victims of crimes and/or human rights violations committed between May 1980 and November 2000. The Advisory Committee contributes to the fulfillment of the Council's objectives, receives the information it requests and responds to all requests for advice submitted to it.

The members of the Advisory Committee are appointed by the President of the Republic on the recommendation of organizations of victims, taking into consideration criteria for ensuring equitable representation.

**Article 6: Inter-Ministerial Support Committee for the National Council for Reconciliation**

An Inter-Ministerial Committee of Support for the Council is created, to be headed by the president of the Cabinet and made up of the ministers of Defense, Interior, Justice, Economy and Finance, and Women's Issues and Social Development. The Inter-Mi-

nisterial Committee chooses from among its members two representatives to the Council. Its purpose is to make the Council's decisions viable and to coordinate the support of the Executive Branch.

**Article 7: Functions and attributes of the National Council for Reconciliation**

The Council has the following functions and attributes:

- a) To issue norms and administrative directives for implementing the CVR's recommendations.
- b) To draft proposals for legislation for implementing the Council's programs, as well as other types of norms that will receive priority consideration from the appropriate sector.
- c) To approve the annual plan of activities and budget, as well as any other initiative prepared by the Council for third parties.
- d) To guide the Council's overall policy, including programs created for implementation of its recommendations.
- e) To present semi-annual reports to the Permanent Commission of Congress on the progress of the Council's activities, detailing obstacles encountered and indicating, where appropriate, which public institutions have not contributed as necessary. The Permanent Commission of Congress will call on the head of the corresponding sector to explain any such failure to comply.
- f) To publicly disseminate an annual report of the results and progress of its work.
- g) To appoint, oversee and, if necessary, dismiss the Executive Director of the Council.

**Article 8: Director of the National Council for Reconciliation**

The Director of the Council represents the body and guides its activities. The director manages the budget and implements annual plans approved by the full Council. The director is a member of the Council with voice but no vote.

**Article 9: Programs of the National Council for Reconciliation**

The Council has the following programs:

- a) Comprehensive Program of Reparations (Programa Integral de Reparaciones, PIR)
- b) Historical Memory Program (Programa de Memoria Histórica, PMH)
- c) Justice Program (Programa de Justicia, PJ)
- d) Institutional Reform Program (Programa de Reformas Institucionales, PRI)

**Article 10: Funding and property of the National Council for Reconciliation**

The Council's resources include:

- a) Property that was acquired by the Truth Commission or allocated for its use by international cooperation agencies or the Executive Branch. The transfer of



- property will be included in the budget of the office of the president of the Cabinet.
- b) Resources allocated in the General Budget of the Republic, within the budget of the office of the president of the Cabinet; for this purpose, the Council will be considered a Decentralized Public Body.
  - c) Resources transferred by public institutions under specific agreements or as extraordinary existing resources.
  - d) Resources obtained from international cooperation agencies.
  - e) Donations and transfers from private individuals or institutions.

**Article 11: Internal Regulations of the Council**

The Council approves its Internal Regulations and all other administrative norms required for its operation. These norms are published in the official gazette, *El Peruano*.

FINAL AND TEMPORARY PROVISIONS

**FIRST: Term of the Council**

The President of the Council and the representatives of the Executive Branch will be appointed within 30 days after this law takes effect.

The Council will begin operation immediately upon the appointment of its members. It will have a period of three months for internal organization. After that period, the Council will have four years to carry out its objectives. This term cannot be extended.

**SECOND: Delegation of legislative powers and complementary norms**

The Executive Branch is granted the power to legislate by Legislative Decree, within a period of 90 days from the date this law takes effect, in the following areas:

- a) Components of the Comprehensive Program for Reparations, including the amounts to be paid to individuals and groups of victims qualified by the CVR and those to be qualified by the Council. This program will also include symbolic and legal reparations, as well as reparations related to physical and mental health and education.
- b) Implementation of the Historical Memory Program, including legislative modifications to current norms that make it possible to normalize the legal status of people who disappeared as a result of the violence and to ensure the implementation of the National Plan for Forensic Anthropological Investigation presented by the CVR.
- c) Creation and implementation of a specialized judicial system that permits the investigation, prosecution and sanctioning of serious crimes and human rights violations determined by the CVR.

Within 120 days, the Executive Branch will issue the remaining regulatory norms necessary for implementation of this law and the respective Legislative Decrees.

**THIRD:** Repealing of other norms

Law No. 25237, Legislative Decree No. 652 and all legal or administrative provisions that are in opposition to this Law are hereby repealed.<sup>1</sup>

**FOURTH:** Effective date of this Law

This law will take effect on the day after its publication.

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<sup>1</sup> The repeal of the indicated laws will eliminate the Council for Peace (*Consejo por la Paz*). An analysis of the indicated norms reveals no relevant functions that should be assumed by the National Council for Reconciliation.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

As a result of its investigation into the process of violence of political origin that was experienced in Peru between the years 1980 and 2000, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission [*Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, CVR*] has come to the following conclusions.

### THE DIMENSIONS OF THE CONFLICT

1. The CVR has established that the internal armed conflict experienced by Peru between 1980 and 2000 constituted the most intense, extensive and prolonged episode of violence in the entire history of the Republic. It was also a conflict that revealed deep and painful divides and misunderstandings in Peruvian society.
2. The CVR estimates that the most probable figure for victims who died in the violence is 69,280 individuals. These figures are greater than the number of human losses suffered by Peru in all of the foreign and civil wars that have occurred in its 182 years of independence.
3. The CVR affirms that the conflict covered a larger share of the national territory than any other conflict, caused enormous economic losses through the destruction of infrastructure and deterioration of the population's productive capacity, and came to involve the society as a whole.
4. The CVR has established that there was a significant relationship between poverty and social exclusion and the probability of becoming a victim of violence. More than 40 percent of the deaths and disappearances reported to the CVR are concentrated in the Andean department of Ayacucho. These victims taken together with those documented by the CVR in the

- departments of Junín, Huánuco, Huancavelica, Apurímac and San Martín, add up to 85 percent of the victims registered by the CVR.<sup>1</sup>
5. The CVR has established that the peasant population was the principal victim of the violence. Of the total victims reported, 79 percent lived in rural areas and 56 percent were engaged in farming or livestock activities. These figures contrast with those of the 1993 census, according to which 29 percent of the population lived in rural areas and 28 percent of the economically active population worked in the farming/livestock sector.
  6. The CVR has been able to discern that the process of violence, combined with socioeconomic gaps, highlighted the seriousness of ethno-cultural inequalities that still prevail in the country. According to analysis of the testimonies received, 75 percent of the victims who died in the internal armed conflict spoke Quechua or other native languages as their mother tongue. This figure contrasts tellingly with the fact that, according to the 1993 census, on a national level only 16 percent of the Peruvian population shares that characteristic.
  7. The CVR has shown that, in relative terms, the dead and disappeared had educational levels far inferior to the national average. While the national census of 1993 indicates that only 40 percent of the national population had failed to attain secondary school education, the CVR has found that 68 percent of the victims were below this level.
  8. The CVR concludes that the violence fell unequally on different geographical areas and on different social strata in the country. If the ratio of victims to population reported to the CVR with respect to Ayacucho were similar countrywide, the violence would have caused 1,200,000 deaths and disappearances. Of that amount, 340,000 would have occurred in the city of Lima.
  9. The CVR has established that the tragedy suffered by the populations of rural Peru, the Andean and jungle regions, Quechua and Asháninka Peru, the peasant, poor and poorly educated Peru, was neither felt nor taken on as its own by the rest of the country. This demonstrates, in the CVR's judgment, the veiled racism and scornful attitudes that persist in Peruvian society almost two centuries after its birth as a Republic.
  10. The CVR has found that the conflict demonstrated serious limitations of the State in its capacity to guarantee public order and security, as well as the fundamental rights of its citizens within a framework of democratic action.
  11. The CVR has also found the constitutional order and the rule of law to be precarious, and breached in those moments of crisis.

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<sup>1</sup> It must be noted that the people who live in those departments today are so poor that together they account for only 9 percent of the income of all Peruvian families. Moreover, Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huánuco are four of the five poorest departments in the country.

## THE PARTIDO COMUNISTA DEL PERU-SENDERO LUMINOSO [COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU-SHINING PATH, PCP-SL]

12. The CVR believes that the immediate and fundamental cause of the unleashing of the internal armed conflict was the PCP-SL's decision to start the armed struggle against the Peruvian State, in opposition to the will of the overwhelming majority of Peruvians, men and women, and at a time in which democracy was being restored through free elections.
13. In the CVR's view, based on the number of persons killed and disappeared, the PCP-SL was the principal perpetrator of crimes and violations of human rights. It was responsible for 54 percent of victim deaths reported to the CVR. This high degree of responsibility on the part of the PCP-SL is an exceptional case among subversive groups in Latin America, and one of the most notable unique features of the process that the CVR has had to analyze.
14. The CVR has proven that the PCP-SL deployed extreme violence and unusual cruelty, including torture and brutality as forms of punishing or setting intimidating examples within the population they sought to control.
15. The CVR has found that the PCP-SL went against the great historical tendencies of the country. Putting in practice an iron political will, it expressed itself as a militarist and totalitarian project with terrorist characteristics that failed to gain the lasting support of important sectors of Peruvians.
16. The CVR believes that the PCP-SL rested its project on an ideology that was fundamentalist in character, centered on a rigid preconception of the unfolding of history, confined in a vision of political action that was solely strategic and, thus, at odds with all humanitarian values. The PCP-SL disdained the value of life and denied human rights.
17. The CVR has established that the PCP-SL achieved its internal cohesion through the so-called «Gonzalo Thought,» which reflected the cult of personality of Abimael Guzman Reinoso, founder and leader of the organization, who was considered «the incarnation of the highest intellectual order in the history of humanity».
18. The CVR has determined that, in accordance with its ideology, the PCP-SL adopted a strategy that consciously and constantly sought to provoke disproportionate responses by the State without taking into consideration the profound suffering this caused to the population for which it said it was fighting.
19. The CVR believes that the PCP-SL carried fundamentalist ideology and totalitarian organization to their extremes. In its subversive action there is a tragic blindness: it sees classes, not individuals. This led to its absolute lack of respect for the human person and for the right to life, including

- that of its militants. The PCP-SL encouraged a fanatical vein [in its militants] that became their identifying feature.
21. The CVR also finds a potential for genocide in proclamations of the PCP-SL that call for «paying the blood toll» (1982), «inducing genocide» (1985) and that announce, «the triumph of the revolution will cost a million deaths» (1988). This is combined with conceptions of racism and superiority over indigenous peoples.
  22. The CVR has found that the PCP-SL took advantage of some institutions in the educational system as its principal beachhead. Through those institutions it was able to expand its proselytizing and draw in small groups of young people of both sexes in different parts of the country. While it may have offered young people a utopia that provided them a totalizing identity, it essentially enclosed them in a fundamentalist and oppressive organization through letters that declared their submission to the control of Abimael Guzman Reinoso.
  23. The CVR has established that the PCP-SL's proselytizing could have a fleeting acceptance, because of the incapacity of the State and the country's elites to respond to the educational demands of youth frustrated in their efforts toward social mobility and aspirations for advancement.
  24. The CVR has found that the PCP-SL adopted Maoist theses and converted rural areas into the principal setting for the conflict. Nevertheless, it did not take into consideration the needs and economic aspirations of the peasant population, or that population's own organizations or cultural specificities and instead, turned the peasants into a mass that must submit to the will of the party. Individual dissidence within the mass resulted in murders and selective assassinations, and collective dissidence led to massacres and razing of entire communities.
  25. The CVR has established that the presence of the PCP-SL in the Andes and the counter-subversive response by the State brought back to life and militarized old conflicts, both inter-community and intra-community. The PCP-SL labeled as class enemies sectors that were relatively more connected to the market economy or to regional or national networks or institutions, and ordered their destruction. Its peasant war against the State became, in many cases, confrontations between peasants.
  26. The CVR has established that the extreme violence practiced by the PCP-SL in rural communities in the Andes also extended into the urban centers. Lima and other cities were also complementary settings and suffered sabotage, selective killings, armed stoppages and terrorist acts, especially in the form of car bombs.
  27. The CVR notes that the ideological concept of the PCP-SL implied the destruction of the old State at its foundations. This led them to assassinate local authorities — mayors, governors, lieutenant governors, and justices of the peace — and national authorities — government ministers,

parliamentarians and other representatives of the powers of the State.<sup>2</sup> Out of all the reports received by the CVR on victim fatalities caused by the PCP-SL, government authorities accounted for 12 percent. Additionally, the PCP-SL engaged in massive assassinations of social leaders (both men and women), community leaders, traditional mayors, and leaders of peasant, union, neighborhood, educators' and women's organizations.

