

## **The pain of the subalterns and the desire for an unfinished revolution: Narratives about political violence in the Aymara Nation – Peru**

### **El dolor de los subalternos y el deseo de una revolución inconclusa: Narrativas sobre la violencia política en la Nación Aymara – Perú**

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Received: 24/07/2020

Accepted: 01/11/2020

#### **Abstract**

In the lines that come, as a target macro, attempts will be made to examine the political violence and claims of revolution by the actors of the Aymara Nation (NAM) as it encounters a profound impact caused by the seditious groups and the Peruvian state in the context of the dark decade of the 80s and 90s of the last century that remains a sequel to the collective memory of the victims. Considering the qualitative approach, in-depth interview and discourse analysis as a fundamental hermeneutic orientation, the perceptions of the 12 actors who were leaders in the fabric of violence are examined. The results show that the violation of Human Rights (HR) under repression, persecution and selective disappearances to the detriment of the Aymara population, creates tensions, fear, paranoia and the desire of revolution against insurgent groups and the same State that was once complicit in the genocide to the heart of the inhabitants of the NAM. In conclusion, only the opening of binding democratic channels between government and Aymara can redefine new spaces for transdisciplinary dialogues guarded by truth and imperative justice.

**Keywords:** Political violence, collective memory, revolution, armed conflict, violation of human rights.

#### **Resumen**

En las líneas que vienen, como macro objetivo, se intentará examinar la violencia política y las pretensiones de revolución por los actores de la Nación Aymara (NAM), al encontrarse con un profundo impacto causado por los grupos sediciosos y el Estado peruano en el contexto de la década oscura de los años '80 y '90 del siglo pasado que, todavía queda como secuela en la memoria colectiva de las víctimas. Considerando el enfoque cualitativo, la entrevista en profundidad y el análisis de discurso como orientación hermenéutica fundamental, se examinan las percepciones de los 12 actores que en el entramado de la violencia fueron dirigentes. Los resultados evidencian que, la violación de los Derechos Humanos (DH) bajo la represión, persecución y las desapariciones selectivas en detrimento de la población Aymara, ha generado tensiones, miedo, paranoia y el deseo de revolución contra los grupos insurgentes y el mismo Estado que en su momento fue cómplice del genocidio hacia el corazón de los habitantes de la NAM. En conclusión, solo la apertura de los canales democráticos vinculantes entre el gobierno y los aymaras, podrá redefinir nuevos espacios de diálogos transdisciplinarios custodiados por la verdad y la justicia imperativa.

**Palabras clave:** Violencia política, memoria colectiva, revolución, conflicto armado, violación de los derechos humanos.

## Introduction

When the admission of the former Soviet bloc countries to the international democratic community was consolidated at the beginning of the millennium, the world picture offered reasons to consider that the two fundamental institutions of post-war political development, democracy and the HRs, had come to stay (Valdés, 2020). From that perspective, the nominee maintains that Fukuyama (1989) gives a misreading of that famous text that gave rise to a lengthy controversy over the end of history that, according to the equivocation, would have led to the triumph of liberal democracy over the various forms of autocracy. Because, that excessive liberal optimism, which was little undermined by its detractors, was tarnished by Huntington (1993) when he warned that the new division facing humanity was a clash of civilizations. Despite all this, the equivocation was that the Hegelian appeal of the label End of History for the triumph of liberalism weighed more than its own argument, when it sustained: “Perhaps the same prospect of centuries of boredom at the end of history will help to set history back on track” (Fukuyama, 1989, p. 18). Undoubtedly, his judgment on the end of Soviet and Maoist socialism was the root cause of the rejection of his thesis (Valdés, 2020).

As discussed in the previous section, The thesis evidently showed its error when socialism had remained as rust in the background of that country in the world and in Peru, which was not even shaken by a pathological phenomenon called the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path (PCP-SL) and an authoritarian state very similar to the previous one. From there we talk about the political violence that pulverized democracy for which millions had died and HRs apparently in NAM had no place. As we know, Peru has experienced the most intense, extensive and prolonged episode of violence in its entire Republican history. However, despite the importance of internal armed conflict throughout the 1980s and the widespread crisis in which the country was plunged, the PCP-SL was and to some extent remains unique to other armed groups in Latin America (LA). Not only because it was the only Maoist guerrilla in the entire continent, but because of its exceptionally lethal character (Degregori, 2011).