28. Because of the generalized and systematic nature of these practices, the CVR points out that members of the PCP-SL, and especially its national directors and its designated leadership, have direct responsibility for the commission of crimes against humanity in the form of armed attacks against the civilian population, carried out on a grand scale or as part of a general strategy or specific plans. In the judgment of the CVR, these actions likewise constitute grave violations of the Geneva Conventions, which were obligatory for all the participants in the hostilities.<sup>3</sup> The perfidy with which the PCP-SL acted on the ground, using the civilian population as a shield, avoiding the use of uniforms or other marks to identify themselves, and attacking traitors, among other similar methods, such as recourse to terrorist actions, constituted a calculated mechanism that sought to provoke brutal reactions from the security forces against the civilian population, increasing to an extraordinary extent the suffering of the communities in whose territories the hostilities took place.
- 29/30. The CVR finds that the members of the leadership system of the PCP-SL hold the gravest responsibility for the conflict that bled Peruvian society, based on the following elements:
- for having initiated the violence in opposition to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the population;
  - for having formulated their fight against Peruvian democracy with a bloody strategy;
  - for the violent practices of occupation and control of rural territories and peasant communities, with a high cost in lives and human suffering;
  - for their genocidal policy that involved acts to provoke the State;
  - for their decision to proclaim the so-called strategic equilibrium that stressed the terrorist character of their actions.
31. The CVR points out the profound irresponsibility and contempt of the PCP-SL toward its own militants, who were induced to kill and die in the most cruel and bloody manner, while their top leadership, especially Abimael Guzmán Reinoso, remained in Lima, exempt from physical risks and privations, throughout practically the entire conflict. This incongruence was expressed patently when, after his capture, Abimael

<sup>2</sup> The CVR has received reports of 930 local authorities assassinated by the PCP-SL; nevertheless, the CVR estimates that the real figure is much higher.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to norms of International Humanitarian Law found in Article 3 Common to the Geneva Conventions.

- Guzmán Reinoso almost immediately abandoned the thesis of strategic equilibrium and requested a peace agreement from the government together with an explicit recognition of and great praise for the dictatorial government of Alberto Fujimori and Vladimiro Montesinos.
32. The CVR expresses its sorrow for the thousands of youth who were seduced by a proposal that set out the profound problems of the country and proclaimed that, «rebellion is justified.» Many of those youth, driven by the desire to transform that unjust reality, did not realize that the type of rebellion pursued by the PCP-SL implied the exercise of terror and the implantation of a totalitarian regime. Thus, they were locked into a completely vertical and totalitarian organization that inculcated contempt for life, punished differences, and demanded full submission. Many of them died uselessly and cruelly. The CVR calls on the country to set in motion the institutional reforms necessary so that terrorist and totalitarian projects never again find any echo among the young.
  33. The Commission establishes that, unlike other countries in Latin America in the same period, from 1980 to 1992 the internal armed conflict developed while a democratic regime was in power, with free elections, freedom of the press and the most inclusive political system in our contemporary history. The PCP-SL and the MRTA unilaterally excluded themselves from the democratic system, and through their armed actions, actually undermined the democratic political regime installed in 1980.
  34. In 1984, the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA) initiated its own armed struggle against the State. MRTA is responsible for 1.5 percent of the victim deaths that were reported to the CVR. Unlike Shining Path, and like other armed Latin American organizations with which it maintained ties, the MRTA claimed responsibility for its actions, its members used uniforms or other identifiers to differentiate themselves from the civilian population, it abstained from attacking the unarmed population and at some points showed signs of being open to peace negotiations. Nevertheless, MRTA also engaged in criminal acts;<sup>4</sup> it resorted to assassinations, such as in the case of General Enrique López Albújar, the taking of hostages and the systematic practice of kidnapping, all crimes that violate not only personal liberty but the international humanitarian law that the MRTA claimed to respect. It is important to highlight that MRTA also assassinated dissidents within its own ranks.
  35. On balance, during the 1980s, MRTA's discourse and actions contributed to creating a climate in which the use of violence sought to appear to be a legitimate political recourse, ultimately fostering the actions and expansion of Shining Path. And in the 1990s, especially beginning with their frustrated storming of Congress and the occupation of the Japanese Ambassador's residence in December 1996, the MRTA tended to legitimate the authoritarian, militarized counter-subversive policy of Alberto Fujimori's government.

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<sup>4</sup> The very act of taking up arms against a legitimately elected regime is a criminal act.



36. The CVR confirms that Fernando Belaunde Terry and Alan García Pérez attained the presidency in free and direct elections by the citizens. Alberto Fujimori also did so in 1990. However, beginning with the coup d'état of April 5, 1992, Fujimori became an authoritarian ruler who sought to remain in power consolidating a corrupt autocracy.
37. The CVR points out that despite the armed subversion of the PCP-SL and the MRTA, and despite being notably deficient in many aspects, Peruvian democracy respected the separation of powers and freedom of expression. Three presidential and parliamentary elections were held, four national municipal elections took place, and regional elections were held in 1989. None of those elections was questioned.
38. Nevertheless, the CVR establishes that those who governed the State in that period lacked the necessary understanding of and adequate handle on the armed conflict as formulated by the PCP-SL and the MRTA. There was an interest in implementing the 1979 Constitution, in developing the country and in making the relationship between the rulers and the governed consistent with the rule of law. However, the governments of both Fernando Belaunde and Alan García erred by failing to apply a comprehensive strategy –involving social, political, economic, military, psychosocial, and intelligence, as well as mobilization of the populace- to confront the armed subversion and terrorism effectively and within its own democratic framework.

## THE CONDUCT OF THE POLICE FORCES

39. The CVR notes that the police forces had the duty to confront the subversive groups that harmed the fundamental rights of citizens and recognizes the efforts and sacrifices undertaken by their members during the years of violence. Furthermore, the CVR pays the most profound homage to the more than one thousand brave members of the armed forces who lost their lives or were disabled in the line of duty.
40. The CVR considers that the counter-subversive training received at that point by the security forces had, as points of reference, the guerrilla movements organized according to a Castroist model, or, in the best case, armed groups similar to those who, during those years, were active in other Latin American countries. This was the principal reason for the difficulty in confronting a demented enemy that blended into the civilian population and differed from those other subversive groups.
41. The CVR notes that the police had to respond to the aggression of the PCP-SL, and later MRTA, under precarious logistic conditions, without adequate training or sufficient rotation of their agents. When they received the responsibility to conduct the counter-subversive fight in Ayacucho, they did not have sufficient support from the government.
42. The CVR considers that the limitations of the police intelligence services hindered their ability to adequately understand what was occurring. This,

- along with the lack of knowledge of the nature of the PCP-SL, caused them to underestimate the magnitude of the developing phenomenon. Thus, instead of sending the most prepared and efficient agents from each institution, the police organizations maintained the common practice of sending inappropriate agents to distant regions as a form of punishment.
43. The CVR has established that once the State of Emergency was declared in Ayacucho, in October of 1981, intervention by the counter-insurgency police detachment, known as the Sinchis<sup>5</sup>, led to an increase in human rights violations, generated resentment and distanced the police from the population.
  44. The CVR notes that coordination problems in joining the efforts of the three police institutions, as well as corruption at the level of high officials and in strategic units, were factors extraneous to the actual conflict that impeded better police action during the years in which the subversion was still weak. As a result, notwithstanding the relative achievements obtained during 1982 with the capture of subversives, particularly in the cities, two events occurred that demonstrated that the subversion had exceeded the abilities of the Police Forces: the attack on the Huamanga penitentiary by the Shining Path, and the withdrawal of police posts in the countryside throughout 1982.
  45. The CVR has confirmed that with the entrance of the armed forces into Ayacucho and the later introduction of the political-military commands (CPM) in areas with a declared state of emergency, the police were subordinated to the armed forces, subject to orders given by military commanders, over and above their own commands and civilian authorities. In this context, and as the military offensive advanced, agents from all three police institutions acting in the emergency areas took part in grave human rights violations.
  46. The CVR concludes that the fight against subversion reinforced pre-existing authoritarian and repressive practices among members of the police. Torture during interrogations and undue detentions, which had been frequent in addressing common delinquency, acquired a massive character during the counter-subversive action. Additionally, the CVR has established that the most serious human rights violations by military agents were: extrajudicial executions, forced disappearance of persons, torture, and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. The CVR particularly condemns the extensive practice of sexual violence against women. All of these acts dishonor the perpetrators who were involved directly and also those, in their role as hierarchical superiors, who instigated, permitted or covered up such acts with mechanisms of impunity.
  47. The CVR establishes that, starting in the second half of the 1980's, unification of the police forces, oversight from the Ministry of the Interior, and fusion of the distinct operational units into the Direction of Special Operations (DOES), contributed to a better coordination of action in the

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<sup>5</sup> Counterinsurgency unit of the old Civil Guard.

- struggle against subversives. However, the sector did not attend to, nor sufficiently strengthen DIRCOTE [the Anti-Terrorism Directorate], the unit that had acquired experience from its concentrated work in Lima.
48. The CVR has found indications linking individual members of the police force to the misnamed «Rodrigo Franco Command Group.» It has not been possible to determine whether that Command Group was a centralized organization or a denomination employed by various actors who were not necessarily interconnected.
  49. The CVR can confirm that the distance between the police and the populations tended to increase as the internal armed conflict evolved. This fact helped a negative image of the police as perpetrator take root, or, in the case of the coca regions, an image of the police as corrupt and linked to drug trafficking.
  50. The CVR establishes that beginning in 1985 the police forces attained a more accurate understanding of the organization and styles of action of the subversive groups, leading to work of the DINCOTE (previously DIRCOTE) intelligence operation, which achieved the flawless captures of the principal subversive leaders, especially Victor Polay Campos on June 9, 1992 and Abimael Guzman Reinoso on September 12th of the same year. These captures made a fundamental contribution to the strategic defeat of subversion and terrorism.
  51. The CVR establishes that following the coup d'état of April 5, 1992, the Peruvian National Police were subject to the plans of the National Intelligence Service and subordinated to the military. There was a significant reduction in the PNP's powers, distortion of its functions and, at the top, it was involved in the regime's web of corruption, overseen by Vladimiro Montesinos.

#### THE CONDUCT OF THE ARMED FORCES

52. The CVR notes that the armed forces, by decision of the constitutional government in an executive decree issued December 29th, 1982, were duty bound to confront the subversive groups that challenged the constitutional order of the Republic and threatened the fundamental rights of citizens.
53. The CVR recognizes the efforts and sacrifices made by members of the armed forces during the years of violence, and offers the most sincere homage to the more than one thousand brave agents of the military who lost their lives or were disabled in the line of duty.
54. The CVR has found that the armed forces applied a strategy that, during an initial period, was one of indiscriminate repression against the population suspected of belonging to the PCP-SL. Later, this strategy became more selective, although it continued to make it possible for numerous human rights violations to be committed.
55. The CVR affirms that at some places and moments in the conflict, the behavior of members of the armed forces not only involved some individual excesses by officers or soldiers, but also entailed generalized and/or

systematic practices of human rights violations that constitute crimes against humanity as well as transgressions of the norms of International Humanitarian Law.

56. The CVR concludes that, in this framework, the political-military commands (CPM), designated the highest state authority in the emergency zones, may bear the primary responsibility for these crimes. The judiciary must establish the exact degree of criminal responsibility of CPM commanders, whether for ordering, inciting, facilitating or engaging in cover-ups or for having neglected the fundamental duty to put a stop to the crimes.
57. The CVR has established that the most serious human rights violations by military agents were: extrajudicial executions, forced disappearance of persons, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. The CVR particularly condemns the extensive practice of sexual violence against women. All these acts constitute a dishonor for those who perpetrated them directly and for those who, in their position of hierarchical superiors, instigated, permitted or covered them up with mechanisms of impunity.
58. The CVR notes that at the time of their intervention in the fight against subversion, the armed forces were prepared and equipped to engage in conventional conflict (external conflict). During the first years of their intervention (1983-85), they lacked adequate intelligence on the organization, military profile and strategy of the PCP-SL. By decision of civilian authority, their objective was to rapidly end the conflict without taking into account the cost in human lives. They set out to recover territorial control, assuming that the population was divided into communities loyal to the Peruvian State and subversive or red zone communities, without noting that the latter were not homogeneous and generally contained sectors dominated by the PCP-SL through coercion and even terror.
59. In the CVR's view, although the military intervention hit the organization and the operational capacity of the PCP-SL hard,<sup>6</sup> it also left in its wake massive human rights violations and turned the two-year period from 1983-84 into the most lethal of the conflict, mostly in Ayacucho. Worse still, the strategy turned out to be counterproductive, as the indiscriminate repression in the rural areas postponed the rupture between the PCP-SL and the poorer sectors of the peasantry, and failed to stop the expansion of armed action to other areas of the country.
60. The CVR notes that in August of 1989, the armed forces approved the organization of a systematic counter-subversive strategy. The new

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<sup>6</sup> PCP-SL documents acknowledge about 1,700 deaths of party militants, the people's guerrilla army and the so-called "masses" that supported them between mid-1983 and mid-1985. Although it is not certain, the CVR believes that some of the deaths of PCP-SL militants could be among the 2,000 people who disappeared at the hands of the PCP-SL. It is reasonable to believe that these were young people who were forcibly recruited and who never returned, possibly because they were killed in confrontations.

strategy distinguished among friendly, neutral and enemy populations within the theaters of operations. Territorial control was not its main objective; rather, the strategy sought the elimination of the Political-Administrative Organizations (OPA) or Shining Path popular committees, to win over the population, and to isolate the PCP-SL's military forces. The strategy produced decisive results, including encouraging the peasantry's reaction against Shining Path and the spread of self-defense committees, which changed the relationship between the armed forces and the peasantry.

61. At this stage the human rights violations were less numerous, but more deliberate or planned than in the previous stage. Moreover, death squads appeared whose actions made Peru the world leader in the forced disappearance of persons in those years.
62. The CVR notes that the new strategy was used by a group of officers who then designed plans for a possible military interruption of the political process. Part of those authoritarian plans would later be taken up again in the coup of 1992. These antidemocratic projects exposed the armed forces to two great institutional disorders: a) the use of a model of counter-subversive policy and the image of a victorious army to justify the coup d'état in 1992 and, b) a truce with drug traffickers by defining the PCP-SL as the principal enemy that needed to be isolated from the coca-growing peasantry. In some cases, and especially following the promotion of Vladimiro Montesinos, this truce became an alliance.
63. The CVR concludes that the capture of Abimael Guzmán and the dismantling of the PCP-SL and MRTA failed to prevent the ethics, prestige and even the well-being and efficiency of the armed forces<sup>7</sup> from being seriously compromised by leaders who tied their fate to a dictatorial government. This process of decomposition was characterized by the activities of the Colina Group, the persecution of dissenting officers, as well as the organization of a system of corruption, blackmail and political espionage internal to the armed forces under the direction of Vladimiro Montesinos.
64. The CVR has found that the armed forces were capable of learning lessons during the process of violence, which allowed them to refine their strategy to the point that it became more efficient and less prone to massive violations of human rights. This learning process is ostensibly reflected in the decrease in victims of actions by State agents precisely in the years of most intense internal armed conflict (1989-93), and while the PCP-SL unleashed a torrent of violent terrorism against the Quechua and Asháninka peoples and also against the urban populace. These lessons, along with the proliferation of the Self-Defense Committees, police intelligence operations and the support of the citizens, explains the defeat of the PCP-SL.

<sup>7</sup> The erosion of the armed forces' efficiency in its fundamental task of national defense was revealed in the Cenepa conflict in 1995.

65. The CVR believes that from early on, poorer sectors of the peasantry, who according to the calculations of the PCP-SL ought to have been their principal allies, rose up against a project they did not share and which was being imposed on them by force. Communities such as Uchuraccay and others in the Huanta highlands are among the better-known examples. In some cases spontaneously, in others on the initiative of the armed forces, the farmers of the Apurímac River valley formed the first self-defense committees (CAD), which later multiplied, giving the PCP-SL its first strategic defeat in the rural areas.
66. The CVR recognizes the peasants' right to self defense in the exceptional context created by the Shining Path aggression. It finds, however, that in a significant number of cases, the formation of self-defense committees occurred as a result of the pressure and intimidation by the armed forces and/or other CADs. According to the findings of the CVR, on some occasions the CADs went beyond self-defense duties and were responsible for crimes that must be punished.
67. The CVR recognizes, nonetheless, that the CADs were a very important factor in the outcome of the internal armed conflict and pays homage to those who fell in the defense of their communities and country. The CVR also emphasizes that, once the armed conflict ended, the CADs did not become hired assassins for drug traffickers, nor did they lend their military experience to the service of other actors implicated in illicit activities. The immense majority of the CAD members have rejoined their communities and the country continues to be in their debt. Legislative Decree 741, enacted at the end of 1991, and its subsequent regulations, only allow for compensation after the enactment of the law, and has benefited a small number of family members.

#### THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND THE GOVERNMENTS

68. The CVR distinguishes the years between 1980 and 1992, a period of civilian, democratically-elected regimes, from the final period of our mandate (1992 – 2000), following the coup-d'état of April 5, 1992. This change of regime has a direct effect on the responsibilities of the State's highest authorities with respect to violations of human rights since the centralization of power forges, in principle, a more direct link between the President of the Republic and the groups who operate under the cover of power to perpetrate violations.
69. The CVR considers that given the development of events, marked by the PCP-SL's growing violence, it was inevitable that the State would respond with the use of its armed forces and would resort to declaring states of emergency, which were allowed under the Constitution in effect at the time to confront situations of serious risk. The CVR deplures, nonetheless, the fact that when the governments did opt for such declarations, they

- failed to take steps to prevent violations of the population's fundamental rights.
70. The CVR is aware that both the weakness and the improvisational nature of the different governments' actions were the result of deep failings of the State: i) its insufficient national coverage and institutional depth; ii) its lack of preparation for confronting this type of conflict; iii) the mistrust generated by significant sectors of its own citizens, and; iv) a growing inability to submit to the legal and constitutional framework that the country had just adopted in the Constitution of 1979.
  71. For this reason, the CVR pays homage to those leaders and militants of democratic political parties who offered up their lives or suffered mistreatment for honestly carrying out their public duties. We refer to both the militants of governing parties as well as those with parliamentary, regional or municipal responsibility. Special mention must be made of the local authorities in those areas most affected by the violence, who maintained the presence of the Peruvian State, often at the cost of the ultimate sacrifice. They should be an example for all in this new stage of the search for democracy.
  72. Nevertheless, the CVR must confirm the very grave responsibility of the governments of those years, as well as of the parties represented in Parliament, local governments and, between 1989 and 1991, regional governments. In the first twelve years of the conflict, the police and armed forces took charge of combating the subversion through legal instruments approved by civilian governments, within the framework of anti-terrorist legislation passed by a democratically elected Congress.
  73. Nevertheless, the CVR must confirm the very grave responsibility of the governments of those years, as well as of the parties represented in Parliament, local governments and, between 1989 and 1991, regional governments. In the first twelve years of the conflict, the police and armed forces took charge of combating the subversion through legal instruments approved by civilian governments, within the framework of anti-terrorist legislation passed by a democratically elected Congress.
  74. The CVR finds that the first institutional turning point in the abdication of democratic responsibility by government was the creation, by legal order, of the political-military commands. In practice, the commands made civilian authority in areas declared to be in a state of emergency subordinate to its own, by taking over not only the military command but also the political leadership in the fight against subversion.<sup>8</sup>
  75. The CVR establishes that law 24150 placed soldiers and police in provinces declared to be in a state of emergency under military jurisdiction, which favored the impunity of State agents responsible for human rights violations. Similarly, the permanent nature of states of emergency in more

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<sup>8</sup> The latter could have been left to civil authorities or to a minister or ad-hoc presidential delegate.

and more provinces weakened democracy and created a climate ripe for human rights violations, as well as a general sense among the population and the civilian authorities in those areas that power resided in the military authority.

76. The CVR believes that the abdication of democratic authority culminated in the counter-subversive legislation passed after the coup of April 1992. Under that law, the commanders of the political-military commands not only coordinated and supervised, but also directed actions in non-military fields. This legislation changed the National Defense System, the National Intelligence Service law, and the law on the military situation. This last law allowed the general commanders of the armed forces to remain in their posts even after reaching retirement age. Furthermore, the new legislation included procedures and sentences that violated due process guarantees as well as the Constitution and international treaties to which Peru was a signatory: disproportionate minimum sentences, new legal concepts such as aggravated terrorism and treason, faceless courts and judges, among others. This new legal framework was one of the pillars of the regime that emerged following the coup d'état of April 1992.

#### INDIFFERENCE and DEMAND FOR HARSH MEASURES

77. The CVR has found, sadly, that the civilian governments were not alone in bowing to the indiscriminate use of force as a means of combating subversion. On the contrary, the proclivity of these governments for a military solution without civilian controls resonated with a considerable sector of Peruvian society, principally in the moderately educated urban sector that benefited from State services and resided far from the epicenter of the conflict. This sector, in the main, watched with indifference or demanded a quick solution, and stood prepared to face the social cost being paid by citizens of the rural, poorer regions.

#### THE POPULAR ACTION GOVERNMENT

78. The CVR expresses its special recognition of all the victims belonging to the Popular Action party, many of whom were local authorities who remained in their positions despite the intensity of the violence. The CVR also emphasizes the special effort made by the government of Fernando Belaunde Terry to preserve the democratic system, local and general elections, and freedom of the press in the context of a difficult transition to a democratic regime, and in the middle of the worst internal armed conflict in the history of the Republic.
79. The CVR recognizes that the Popular Action party had to confront subversion in a situation made difficult by the complexity of an oversized State inherited from the military government, by the weakness of a party system with no significant democratic existence, by civil-military relations



- marked by distance and distrust, and by the existence of a large and radical left.
80. The CVR recalls that in this context, President Belaunde proposed a number of policies for a broad united front, which were accepted only by his ally, the Popular Christian Party. The other parties opted to maintain their own profiles. This disagreement made the creation of a united response to the subversive threat enormously difficult.
  81. The CVR finds that the internal armed conflict was considered, for many months, to be a marginal problem that had taken the State and all the country's political forces by surprise.<sup>9</sup> Once the increase in the number of armed subversive actions made the conflict impossible to hide, the Popular Action (AP) government and the opposition lost valuable time attributing blame for what was happening so as to suit their own political agendas. It must be noted that the time lost in mistaken or interest-driven diagnoses was a crucial period in which the PCP-SL settled into many areas of the Ayacucho countryside, with no organized response by the government on behalf of the State.
  82. The CVR establishes that the government opted to confront the PCP-SL with police forces and with exceptional measures that were extended without interruption. The limitations of the police forces, divided into three institutions with no coordination among them, lacking basic equipment and without a coherent anti-subversive policy, quickly generated rejection by the population, first toward the police and then with regard to the government. The government, faced with increasingly violent activity by the PCP-SL, opted to hand over direction of the counter-subversive fight to the armed forces at the end of 1982.
  83. The CVR believes that the decision taken by the Popular Action government initiated a process of militarization that lasted more than a decade and had grave consequences for the country. The establishment of political-military commands and the failure of political authorities to contribute to the fight against subversion in nonmilitary arenas produced a de facto subordination of the local civil authorities to the anti-subversive strategies of the armed forces.
  84. The CVR has established that the creation of the political-military commands and the intervention of the armed forces were carried out without the civilian authorities taking necessary preventive measures to protect the fundamental rights of the population. This resulted in numerous violations of human rights carried out in a systematic and/or generalized manner.
  85. The CVR concludes that the Popular Action party tolerated these human rights violations, ignoring numerous reports from various government

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<sup>9</sup> The main political actors made contradictory accusations among themselves, simultaneously denouncing the Cuban government and the CIA, the legal left and the government, and even military officers of the Velasco regime or the far right as the perpetrators of terrorist acts.

- and civil society sources. This was the case in massacres such as those in Putis, Pucayacu, and Cabbitos, to name some of the more notorious ones. Similarly, during this period of terrible violence, the Parliament, controlled by the governing party, failed to appoint any investigative commissions. The sole commission was appointed by the Executive to investigate the assassination of eight journalists in the community of Uchuraccay, where the CVR has established that 135 Quechua peasants also died in the year following the massacre, the majority at the hands of the PCP-SL.
86. The CVR finds that the Popular Action government's unjustified tolerance of these abuses of the fundamental rights of the citizenry was founded on the intention and expectation of eliminating subversion in the short term, with no consideration for the cost in human lives. Law 24150, passed in 1985, ratified this policy.
  87. The CVR finds that the Popular Action government bears political responsibility for its tolerance of the human rights violations committed by the State, principally against the indigenous population, which is the most unprotected and marginalized in the country. The CVR finds this to be a regrettable demonstration of habits of discrimination and racism existent in Peruvian society.
  88. The figures of the CVR reveal that, according to an analysis by year, the highest number of deaths in the entire conflict occurred between 1983 and 1984. These were caused by the PCP-SL's assassination campaigns and the bloody official response, which according to the CVR's calculations left 19,468 victim fatalities, or 28 percent of the total estimated for the entire internal armed conflict. These casualties went almost unnoticed by the rest of the country, due to the serious ethnic divisions in our society.

#### THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PERUVIAN APRISTA PARTY

89. The CVR expresses its special recognition of all the victims who were members of the Peruvian APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] Party (PAP), many of whom were local authorities who remained in office despite the intensity of the violence. The CVR also emphasizes the effort of the government of President Alan García Pérez to preserve the democratic system, local and general elections, and freedom of the press in the context of a difficult situation in the middle of the worst internal armed conflict in the history of the Republic.
90. The CVR believes that when Dr. Alan García Pérez took office in July 1985, he initiated a series of social policies to reorient the anti-subversive strategy then in place. The explicit goal was to defeat subversion through development policies directed at peasants and the poorest regions. The new government assumed responsibility for ongoing criticisms that had been directed against the conduct of the armed forces since the previous government.

91. This policy of respect for human rights and of reporting their violation was demonstrated, for example, in the penalties applied to the military leaders responsible for the Accomarca massacre (August 1985). Thus, the government sought to exert civilian control over military actions. Additionally, it created a Peace Commission and carried out initiatives for unification of the police force and the creation of a Ministry of Defense.
92. Nevertheless, the CVR believes that what has been termed the «prison massacre,» which took place on June 18-19, 1986 in the penitentiaries at Lurigancho and El Frontón, marked a turning point in the efforts of the PAP government to use civilian power to impose a new regime of respect for human rights on the security forces. The CVR has found that beginning with those events, the armed forces acted with greater autonomy in their counter-subversive actions, without either the Executive or the Legislative branch providing them with a legal framework to do so.
93. The CVR finds grave political responsibility on the part of the PAP government in those cases, without prejudice to other individual responsibilities that may be determined in other national or international judicial forums.
94. The CVR believes the cover-up of the killings at Cayara in May 1988 to be paradigmatic of the new attitude of the governing party with respect to the actions of the armed forces in the fight against subversives. The Senate investigating commission headed by PAP parliamentarian Carlos Enrique Melgar found that the killings had not occurred, even though a minority on that commission and a prosecutor affirmed the opposite. Nonetheless, the APRA majority approved the finding. The CVR's investigations confirm the killings in Cayara and find the PAP politically responsible for collaborating in the cover-up of that massacre.
95. The CVR has established that the PAP government initiated a reorganization of the three existing police institutions in response to complaints about the crisis of corruption and inefficiency. This led to what later became the national police. PAP had a particular interest in controlling the police through the Interior Ministry. In the reorganization new entities such as the Direction of Special Operations (DOES) unit trained in countersubversion were created, and anti-terrorism intelligence work was strengthened.
96. The CVR believes that the acute economic and political crisis that Peru experienced beginning in 1988 fostered the development of subversive groups and the maelstrom of violence. The failure of the economic program and the onset of hyperinflation led to a situation of grave instability in the country. With the failed attempt to nationalize the banks, the government lost the support of the country's business and financial groups. The marches and counterdemonstrations on economic policy deepened existing social tensions, which were further aggravated by the collapse of basic services. The PCP-SL took advantage of these expressions of discontent to initiate its own protest marches, even in the capital itself.