Indeed, the PCP-SL was responsible for at least 46% of fatalities of internal armed conflict, moreover, it

must be taken into account that in no LA country, the percentage of fatalities caused by subversive organizations reached two digits (Degregori, 2011). It is therefore worth mentioning that the total number of dead and missing caused by the Peruvian internal armed conflict can be estimated at 69,280 people, within a 95% confidence interval whose upper and lower limits are 61,007 and 77,552, respectively. However, the relative proportions of victims according to the main actors in the conflict would be: 46% caused by the PCP-SL; 30% caused by State Agents; and 24% caused by other agents or circumstances such as: peasant rounds, self-defense committees, Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), paramilitary groups, unidentified agents or victims in clashes or situations of armed combat (Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación [CVR], 2003a; Degregori, 2011).

With regard to the southern mountains of Peru, SL incursions were present throughout the highland region. The main attacks targeted association companies, increasing from 15, in 1983, to 22 in 1984 and 33 in 1985. In 1986 the hikers carried out 83 attacks and the number of victims amounted to 32. In 1987, violence actions were reduced after the hiking column was decimated, with 35 attacks being recorded, however, they increased to 77 in 1988 and 97 in 1989 (CVR, 2003b). While political violence concludes with the fall of the domes of subversive movements and the return to democracy in conjunction with DH. The conduct of social actors had not changed substantially, and the state had also not regained its tuitive role (Canessa, 2011) as the nation’s regulatory and peacemaking element.

Putting the above arguments afloat, the NAM did not materialize official records of persecution and torture, but yes, they exist in the very facticity of the actors’ collective memory. So the task is to show the fear and pain of the victims through the narratives gathered from the hearts of the Aymara peoples with some eagerness for revolution. Since, Peru and the Highland region have experienced over the past thirty years a series of traumatic experiences that exacerbated their secular problems and whose consequences continue to be the case with individual and collective imagination and behaviors. Hence, political violence as a social phenomenon has great repercussions on the mental health of affected populations, both individually and collectively, and its approach

must be multidimensional in order to respond to the complexity of its consequences (Cotler, 1997; Cueva, 2005; Vera-Márquez et al., 2015).

Faced with the arguments put forward there and clearly considering the research objective, the study will attempt to examine the political violence and claims of revolution by NAM actors by encountering shocking burdens caused by the insurgent groups and the Peruvian state under Fujimori-Montesinos in the context of the bleak decade at the end of the 20th century that remains a sequel to the collective memory of innocent victims.

## Literature review

### Political violence

Looking at the social and political reality that is currently being lived in the world, it can be seen that, as in the past, political violence continues to be a means of dominating others and establishing, changing or preserving a certain social order. This constant relationship between power and violence makes political violence a complex issue with social, political and psychological consequences, among others, of vital importance to human beings. Seen in this way, the need and possibility to study this phenomenon from different theoretical perspectives is interesting for researchers in the social and human sciences (Lúnecken, 2000; Barreto & Borja, 2007).

In short, political violence is regarded as the use of force to conquer or to exercise power. Violence as a human, social and political element present in history, represents in multiple circumstances and dissymboles, the formation of the political organization that is subjecting to violence in institutions that debate, execute and impart justice, exercising power as a subject to law (Talancón, 2018). In the context of internal terrorism, as a logic of action, it is not called political violence, although it is generally one of its disastrous extensions (Wieviorka, 1992) that Peru and the NAM were able to witness. But it can be promoted abroad as an emulate model, but much of the myth is based on the idea that it was free of political violence, that there was little bloodshed (Baby, 2018) situation that is unbelievable. Because HR were violated along the way by setting curfews and intermittently intervening (Barrachina, 2016) innocent people like the Aymara Indians.

From the above, we have the argument of Gámez (2020), who believes that, political violence has been in the birth of a new society as far as can be seen in all the experiences of social transformation, although the supposed new society has not been so new but only a new model of the old, with other dominators instead of the deciduous and others dominated rather than those who could no longer live as before but soon used to live a new way of domination. Political violence has always been there, so present that sometimes it is not noticeable, nor can you see how it is there, stalking each other as it strikes each other, closing one's eyes with multiple distractors so that they do not see that others are closing their eyes forever or tearing them off.

### Methodology

Given the explanatory, interpretative and particular nature of the objectives, this article had a qualitative approach that has been carried out through in-depth interviews and discussion group (E. Mora, Pujal i Llombart & Albertín, 2017; Aparicio & León, 2018; Suarez-Errekalde & Royo, 2020; Huanca-Arohuanca et al., 2020) with a development of multifactorial approach, based on a participatory approach based on the needs felt by the population (Aponte, 2017; Espejel & Castillo, 2019; Rosales-Acosta, Pérez-Vidaurre, & Dover-Carrillo, 2019; Carpio et al., 2019) NAM survivor.