97. The CVR has gathered testimonies that suggest the existence of police personnel linked to death squad activities and paramilitary commands used against presumed subversives. A series of events, such as the appearance of the misnamed «Rodrigo Franco Command Group,» the confrontation in Molinos between an Army patrol and a column of the MRTA, the PCP-SL's attack on the police station in Uchiza, the abandonment of municipal positions in 1989, and the escape of MRTA militants from the Castro Castro prison in 1990, among others, fostered the image of anarchy and chaos in the country. Nevertheless, at the same time, three national elections took place between November 1989 and June 1990. Discontent among the armed forces was considerable, even leading to an attempted coup d'état. The CVR concludes that with the emergence of the crisis, the government lost control of the counter-subversive policy, with the exception of some areas of police work that were very successful, such as the Special Intelligence Group (GEIN), which, eventually, would have the greatest success capturing subversive leaders.

#### THE GOVERNMENTS OF ALBERTO FUJIMORI

98. The CVR has established that the presidential elections of 1990, which occurred in the midst of a generalized crisis, the damaged reputation of political parties and the loss of confidence in political organizations facilitated the triumph of an independent, Alberto Fujimori, an engineer by training, an independent candidate who quickly revealed his contempt for democracy. He never built a political organization to support him.<sup>10</sup> In order to address the large problems that he inherited – the economic crisis and expanding subversion – he placed a group of technocrats in charge of economic issues and adopted the armed forces' counter-subversive strategy as it had appeared at the end of the 1980s. Additionally, he called upon military intelligence operatives, the best known being Vladimiro Montesinos. With Montesinos' participation, the new regime began to strengthen the National Intelligence Service and assured for itself the loyalty of the military leadership, converting them into pillars of its administration.<sup>11</sup>
99. The CVR concludes that the coup d'état of April 5, 1992 brought an end to the rule of law and demonstrated the weakness of the political party system; a majority of public opinion supported the coup. In the midst of the urban offensive of the PCP-SL, important sectors from all social strata indicated a willingness to exchange democracy for security and tolerate

<sup>10</sup> Change 90 (Cambio 90) was deactivated after the 1990 elections and never operated organically again. New Majority (Nueva Mayoría) was only a mechanism for participating in the 1995 elections. The Peru to 2000 Front (Frente Perú al 2000), which was to support him in the 2000 elections, forged more than 1 million signatures to register with the National Elections Board.

<sup>11</sup> One point of inflexibility was keeping Nicolás de Bari Hermoza Ríos as Commander General from his retirement in late 1991 until 1998.

- human rights violations as the necessary cost to put an end to the subversion.
100. The CVR has established that beginning in 1992 the new counter-subversive strategy emphasized the selective elimination of political-administrative organizations of subversive groups. A death squad linked to Vladimiro Montesinos called «Colina» was responsible for assassinations, forced disappearances and cruel and ferocious massacres. The CVR has reasonable grounds to affirm that President Alberto Fujimori, his adviser Vladimiro Montesinos, and high level officials of the National Intelligence Service are criminally responsible for the assassinations, forced disappearances and massacres perpetrated by the «Colina» death squad.
  101. The CVR holds that in this same period, the DINCOTE, thanks to experience accumulated since late in the previous decade and the emphasis placed on intelligence work, demonstrated more constructive and effective capabilities that resulted in the capture of Victor Polay, principal leader of the MRTA, and the capture, on September 12, 1992, of Abimael Guzmán and members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PCP-SL. The CVR concludes that the capture of the top leadership of the PCP-SL and the MRTA were not used by the government to accelerate the defeat of subversion; rather they were used to obtain electoral returns.
  102. Furthermore, the CVR notes the use made of the Chavín de Huántar operation, carried out to rescue the people taken hostage by the MRTA at the Japanese Ambassador's residence in December 1996. The CVR expresses its repudiation of that terrorist action, which kept dozens of persons captive for more than four months. The CVR recognizes the right of the State to rescue the hostages held there and applauds the heroism and efficiency of commandos who successfully carried out the rescue operation, and pays homage to the members of the Army who were casualties of that action, as well as to Dr. Carlos Giusti, a member of the Supreme Court who died during the operation. Nevertheless, the CVR condemns the extrajudicial executions that apparently occurred; these were unjustified since they involved individuals who had surrendered. The Commission shares the public's rejection of the images of Alberto Fujimori walking among the dead bodies in the residence shortly after its recovery.
  103. The CVR affirms that in the following years, several facts, some of which were true, but the majority manipulated by the media, served to create and exaggeratedly recreate terrorism as a latent threat to justify the authoritarianism of the regime and to discredit the opposition. Wiretaps on the telephones of the political opposition, the harassment against independent journalism, the subjection and final perversion of the majority of the media, attacks and crimes, even against members of the National Intelligence Service itself, as well as the distortion of legitimate operations such as Chavín de Huántar, all carry the stamp of Alberto Fujimori's authoritarian government.

104. In light of the foregoing, the CVR holds that in the last years of the Fujimori government, the internal armed conflict was manipulated with the goal of keeping the regime in power. This plunged the country into a new economic crisis and into the abyss of corruption, moral decay, weakening of the social and institutional fabric, and a profound lack of confidence in the public sphere. All of these characteristics constitute, at least in part, consequences of the authoritarian way in which the conflict was resolved, and make up one of the most shameful moments in the history of the Republic.

#### THE LEFT POLITICAL PARTIES

105. The CVR expresses its special recognition of all the victims who belonged to the parties that made up the alliance Izquierda Unida [United Left, IU], many of whom were local authorities who remained in office despite the intensity of the violence. The CVR also emphasizes that the IU was a channel for political representation for broad popular sectors and social movements that up to that time had not been included on the national agenda. Thus, in many areas of the country, left militants were a brake on the advance of the PCP-SL.

106. The CVR has established that the alliance of the United Left was the second electoral force throughout most of the 1980's; it had representation in Parliament, governed at the local level, and, between 1989 and 1992, participated in regional governments.

107. The CVR has established that during the 1970's, most of the organizations that later formed part of the IU shared, with minor differences, a discourse and a strategy that privileged taking power through armed struggle. In the context of the extensive social mobilizations and democratic opening at the end of the 1970's, some of these organizations changed direction to value positively electoral politics and representative democracy.

108. Nevertheless, the CVR points out that insufficient, and in many cases, delayed, ideological differentiation placed the majority of the parties in the IU in an ambiguous position with respect to the actions of the PCP-SL, and even more so with respect to MRTA. This ambiguity made it difficult for both party leaders and the social organizations influenced by the IU, to confront the violent concepts of the PCP-SL or the MRTA ideologically.

109. The CVR establishes that the left denounced human rights violations committed by the State. Nevertheless, it did not give the same treatment to the violations committed by subversive groups, especially the MRTA. There were two groups on the left that maintained to the end the possibility of recourse to violence to take power. This was what ultimately led to the division of the left into purported reformists and revolutionaries.

110. In the opinion of the CVR, although not a generalized position, sectors of the left understood their participation in the parliament and in municipal government as a platform for agitation and propaganda, and to demonstrate the limitations of «demobourgeois» institutions.

111. The CVR notes that politically, the sectarianism and the ineffectiveness of the parties and the independents that made up IU, as well as the difficulty of putting the interests of the country ahead of the groups or personalities that were involved, impeded the IU from transcending its character as an electoral alliance and becoming a programmatic front that might represent and offer an alternative of peaceful and democratic transformation for its militants and for the country. This limitation persisted even in its period of greatest electoral presence; it kept the IU from differentiating itself from the APRA government's policy, and ended up dividing the IU in 1989. The division was disconcerting to its followers, and broke the retaining wall that the IU represented among broad popular sectors, allowing for the advance of subversive groups, and subsequently, Fujimorism.
112. Nevertheless, the CVR emphasizes the IU's positive role in the early denunciation of human rights violations through its member parties, the social organizations that it was involved in, and its representatives in Parliament, who had significant roles in the most important Congressional investigative commissions on issues related to the internal armed conflict (the killing of prisoners, paramilitary groups, the causes of the violence).
113. Furthermore, the CVR documents that many members of the IU, especially grassroots provincial militants during electoral periods, were victims of the security forces, which did not distinguish between IU members and subversives. Additionally, it is clear to the CVR that the IU was never a «legal front» for the PCP-SL, neither organically nor officially. As the decade progressed, the IU increasingly disavowed the ideology and the methods of the PCP-SL, which assassinated a significant number of social leaders from the ranks of the IU, some of whom were important leaders of national trade organizations.

#### THE LEGISLATURE

114. The CVR has confirmed that the State's problems confronting the internal armed conflict also occurred in the Legislative branch of government. The political forces represented there did not take, nor did they propose, comprehensive initiatives to address the subversive groups until the conflict was quite advanced (1991).
115. The CVR documents that throughout the 1980's, Congress functioned with majorities from the respective governing party of each presidential term. Through these majorities, the governments inhibited or weakened the capacities for oversight and legislative initiative. Thus, the Parliament of 1980 – 1985 failed to perform its constitutional mandate of oversight by refusing to exercise control over what was occurring in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurímac as a result of the conflict. During this period, in which the largest number of Peruvians died or disappeared because of the war, Congress did not undertake any investigation of the mounting human rights violations that both the PCP-SL and the security forces were committing with impunity.

116. The CVR must note that in the face of militarization of the conflict, Congress failed to propose any viable alternative or plan. The principal law-making activity was in the hands of the Executive. And when, finally, Congress took up that function again, it did nothing but reaffirm its limited willingness to commit to finding a harsh and efficient answer to the subversive phenomenon.
117. The CVR notes that Congressional approval of Law 24150, which established the norms governing states of emergency in which the armed forces assumed control of internal order in all or part of the territory, legalized what was already occurring *de facto*, inhibiting civilian authority to the benefit of the military. Thus, this decision led to the weakening of civilian democratic power and reduced counter-subversion policy to a sphere of military repression and control.
118. Nevertheless, the CVR notes that beginning in 1985 investigative commissions were appointed for cases with significant impact on public opinion. Although none of them were able to break the cycle of impunity, parliamentary debates and minority findings generated important currents of opposition to human rights violations within public opinion. Nevertheless, while Congress took on the investigation of important cases of human rights violations perpetrated by the security forces, it made no similar effort to investigate and demand sanctions for the terrible cases of violations perpetrated by the PCP-SL.
119. The CVR notes that following the 1990 elections, the Executive lacked a majority in Congress for the first time. Taking advantage of the decline of the political parties and the legislature's loss of prestige, Alberto Fujimori's government and the promoters of an authoritarian, militarized counter-subversive policy overstated the institution's ineptitude and problems; they had no reservations about presenting Congress as part of the enemy camp. This idea coincided with that of the PCP-SL, which viewed Congress as a redoubt of revisionism and part of the old State that needed to be destroyed.
120. The CVR finds that between 1990 and 1992, Congress acquired another appearance. The lack of a parliamentary majority for the governing party and the increase in subversion spurred greater consensus and more active participation in the design of a counter-subversive policy within democratic frameworks. This new attitude was evident in the debate on counter-subversive legislation in November 1991. With respect to congressional oversight, the 1990 – 92 Congress intervened in situations of human rights violations in the internal armed conflict. However, the April 1992 coup, which closed Parliament with the consent of the majority of public opinion, demonstrated that this was a belated and insufficient effort to control the *de facto* powers and authoritarian currents in the country. At that point, the political parties showed clear signs of exhaustion and crisis.
121. The CVR believes that after the 1992 coup, Congress had no capacity for oversight due to both the constitutional cutback on its powers and the



absolute majority maintained by the governing party until 2000. The weak parliamentary effort in the counter-subversion fight was aggravated by the development of a process of manipulation of legal norms that was harmful to society and that sought, among other things, to establish an apparatus that would guarantee impunity for human rights violations committed by state agents.

122. The CVR has also been able to confirm that, in many cases, the post-coup official majority in Congress, despite the brave attitude of opposition members of Congress, not only abdicated its constitutional function of oversight but also endorsed and promoted cover-ups and impunity. An especially noteworthy moment in the institution's participation in the process of affirming impunity was the passage of Law 26479, the General Amnesty Law (June 15, 1995). In effect, Parliament became an echo chamber for the proposals of the palace and of the National Intelligence Service.

#### THE JUDICIARY

123. The CVR notes that the abdication of democratic authority extended to the administration of justice. The judicial system failed to adequately fulfill its mission, whether in connection with legal penalties for the actions of subversive groups, protecting the rights of detained persons, or putting an end to the impunity of State agents who committed grave human rights violations. First, the judiciary acquired the image of an inefficient «sieve» that freed guilty suspects and imprisoned innocents; secondly, its agents failed to guarantee the rights of detainees, thus contributing to grave violations of the right to life and physical integrity; and finally, they abstained from bringing members of the armed forces accused of serious crimes to justice, systematically ruling in every case of contested jurisdiction in favor of military jurisdiction, where impunity held sway.
124. Nevertheless, the CVR must specify that the judicial system suffered from structural problems that led to its inefficiency. However, this circumstance was exacerbated by the negligent actions of some judicial officials who made the institutional context in which justice was administered even worse.
125. The CVR documents that Peru's judicial situation deteriorated after the coup d'état in 1992, when, the following were added to the conditions already mentioned: clear interference in the capacity of self-regulation through massive terminations of judges, provisional appointments, and the creation of management entities outside the structure of the judicial system; this was in addition to the ineffectiveness of the Constitutional Court.
126. The CVR documents that the legislation applied by the judicial system was deficient. Between 1980 and 1992, this situation was particularly affected by the broad and imprecise definition of the crime of terrorism, and the weakening of the Public Ministry's work in the preliminary investigation phase, minimizing the prosecutor's role as guarantor of the

process. The situation worsened after the 1992 coup because of characteristics of the new anti-terrorism legislation, which included: overcriminalization of terrorism by making the concept flexible and creating new crimes that were tried in different forums and imposed different sentences for the same conduct; lack of proportionality in sentencing; serious limitation on the ability of detainees to mount a defense; and the attribution of jurisdiction to military tribunals to try crimes of treason.

127. The CVR has established that, abdicating its own jurisdiction and acting through the Supreme Court, when the accused were members of the armed forces the Judiciary ruled on every occasion in favor of the military forum, where the cases were generally dismissed, were unnecessarily prolonged, or resulted in lenient sentences.
128. The CVR also has found that judicial officials failed in their responsibility to protect citizens' rights by the generalized practice of declaring habeas corpus petitions inadmissible. The tribunal for constitutional guarantees – in existence until 1991 – systematically avoided making reasoned rulings. This situation contributed in no small measure to arbitrary detentions culminating in torture, arbitrary executions and forced disappearances.
129. The CVR believes that the dictatorship of Alberto Fujimori spuriously attempted to legalize impunity for human rights violations by State agents by managing to have the Democratic Constitutional Congress provide majority approval for two amnesty laws that violated constitutional provisions and international agreements ratified under Peru's sovereign power. With one honorable exception,<sup>12</sup> in which a law was not applied because it breached constitutional provisions and international agreements, judges renounced their authority to serve as a decentralized line of defense against unconstitutional legislation.
130. The CVR has established that strict and uncritical application of the 1992 antiterrorist legislation undermined the guarantee of impartiality and accuracy in trials of detainees. Not only did hundreds of innocent persons have to endure long sentences, but due process violations cast a heavy shadow of doubt over the trials that took place. The discredit suffered by the Peruvian judicial system during the Fujimori regime proved to be a boon for the true subversives when, years later, the State had to re-try them on the basis of scant evidence. Additionally, those sentenced for terrorism suffered prison conditions that were degrading to human dignity, and that in no way led to their rehabilitation. The prison situation, little noticed by judges in criminal sentencing, gave rise to riots and massacres in 1985, 1986 and 1992.

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<sup>12</sup> Proof that it was possible to reject this impunity can be seen in the brave stand taken by Antonia Saquicuray, who admitted the Barrios Altos case, maintaining that the amnesty law was unconstitutional.

131. The CVR notes that the Public Ministry [prosecuting authority] – notwithstanding some honorable exceptions – abdicated its duty to enforce the strict respect for human rights that must be observed in detentions, and was insensitive to the requests of the victims’ relatives. On the contrary, it failed in its duty to report crimes, its investigations were lethargic, and forensic work was very deficient, which contributed to the situation of chaos and impunity. Under the Fujimori dictatorship, the Public Ministry’s deference to the orders of the Executive was total.

## ROLE OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

### TRADE ORGANIZATIONS

132. The CVR has established the violent aggression by subversive groups against various unions and businesses. In its report, the CVR records the assassination of union leaders, business leaders, and employees.
133. The CVR finds that while the PCP-SL exacerbated labor conflicts and sought the destruction of existing unions, the MRTA sought to use the unions for its subversive goals.
134. The CVR also concludes that anti-democratic practices or conceptions in the unions and trade associations led to a mutual discrediting throughout the armed conflict, giving rise to criticisms about the representational character and legitimacy of the trade organizations.
135. The CVR has established that the State’s role as arbiter of labor conflicts was markedly inept, since an inefficient bureaucracy prone to corruption, the absence of clear rules, and complicated legislation, among other factors, hampered negotiations, thus making the problems worse.

### EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND TEACHING PROFESSION

136. The CVR has found that the State neglected education for decades. There were modernizing projects in the 1960’s, but these failed. Neither the university law nor the educational reform of 1972 succeeded in turning these tendencies around. Nor did they neutralize the predominance of traditional authoritarian teaching methods. In those areas from which the State withdrew, new proposals emerged that endorsed a radical change; one that could not be adopted by the social and political system, but was only achievable through confrontation and sustained by a

- dogmatic and simplified Marxism that expanded widely throughout the universities in the 1970's. These new curricula were transmitted using the old authoritarian pedagogical frameworks, which went unquestioned.
137. The CVR has found that among many university instructors and students there was a common belief in a fatalistic historical determinism through the path of confrontation. That vision opened spaces for the development of authoritarian proposals from the extreme left. The PCP-SL was simply the most extreme.
138. The CVR has found that, in this context, the PCP-SL sought to instrumentalize educational institutions: universities, secondary schools, advanced institutes, and even pre-university academies. Widespread dogmatism and the ambivalence of radical groups toward violence were factors that favored the PCP-SL. Through intimidation or cooptation, the PCP-SL was able to place instructors in schools where they sought to proselytize. Taking advantage of, and feeding on, a maximalist version of university autonomy, the PCP-SL gained access in some cases to university boards, or at least found sanctuary in housing and cafeteria facilities. There, a proselytism developed in which clientelism was mixed with an appeal to the feelings of discrimination and insult experienced by the poor and provincial students, who were the greatest users of those services. For those students, who had weak social networks in their places of study, the proselytizing also offered an identity and a sense of belonging.
139. The CVR finds grave responsibility of the State: i) in the neglect of public education in the midst of a conflict that used the educational system as an important terrain for ideological and symbolic debate; ii) in intimidating and/or stigmatizing entire communities of teachers and students in public universities, especially in the provinces;<sup>13</sup> iii) in the deterioration of the infrastructure for services at several public universities; iv) in having allowed grave human rights violations against students and professors because of their status as such.<sup>14</sup>
140. The CVR repudiates the crimes committed against students, professors, and workers, whatever their political affiliation. The Commission especially condemns the killing of more than one hundred students, professors and workers at the Universidad Nacional del Centro (UNCP) caught in the confusion of crossfire, at the hands of various actors in the war – including the death squads. Furthermore, the Commission condemns the massacre of eight students and one professor at the Enrique Guzmán y Valle National Education University, «La Cantuta,» in July 1992, and the subsequent amnesty for the perpetrators, members of the death squad «Colina,» in 1995. The Commission notes that based on its investigations,

<sup>13</sup> Although rarely applied, in the 1990s the law of “apology for terrorism” legalized the intimidation of teachers.

<sup>14</sup> According to testimony gathered by the CVR, of the total number of victims of state agents during the conflict, 3 percent were teachers and 2.4 percent were university students or students at post-secondary institutes.

in addition to those already cited, the universities of San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Hermilio Valdizán de Huánuco, Callao, Huacho and San Marcos, among others, were affected by the counter-subversive strategy of detentions-disappearances and destruction of infrastructure, and during the authoritarian regime of the 1990's, by the installation of military bases on the university campuses.

#### THE ROLE OF THE CHURCHES

141. The CVR, through the many testimonies gathered, hearings and studies undertaken, has confirmed that the Catholic and Evangelical churches contributed to the protection of the population from crimes and human rights violations during the violence. Institutionally, the Catholic Church condemned early on the violence of the groups taking up arms as well as human rights violations by the State. These positions took the shape of activities in defense of human rights and denunciations of the violations very early in the process initiated through organizations such as the Comisión Episcopal de Acción Social (CEAS) [Episcopal Commission for Social Action] and others. The CVR has concluded that many lives were saved and many other abuses were impeded thanks to the support of these organizations, as well as by individual clerics and laypersons, regardless of theological or pastoral approaches. In Departments such as Puno, Cajamarca, Ancash, Ucayali or Amazonas, the role played by priests, lay people, and catechists contributed to strengthening the social fabric and constructing a barrier that weakened the advance of the PCP-SL and the explosion of what was termed the dirty war.
142. Nevertheless, the CVR has found that the defense of human rights was not steadfast in the archbishopric of Ayacucho during most of the armed conflict. Throughout much of the conflict, that archbishopric hindered the work of Church organizations linked to the issue, and denied the existence of human rights violations committed in its jurisdiction. The Commission deplors the fact that some ecclesiastical authorities from Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Abancay have not complied with their pastoral commitment.
143. The CVR has concluded that the Evangelical churches also played a valuable role in the protection of human rights, principally through their national coordinating bodies. The Commission also recognizes the courage of pastors who contributed to this effort in defense of life on the outskirts of large cities and in remote rural areas. The Commission also confirms that a significant number of Evangelical peasants participated in self-defense committees that confronted the subversion. Nevertheless, the Commission regrets that some Evangelical communities have not shared in the defense of human rights.
144. The CVR pays homage to the priests, men and women of the religious community, lay individuals, and Catholic and Evangelical faithful who

paid with their lives for doing pastoral work during the internal armed conflict.

#### HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

145. The CVR has concluded that throughout the conflict, dozens of civil society associations kept the capacity for indignation alive and created an effective movement in favor of human rights which was organized around the Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos (CNDDHH) [National Human Rights Coordinating Body], and which, despite constant efforts to demonize it, became an ethical point of reference on the national stage and an effective resource in support of the victims' goal of obtaining truth and demanding justice. The Commission is convinced that the country owes these human rights organizations a debt of gratitude because, by exercising the democratic right of critically monitoring the security forces, they contributed to controlling some of the most brutal aspects of the conflict and to obtaining extensive international solidarity for the democratic struggle of the Peruvian people.
146. In keeping with the tradition of the international human rights movement, in the first years of the conflict, the Peruvian defenders of human rights directed their criticism fundamentally toward the State, since the State's actions are defined within a legal system that must be respected, and, furthermore, the State is a signatory of international agreements and must, above all, be accountable for the security of its citizens. Nevertheless, in the mid-1980's, the organizations that made up the CNDDHH set themselves apart from the subversive groups' front organizations.<sup>15</sup> Later, they refused to provide legal defense for militants or leaders of the subversive groups. They also actively and successfully advocated for the international human rights movement to include subversive groups within their criticism and monitoring, whether those groups were Peruvian or from other parts of the world.
147. The CVR also has confirmed that unlike other countries that experienced internal armed conflict, victims' organizations were relatively weak. This is because in the majority of the cases the victims were poor peasants, with little consciousness of their rights, for whom access to justice was difficult, and who had weak social networks with few urban contacts. This weakness worked to the advantage of impunity for the perpetrators of human rights violations and crimes.
148. In that context, the CVR emphasizes and recognizes the persistence of the Asociación Nacional de Familiares de Secuestrados, Detenidos y Desaparecidos del Perú (ANFASEP) [Peruvian National Association of Families of the Abducted, Detained and Disappeared]; the vast majority of its members are poor, Quechua-speaking women from Ayacucho. Even in the worst moments, with tenacity and bravery these women kept alive the

<sup>15</sup> Such as the so-called «Democratic Lawyers» (*Abogados Democráticos*).

flame of hope for the recovery of their loved ones, and that justice would be applied to those responsible for the disappearances.

## THE MEDIA

149. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission establishes that the media played a very important role throughout the internal armed conflict. During those years, investigative journalism efforts were abundant, courageous, and in some cases, as in the massacre at La Cantuta (July 1992), indispensable to uncovering who was responsible for horrific crimes. Often, in these investigations journalists risked their lives and, unfortunately, on several occasions, those lives were lost. The CVR pays homage to the journalists assassinated during the internal armed conflict while carrying out their duties. Particular mention is made of the Uchuraccay martyrs, the first journalists killed in the line of duty and in especially tragic circumstances. Additionally, the Commission gives special recognition to the contribution to the clarification of facts and the reporting of crimes and human rights violations on the part of the journalists who, when working in provinces declared to be in a state of emergency, carried out their duties selflessly under very adverse conditions.
150. With respect to news coverage and editorial policy, the CVR establishes that from the beginning of the 1980's, the media condemned subversive violence, although with nuances reflecting to the political inclinations of each outlet, which meant different evaluations of the situation or of the objectives of the subversive organizations. Nevertheless, the media did not take the same position with respect to investigating and reporting human rights violations. The Commission recognizes that there was valuable and risky investigation and reporting work, but it also notes that there were media entities that held an ambiguous position and in certain important cases even endorsed arbitrary violence by the State.
151. With respect to the way in which the media provided coverage, the CVR has found that in many instances, news media fell into crude presentation that was inconsiderate to the victims and offered little to inspire national reflection and sensitivity to the issues. Part of this problem was the implicit racism of the media, which is underscored in the final report.
152. In many media, the issue of subversive and counter-subversive violence was not treated in a way that would entail a significant contribution to the pacification of the country. The CVR believes that two factors led to this outcome: i) the uncritical adoption of the logic of violence, which resulted in imposing a treatment that was not very sensitive to the issues, and ii) the primacy of a commercial logic, which in the worst of cases led to yellow journalism and was complicated at the end of the 1990's by massive corruption and the buying of media.