Taking into account the study, the orientation of the design was accentuated in the comprehensive hermeneutics, through a study of discourse analysis and the categorial analysis of narratives (Ospina-Ramírez et al., 2018) referring to the theoretical-conceptual framing that define the categories of typification and ethos as basic concepts for interpretive study (Ordaz-Mejía & Osorio-García, 2018). The respective technique is due to speech analysis, the discussion groups that successively employed semi-structured interviews with twelve actors (Muñoz-Cantero & Losada-Puente, 2018) framed within political violence. Under this premise, the qualitative interview was able to identify the memory of the subjects, their experiences and visions at a given time (García, 2017; Huanca-Arohuanca, 2021).

### Participating groups

The actors in the field of analysis are the responsibility of the directing authorities at the

time of the internal armed conflict caused by SL and other insurgent groups. However, in order to establish the non-probabilistic sample of an intentional and theoretically oriented type (Sandoval & Carvallo, 2017) the following 2 originating organizations manifested at the time of political violence were considered as the axis of analysis and exegesis:

1. *Organization of 15 Peasant Communities (15CC)*. Organization responsible for ensuring pluralistic justice at the NAM.
2. *Organization of 9 Peasant Communities (9CC)*. Collective dedicated to ensuring the safety and integrity of aymaras.

It should be noted that 12 key actors were worked on, who in that context of the internal armed conflict in Peru were leaders and representatives of the two organizations (15CC and 9CC) symmetrically divided into six for each organization, with an average age fluctuating between fifty and eighty years (table 1). Therefore, the NAM peasant organizations under the standards and edges required by the research technique, made the originality and reliability of their allegations maintained in the time of the discussion groups (Huanca-Arohuanca, 2019b; Huanca-Arohuanca & Geldrech, 2020).

**Table 1.**  
*Discussion groups in the research.*

Name	Age	Sex	Organization	Zone
Carlos (S1)	68	M	15CC	High
Víctor (S2)	56	M	15CC	High
Cornelio (S3)	76	M	15CC	Middle
Eulogio (S4)	80	M	15CC	Middle
Hugo (S5)	50	M	15CC	Low
Jesús (S6)	54	M	15CC	Low
Néstor (S7)	52	M	9CC	High
Rogelio (S8)	64	M	9CC	High
Zacarias (S9)	58	M	9CC	Middle
Rubén (S10)	50	M	9CC	Middle
Lucio (S11)	63	M	9CC	Low
Edgar (S12)	58	M	9CC	Low

Source: own elaboration.

### Procedures for the execution

From the count of the Aymara organizations that closely visualized the obvious conflict in Peru and NAM, the selection of direct and indirect actors for methodological treatment was executed. Following the Sandoval and Carvallo (2017)

method the collection was carried out through symmetrical pairs to ensure that the participants met the requirement to be authorities or leaders of the aforementioned organizations. Meanwhile, discussion groups provided openness taking into account the reality of the actors to dialog about perceptions and reminiscences about the perpetuated political violence within NAM. In addition, the answers expressed are voluntary, free and conscious generated by the actors and there is no manipulation by the person who collects the information. In short, the discussion groups were held between January and August 2019, taking place in the first instance in their respective districts and having the final meeting in the capital city that lasted approximately 3 hours with the prior consent and rubric of the attendees in honor of the veracity (Huanca-Arohuanca, 2019b; Huanca-Arohuanca & Pilco, 2021).

### Results and discussion

#### Political violence as a symptom of the state crisis and SL rise in the NAM

For nation aymara and all subaltern peoples, ideal democracy is based on the egalitarian bond between rulers and ruled. Hence, the former are responsible for unrestrictedly guaranteeing good governance, reminding them that peace is like a poetic intonation, in which the verses are symmetrically sung by all civilians and those concurrent to the country-people. The second fulfils the regulatory and supervisory role of its citizens who bet and placed confidence that their freedoms are not upset, so ensuring equal opportunities for those who have the least is the maximum of every government.

In Peru over the past 30 decades, however, only negligent, populist and dictatorial governments have been found that have not guaranteed what was originally sought in a nation and, on the other hand, found a weak, submissive and illiterate people who were almost entirely unaffé about their most basic rights. Not because they wanted to be in that condition, but because, the state that promised them a number of fundamental rights and education did not, more on the contrary, strengthen hatred, racial/sexist discrimination and the desire for rebellion.