153. The CVR finds that the internal armed conflict that it has investigated is the most serious in the history of the Republic, and has had profound effects at all levels of national life. The breadth and intensity of the conflict accentuated serious national imbalances; destroyed the democratic order; worsened poverty and deepened inequality; aggravated forms of discrimination and exclusion; weakened social and emotional networks and fostered a culture of fear and distrust. Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasize that – despite the hard conditions – there were individuals and communities that resisted and worked toward the affirmation of a society dedicated to building peace and law.
154. The CVR notes that the conflict resulted in the massive destruction of the productive infrastructure and the loss of social capital and economic opportunities. The Departments that suffered most intensely now occupy the lowest rankings in the poverty and human development indices. It is no coincidence that four of the Departments most affected by the conflict – Huancaavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac and Huánuco – are among the five poorest in the country.
155. It has been possible for the CVR to establish that violence destroyed local social life and threw its organization into disarray, especially because of the assassination of traditional and state leaders and authorities. This produced a profound weakening of civil society, the political parties, and of the structures where strengthening of the social fabric was most needed: in the sectors that were most marginalized and in need of inclusion and expansion of citizenship.
156. In the opinion of the CVR, the massive displacement from violent zones constituted a painful process of uprooting and impoverishment of hundreds of thousands of Peruvians. This led to compulsory urbanization as well as a historic regression in the pattern of occupation of the Andean territory that will have a long-term effect on the chances for sustainable human development. The displaced population experienced the dislocation of social networks, forcing them to adapt to new circumstances with varying levels of success and considerable suffering, which posed an enormous challenge to the provision of services in the cities. Additionally, people displaced by the conflict were often stigmatized and suffered discrimination in schools, neighborhoods, and the workplace. Upon returning, they sometimes had to deal with serious land problems and lack of sufficient support to reorganize and to support their families.
157. The CVR has established that an entire generation of children and youth has had its educational development cut off or impoverished as a result of the conflict; this generation deserves preferential treatment by the State.
158. The CVR is aware that the internal armed conflict intensified fear and distrust to unbearable levels, which in turn contributed to fragmenting and atomizing society. In these conditions, the extreme suffering has



- caused resentment and has colored social coexistence and interpersonal relationships with jealousy and violence.
159. The CVR has established that broad sectors of the population affected by the violence suffer from one form or another of effects on their mental health, which weakens their ability for self-development and for overcoming the wounds of the past.
  160. In the opinion of the CVR, one consequence of the internal armed conflict in the political arena consists of the moral decay into which the country sank during the last years of the dictatorship of Alberto Fujimori. In effect, the way in which the political forces and large sectors of public opinion faced those years - with indifference, tolerance for human rights violations, and a willingness to exchange democracy for security as the cost of ending the conflict - opened the door to autocracy and impunity.
  161. Finally, the CVR notes that it must be recognized that the violence, with all its severity, was not able to destroy the capacity of the population to respond. On numerous occasions, in the face of destruction of traditional social networks and the massive assassination of leaders, women took on new responsibilities and raised the moral challenge to the country to acknowledge the loss of thousands of their children in massacres and disappearances. Young leaders reconstructed many of the most affected communities and the CVR was able to confirm that many communities were able to resist the violence through self-defense as well as with peaceful alternatives and microreconciliation processes.
  162. The CVR is convinced that the consequences of the internal armed conflict weigh like a large mortgage on our future. They play a decisive role that affects our building a national community of free and equal citizens in a democratic and plural country moving along the road of development and equity. The Commission further believes that the first step toward overcoming those consequences is that the country recognize, in all its dimensions, the horror experienced between 1980 and 2000.

#### THE NEED FOR REPARATIONS

163. With the submission of its report to the country, the CVR believes that if it had ever been possible to claim ignorance or incomprehension of the drama that occurred in the early years of the conflict, it is no longer possible to do so. Once the State authorities and the citizens to whom our report is directed learn of the shocking dimensions of what happened, it becomes indispensable, if we wish to live in a civilized manner in peace and democracy, to make reparations, to the extent possible, for the serious harms that have been caused.
164. The CVR believes that its very existence and its mandate to propose reparations already constitute the beginning of a process of compensation and restoration of the victims' dignity.

165. For the CVR, reparation has profound ethical and political implications and is an important component of the process of national reconciliation. Since the vast majority of the victims were poor, indigenous, peasants, traditionally discriminated against and excluded, they are the ones who should receive preferential treatment from the State.
166. For the CVR, reparation means reversing the climate of indifference with acts of solidarity that contribute to overcoming discriminatory approaches and habits, that have not been free of racism. Applied evenhandedly, reparations must also generate civic trust, reestablishing the damaged relationship between citizens and the State, so that democratic transition and governance are consolidated and new scenarios of violence are prevented.
167. The CVR presents the country with a Comprehensive Plan for Reparations in which individual and collective, symbolic and material forms of compensation are combined. The Program must be financed creatively by the State, but also by society and international donors. It places emphasis on: i) symbolic reparations, the recovery of memory and the return of dignity to the victims; ii) attention to education and mental health; and iii) individual and collective economic reparations (programs for institutional reconstruction, community development, basic services and income generation).
168. The CVR believes that justice is an essential part of the reparation process. No path toward reconciliation will be passable if it is not accompanied by an effective exercise of justice in terms of reparation for the damages incurred by the victims, as well as the fair punishment of the perpetrators and, as a consequence, an end to impunity. An ethically healthy and politically viable country cannot be built on the foundations of impunity. Through the cases that it submits to the Public Ministry, the identification of 24,000 victims of the internal armed conflict and in general through the findings of its investigations, the CVR seeks to expand substantially the arguments supporting the demand for justice made by victims and their organizations, as well as by human rights organizations and citizens in general.
169. Furthermore, the CVR has prepared a National Registry of Burial Sites based on the information obtained in its investigations. At the end of its mandate, the CVR has registered 4,644 burial sites at the national level, having carried out three exhumations and 2,200 preliminary investigations. These figures, which are significantly greater than previous estimates, confirm the importance of initiating and implementing the National Plan for Forensic Anthropological Interventions proposed by the CVR. Additionally, the CVR ratifies the fundamental importance of forensic anthropological work for achieving justice, identifying possible victims, and helping the grieving process for disappeared compatriots.

170. The CVR proposes that the great horizon of national reconciliation is full citizenship for all Peruvians. Given its mandate to foster national reconciliation and based on the investigations it has conducted, the CVR interprets reconciliation as a new foundational pact between the Peruvian State and society, and among the members of society.
171. The CVR understands that reconciliation must occur at the personal and family level, in social organizations and in the recasting of the relationship between the State and society in its entirety. These three levels should be oriented toward an overarching goal: building a country that is positively recognized as multiethnic, pluricultural, and multilingual. That recognition is the basis for overcoming the discriminatory practices underlying the multiple discords in the history of our Republic.



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*La Prensa*

*La República*

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Our gratitude goes first to the victims of the violence, who came to our offices in far greater numbers than expected to share their stories and the memory of their tragedies, all of which were moving and merit urgent attention from the state and society. Listening to these accounts has enabled everyone who worked with the CVR — and should enable the entire nation — to learn from our history and vividly perceive the enormous gaps that still divide Peruvians. At the same time, the victims' words have revealed the huge potential and energy within those who, from the depths of their pain, have been able to keep hope alive and fight for a better future for themselves, their families and those close to them.

Public support was essential. Even when the CVR addressed controversial and sometimes irritating issues, the majority of the population supported and expressed confidence in our work. This was revealed in various opinion surveys carried out while the CVR was working, as well as through public and private expressions of encouragement and support from various people.

The creation of the CVR and the success of its work would have been much more difficult without the active role played by various organizations. We would like to especially acknowledge the National Human Rights Coordinating Committee and each of its member institutions. These groups helped create the conditions that made the process feasible, gained the commitment of political leaders to create the CVR, submitted valuable information, accompanied victims during the process and made valuable suggestions and proposals that were incorporated, insofar as possible, in this report. The CVR worked in conjunction with many institutions, which with it signed cooperation agreements and whose

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□□□□

We cannot conclude these acknowledgements without especially remembering all the people who worked with the CVR. It is difficult to describe briefly the intensity of the commitment of the hundreds of Peruvian men and women who gave their time and supported us directly. It is also difficult to be sparing in the recognition of each and every one of our workers. Listing them in

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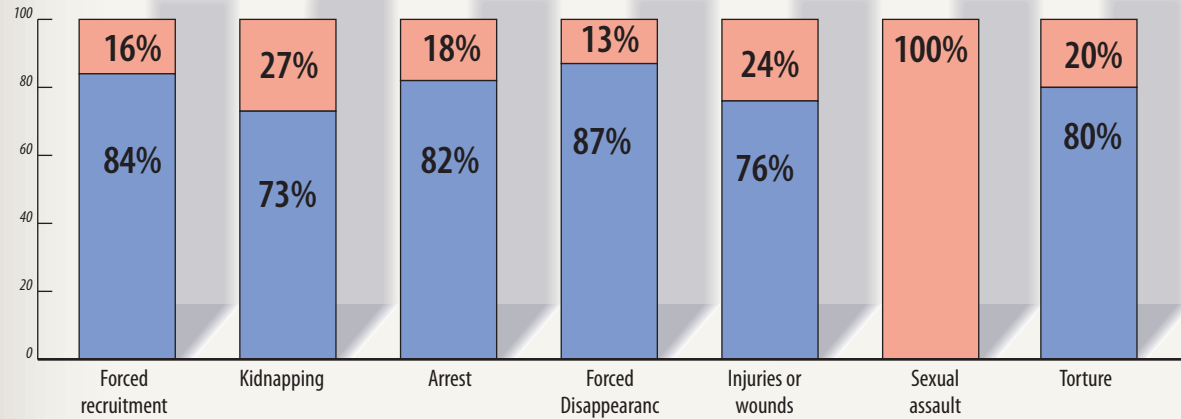
*Truth and Reconciliation Commission*

# Crimes and Human Rights violations

## Human rights violations by victim's sex

Perú 1980-2000

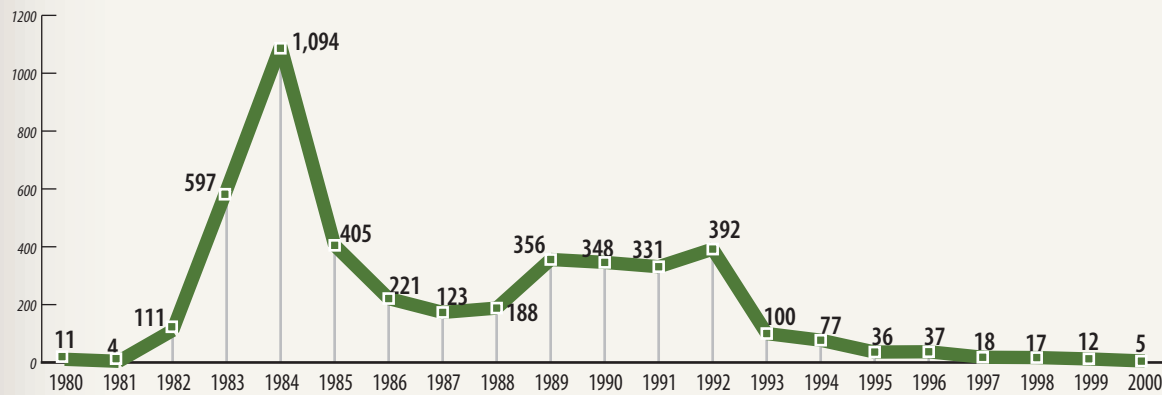
Women Men



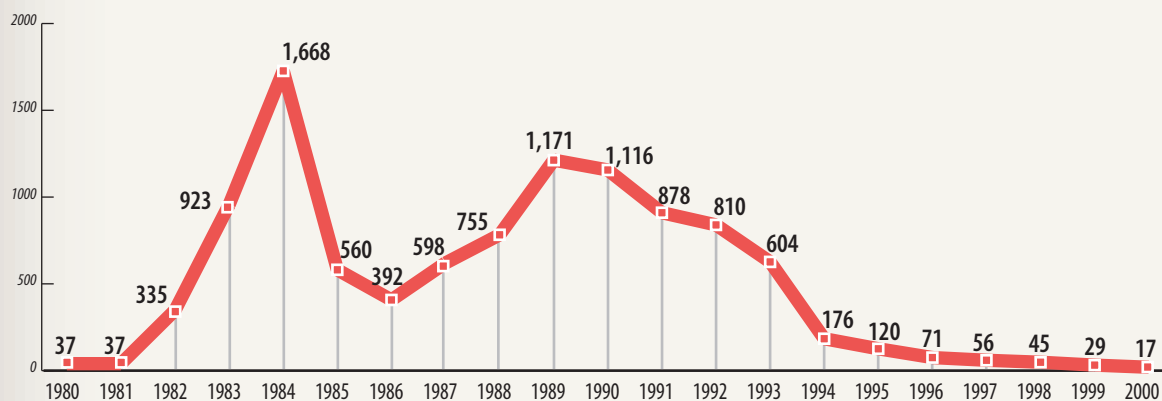
## Deaths and Disappearances by year they occurred

Cases by group responsible for the violence

STATE AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY FORCES

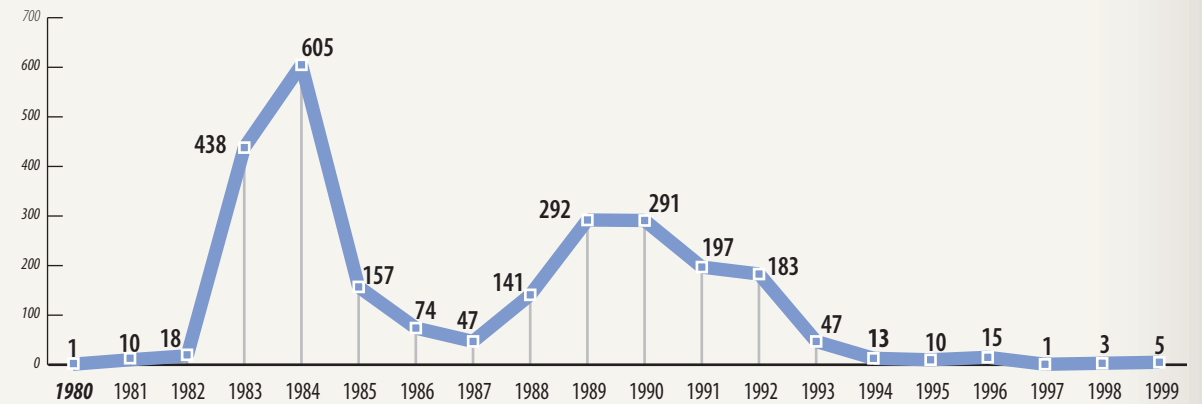


PCP-SL



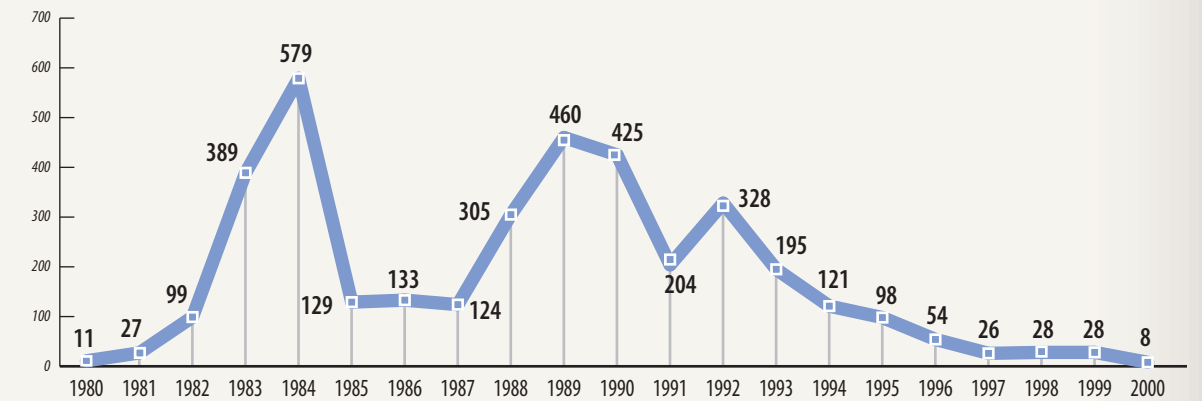
## Forced disappearances

Total cases by year and place



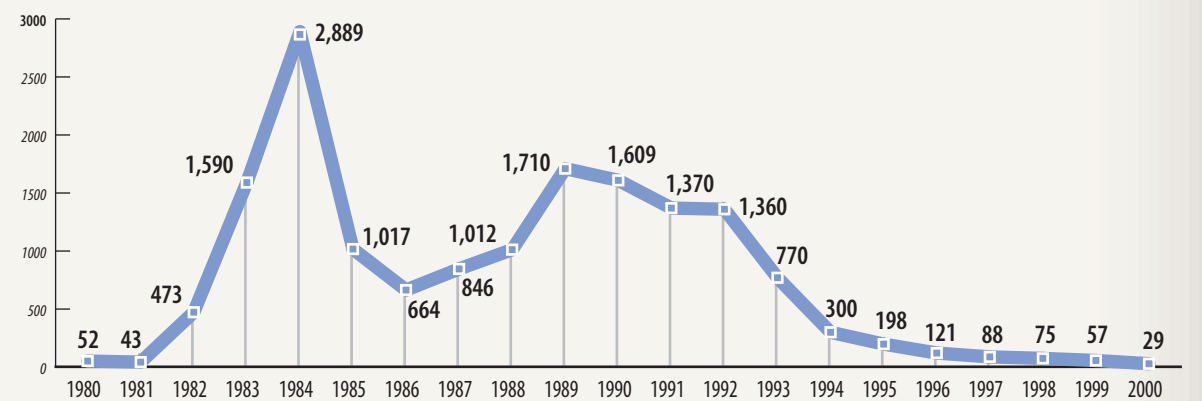
## Torture

Total cases by year and place



## Death and extrajudicial executions

Total cases by year and place





# Timeline of the internal armed conflict (1980-2000)

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was given the mandate to investigate violent acts and human rights violations committed between May 1980 and November 2000. The CVR organized this period, which spanned 20 years and six months, into five stages that were marked by political decision or events of the conflict that had a nationwide impact.

## 1980-1990

### ▽ Start of the armed violence

**1980**  
**May 17**  
 PCP-SL begins armed actions, burning ballot boxes in Chuschi.  
**July 28**  
 Start of Fernando Belaunde's administration (1)

**1981**  
**March**  
 PCP-SL assault on Huamanga prison  
**September**  
 Shining Path's Edith Lagos killed (2)  
**December**  
 Army put in charge of fight



1



2

### ▽ Militarization of the conflict

**1983**  
**January**  
 First counter-insurgency operations by the armed forces; death of journalists in Uchuraccay (3)

**1984**  
**July**  
 Four common graves discovered in Pucayacu (4)



3



4

### ▽ Spread of violence nationwide

**1985**  
**July 28**  
 President Alan García Pérez inaugurated  
**August**  
 Massacre in Accomarca

**1986**  
**June 18-19**  
 Prison massacres (5)

**1987**  
**November**  
 MRTA campaign in northern jungle



5



6

### ▽ Extreme crisis: Subversive offensive and counter-offensive

**1988**  
**May**  
 Massacre in Cayara (6)  
**July**  
 PCP-SL newspaper publishes interview with Abimael Guzmán

**1989**  
**March**  
 Worsening of subversive attacks and redefinition of principal actors' military strategies

**1990**  
**July**  
 MRTA militants escape from Castro Castro prison (7)  
 President Alberto Fujimori inaugurated



7

## 1991-2000

### ▽ Decline of subversive activities, rise of authoritarianism and corruption

**1991**  
**November 3**  
 Massacre in Barrios Altos (8)

**1992**  
**February**  
 Murder of María Elena Moyano (9)  
**April 5**  
 Coup  
**July**  
 Attack on Tarata Street (10)  
**September**  
 Arrest of Abimael Guzmán and other PCP-SL leaders (11)



8



9



10



11

**1993**  
**July**  
 Discovery of common grave with remains of La Cantuta victims

**1994**

**1995**  
**July 28**  
 Fujimori inaugurated for second term



12



13



14



15

**1996**  
**December**  
 Assault on Japanese ambassador's residence by MRTA (12)

**1997**  
**April**  
 Rescue of hostages at Japanese ambassador's residence (13)

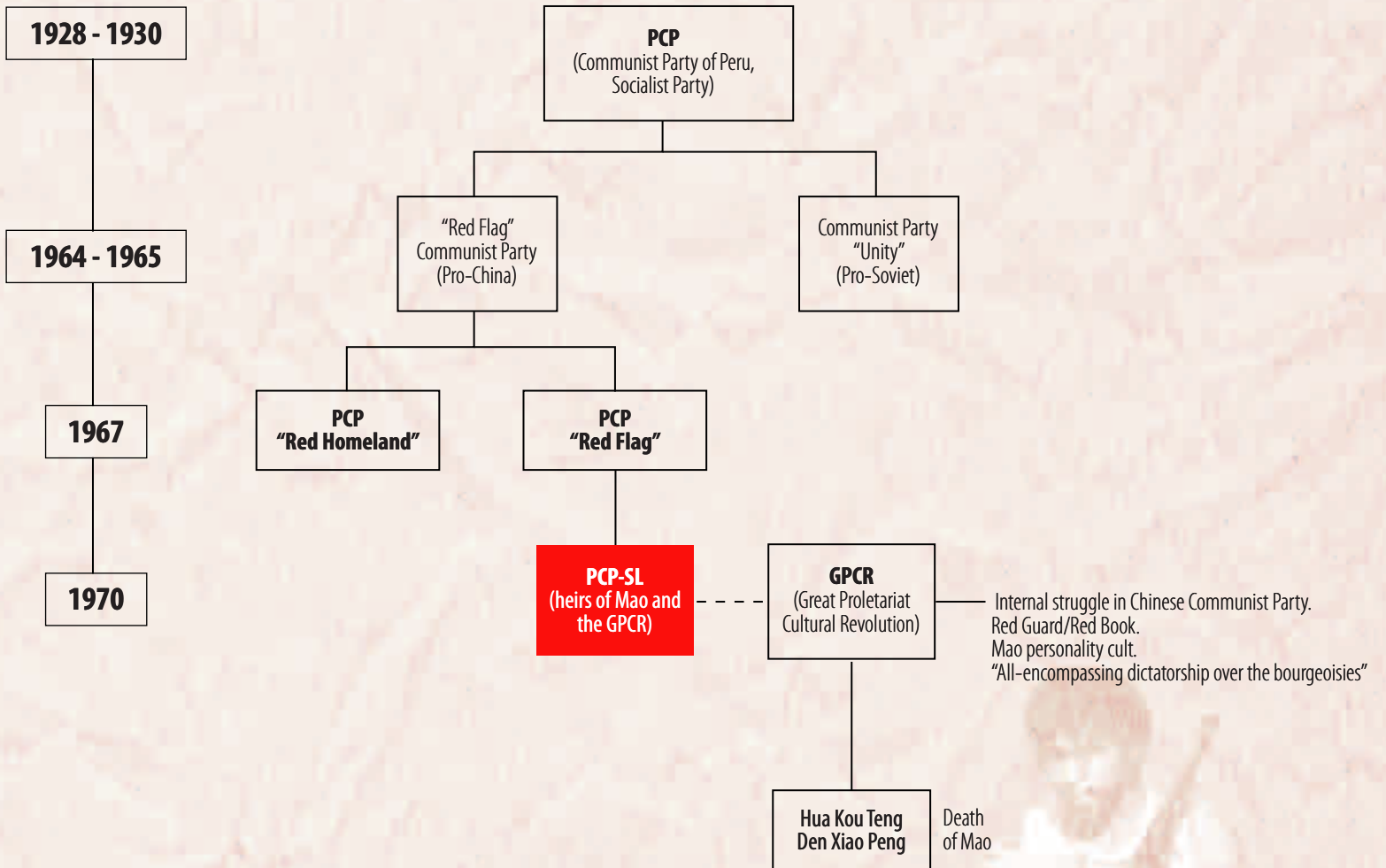
**1998**

**1999**  
**July**  
 Arrest of Oscar Ramírez Duran, Feliciano (14)

**2000**  
**September**  
 First corruption video, "Kouri video," revealed (15)  
**November**  
 End of Fujimori's third government

# PCP-Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path)

## ► HISTORY OF THE PCP-SL



## ► ORGANIZATION OF REGIONAL COMMITTEES

### Northern Regional Committee

- 1 La Libertad
- 2 Cajamarca
- 3 Amazonas
- 4 Ancash
- 5 Tumbes
- 6 Piura
- 7 Lambayeque

### Mid-North Zone Committee

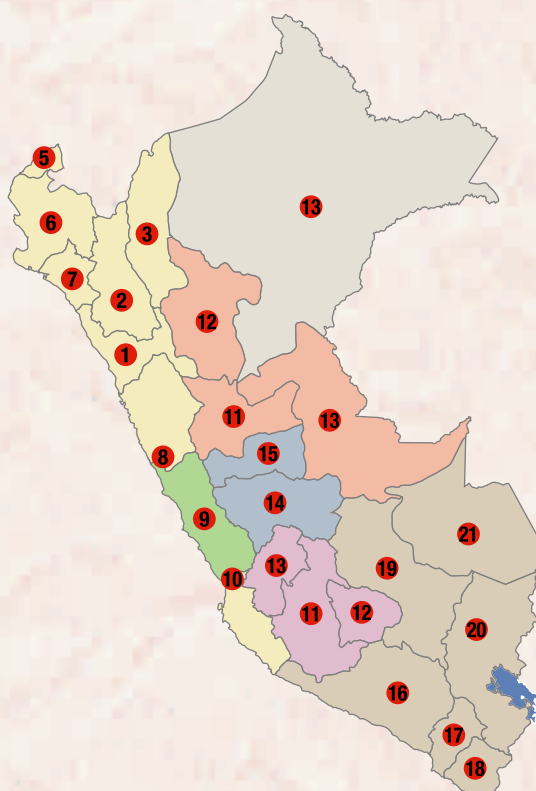
Huaraz, Huari, Huacho, Barranca, Paramonga, Pativilca, Callejón de Huaylas, Callejón de Conchucos

### Metropolitan Regional Committee

- 9 Comité Zonal Norte, Comité Zonal Sur, Comité Zonal Este, Comité Zonal Oeste, Comité Zonal Centro, Comité Zonal Chosica

### Mid-South Zone Committee

Cañete, Pisco, Chincha, Ica



### Principal Regional Committee

- 11 Ayacucho
- 12 Apurímac
- 13 Huancavelica

### Huallaga Regional Committee

- 11 Huánuco
- 12 San Martín
- 13 Ucayali

### Iquitos Cell

### Central Regional Committee

- 14 Junín
- 15 Pasco

### Southern Regional Committee

- 16 Arequipa
- 17 Moquegua
- 18 Tacna
- 19 Cusco
- 20 Puno
- 21 Madre de Dios

# Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru (MRTA)

The Marxist – Leninist Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR – ML) and the Left-wing Revolutionary Movement – The Militant (MIR-EM) were the political parties from which the MRTA originated.

▼ 1980



**June**

VII Party unification: Marxist – Leninist Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR – ML) and Left-wing Revolutionary Movement – The Militant (MIR-EM)

**July 28**

Inauguration of President Fernando Belaúnde Terry

▼ 1982



**March 1**

Central Committee Agreement: to adopt the name Revolutionary Movement Túpac Amaru (MRTA).  
The new organization's name was not made public until January 1984.

▼ 1984



**January**

Attack against a police station in Villa el Salvador.  
The first MRTA Central Committee meeting was held in Lima.

**November 27**

MRTA members were arrested in Cusco by police forces.

**December 8**

The kidnapping of reporter Vicky Peláez and her cameraman, Percy Raborg, both from Channel 2, was the first MRTA action that showed their intention to use mass media as part of their strategy.

1985

▼ 1985-1986



**April**

First appearance of their online bulletin: *Venceremos* (We will prevail)

**May**

MRTA members successfully interfered with Channel 5's television transmission to broadcast their own radio station signal: November 4

**July**

A car bomb exploded at the Ministry of the Interior (Ministry in charge of internal security and police forces). President Alan García Pérez's government began.

**August 16**

First MRTA press conference. Víctor Polay Campos, Secretary General of the MRTA was in charge. Truce for Alan García.

**November 11**

A commando group lead by Néstor Cerpa took El Nacional headquarters, a newspaper of national circulation.

1986

**August 7**

Second MRTA press conference in Lima. End of the one-year long truce for the government of Alan García Pérez.

▼ 1989-1990

1989



**February**

Capture of Víctor Polay and Lucero Cumpa.

**April 28**

**Military Campaign Los Molinos. MRTA's objective:**

To seize the city of Tarma.

Armed confrontation between the MRTA and an Army squad.

**Result:** 55 members of the MRTA dead.

MRTA members were buried in a common grave in the Jauja cemetery.

1990



**July 28**

Inauguration of President Alberto Fujimori Fujimori

1995

▼ 1995-1996



**Year 1995**

Capture of Miguel Rincón Rincón, who was preparing to take Congress

Capture of Lori Berenson, American citizen

**July 28**

Beginning of Alberto Fujimori Fujimori's second government

1996

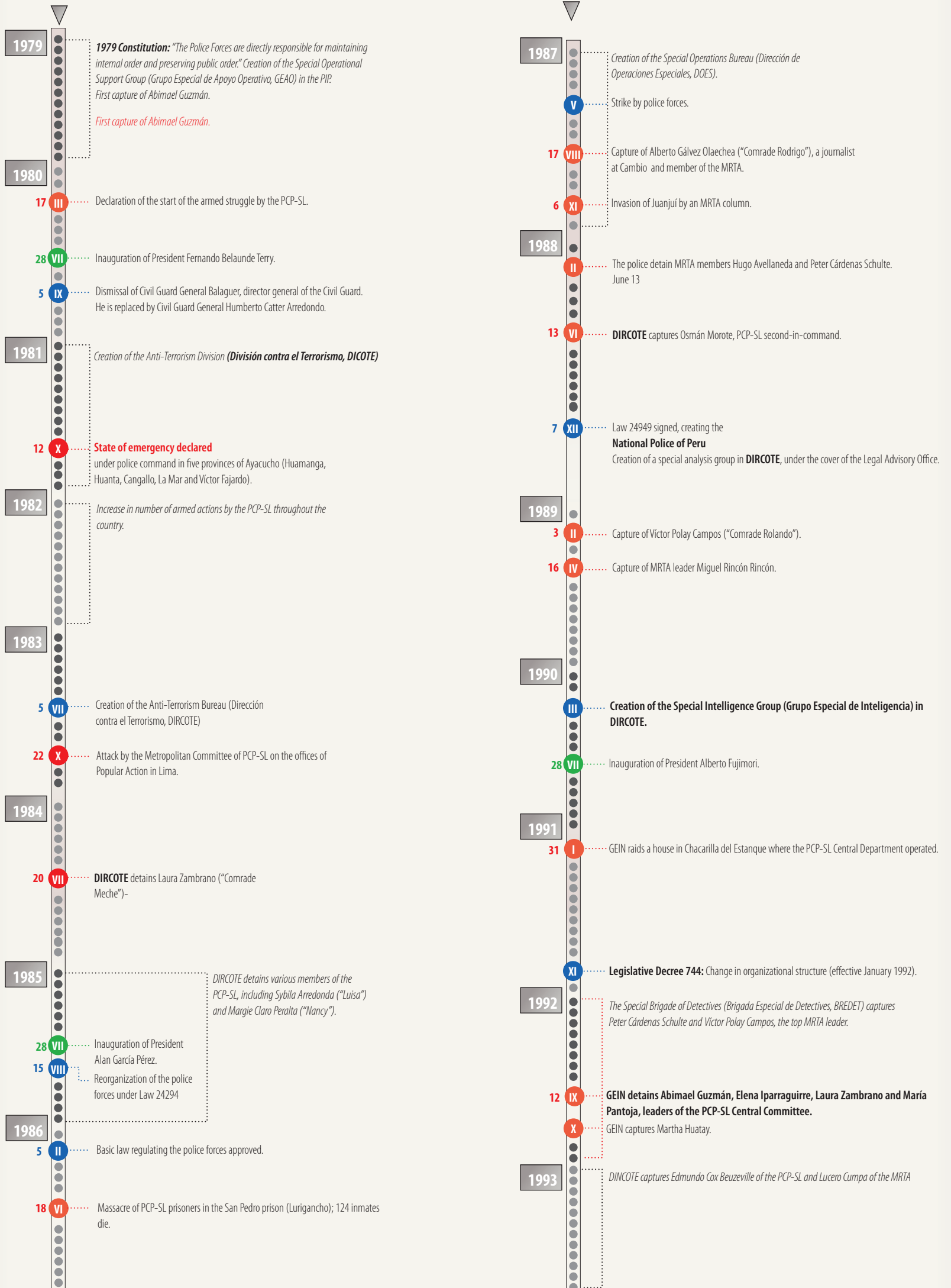


**December**

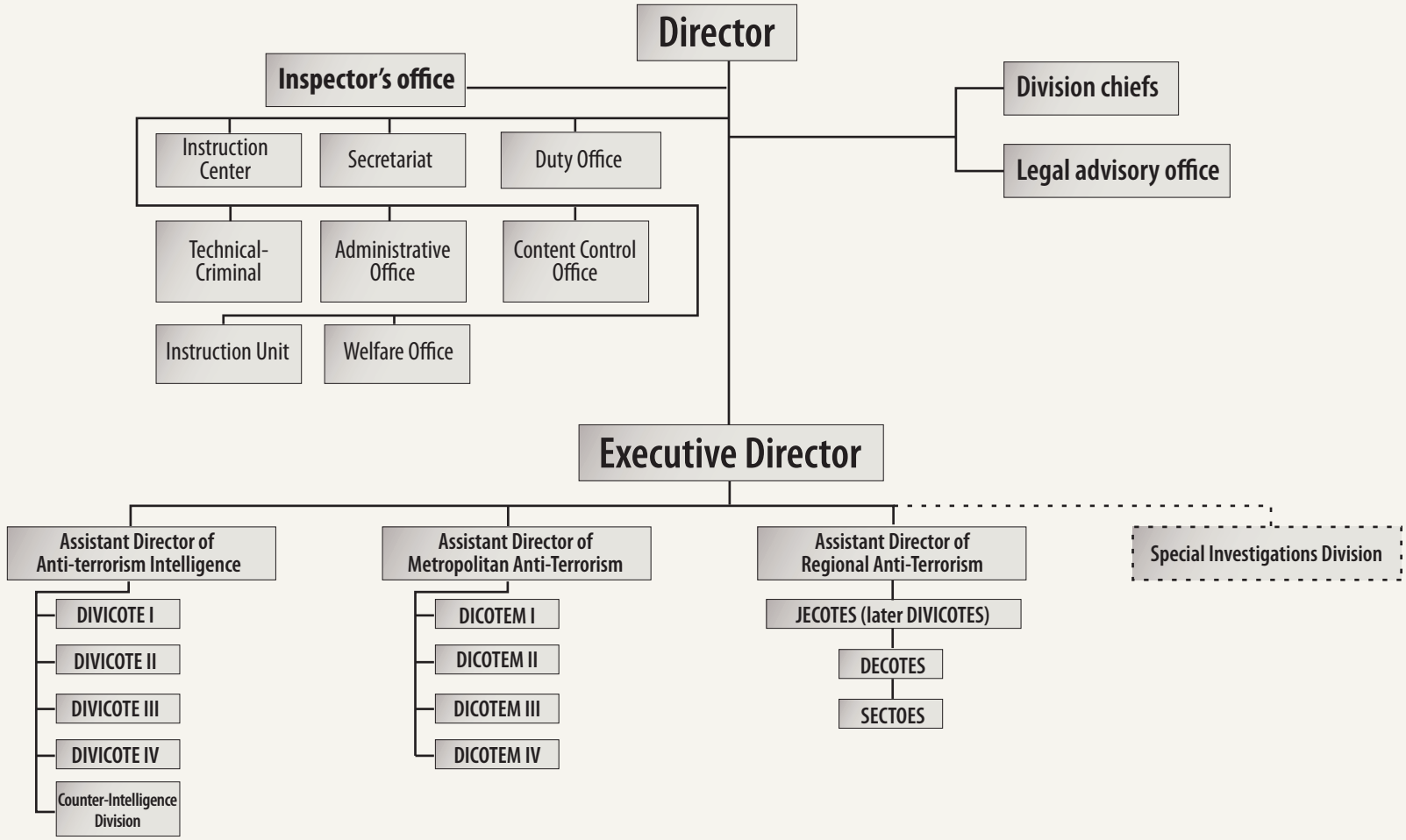
The MRTA takes the residence of the Japanese ambassador in Peru.

# The Process of the Police Forces

Under the 1979 Constitution, the police forces were directly responsible for maintaining public order. The police institutions (Civil Guard, Investigative Police of Peru and Republican Guard) were considered part of the police forces of the Ministry of the Interior (formerly the Ministry of Government and Police), in accordance with the provisions of their respective organic laws, passed in 1969 (Decree Laws 18069, 18070 and 18071. These also established that their mission included functions assigned by the chief of the armed forces for internal defense in case of war.



# DINCOTE Organizational Chart – 1992



# Anti-subversive Offensives

## First phase, 1983-1986

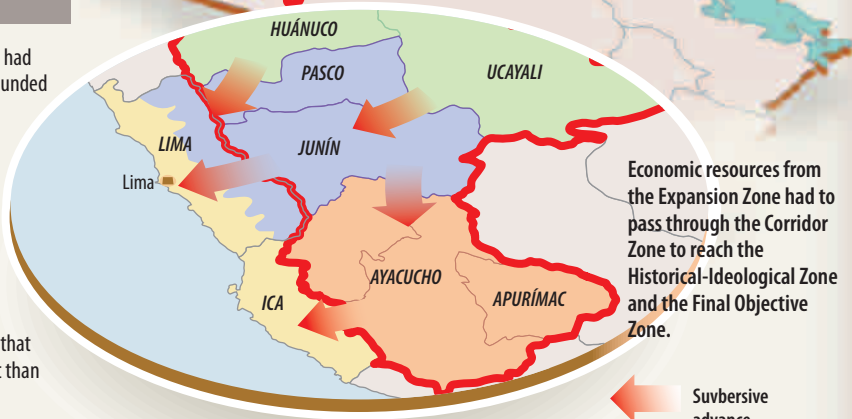
- Carried out in the Historical-Ideological Zone.
- The armed forces lacked adequate intelligence about PCP-SL's organization and methods of operation.
- This campaign struck a heavy blow to PCP-SL's organization and operational capacity, but at the cost of many serious human rights violations.

During the First Campaign, troops were sent from the capital to fight the subversives.

Advance of the armed forces →

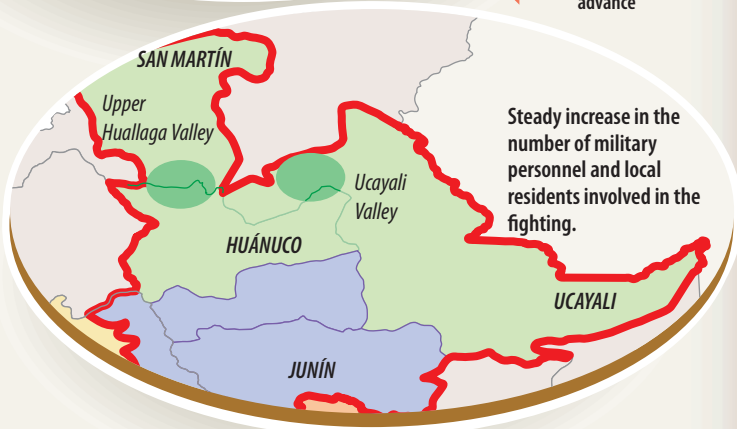
## Second phase, 1989-1990

- Centered on the Corridor Zone. If PCP-SL had controlled this zone, it would have surrounded Lima.
- A comprehensive anti-subversive strategy approved in August 1989 is implemented and becomes the main weapon for defeating PCP-SL.
- This resulted in human rights violations that were less extensive but more systematic than those of the first phase.



## Third phase, 1990-1991

- Centered on the Expansion and Supply Zone.
- The Upper Huallaga Valley in Huánuco and San Martín and the Ucayali Valley in Ucayali department were the area where PCP-SL accumulated greater military and economic capacity.
- On the Huallaga Front, the armed forces fought the most difficult battles of the entire conflict.



- Historical-Ideological Zone (Red outline)
- Corridor Zone (Blue)
- Expansion and Supply Zone (Green)
- Final Objective Zone (Yellow)
- Military Actions (Red outline)