Since independence the Peruvian state hates us, holds a grudge against us, discriminates

against us and kills us worse than animals... Aymaras deserve respect and recognition... The state has always marginalized and silenced us in different ways. I believe that from the time of the terrorists to the present day nothing has changed, they continue to abuse our rights... then as Aymaras we are we have to react to those abuses. If we unsote against the abusive state, we'll be right, or do we have to die on our knees, right?... (S10).

Since they're going to disappear us that way, we're supposed to have elected the president to protect us and not to kill us... With the tale of the SL the Chinese has murdered several Indians like me, and the terroirs with the tale that we were snitches killed several innocent settlers... All we want today is justice... we no longer believe in the *k'aras* rulers, we want a president like brother Evo in Bolivia (S12).

In this section there is clear evidence that those who govern in Peru have not solved socio-economic problems and above all coercing political problems. To that extent, the social organizations of the 9CC and 15CC do not feel the representativeness of the so-called *k'aras* that have ruled since the republic began, since, rulers such as; Mariano Ignacio Prado, Alberto Fujimori and a Pedro Pablo Kuczynski of foreign transcendence have presided over Peru. The actors representing the NAM demand a government similar to the Plurinational State of Bolivia. Not because he is an indigenous or original, but because of the legitimacy he has had with his people.

On the other hand, the Aymaras denounce the insurgent groups and the Peruvian state from committing genocide in the NAM, since within the framework of national regulations the heinous events have been left in an arbitral manner. What is expressed, nuances somewhat with the civilizing matrices in the light of the notions of real-doctrinary racism, genocide and ethnocide (Arboleda, 2016) of the subversives and the colombian government itself to its population. Therefore, in Peruvian national criminal law on crimes of genocide, humanity and war crimes, it is necessary to install through a systematic incorporation process, the provisions of certain imperative statutes and the political will to do so factually (Villarreal, 2017; Casas & Flores, 2018; Castro & Téllez, 2018), to achieve the minimums of justice in the villages of the subalternity.

## Revolution as a final end in the Aymara Highlands of Peru

In Peru there are initial nuclei of revolution, from the moment we become aware of the Spanish invasion until the moment of the internal armed conflict caused by SL. In this approach, revolution can be regarded to some extent as a crime, hostility and uprising against the State or the powers of the State, so that it is inadmissible whether they do not have legitimacy or are duly legal to the requests raised there. However, the NAM is conceptualized as a cradle of mass revolution in the face of external forces that encourage exploitation.

The aymaras were already reactionists to the power and mistreatment of the *mistis*... Previously the large gamonals of the districts of Acora, Ilave, Laraqueri, Juli and Pomata had their land abusing peasant communities, they were exploiters and thieves. For example, if a peasant did not greet the *mistis*, they would take away their lands, their cattle, and take everything. Now the same thing goes on, the great come and despise the Aymara, do not value their customs and treat them as if they were a dog... for all this, the Aymara refuse, feel outraged, and began to rebel before a state that does nothing to support them (S6).

There is an exasperation toward the State that was misunderstood of the problems that lived-their inhabitants live in the different subalternities of Peru. Thus, in the NAM, the uprisings against the central government are in the process of latency, in other words, at any time social movements may resurface in demand of certain rights not constituted and recognized by the State. Given that the social organizations studied express the desire to continue in the struggle if their social conditions do not change. But what is most striking is that, in the 21st century, there continues to exist the exploitation and denial of the other in the style of the feudal era or the gamonalism established in the puneño altiplano in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. If it was the *mistis* who previously earned the merit of being the exploiters par excellence, it seems today that the great ones have that privilege. To that extent, when the great are spoken in NAM, reference is made to transnational and multinational companies that concentrate economic power in complicity with the government on duty to ignore and dismerit the opinion of the aymaras.

We have endured many atrocities on the part of terrorists and the state... apparently we have never been regarded as human beings. are there many families who have lost their loved ones, now who take responsibility for them? Nobody... our homeland because of bad presidents and murderers is sick (S11).

Widespread violence has achieved a very high level of dehumanization and at the same time a real desontologization. The emaciated anthropological being either socially or economically often ultimately resorts to the collective to reorganize its defense. The Aymara complies with the above. However, at the time of the internal armed conflict, although they were not regarded as agents of the most important class by governments on duty, they had no intention of resorting to violence. Because they knew that such events only bring human losses stained with the dark pain that murders the conscience of indigenous men.

It is necessary to point out that, when one is already not in accordance with the parameters that he handles and establishes the government, the democracy can be questioned in all the levels and multilevels of the sphere that constitutes it, so that, the actors representatives of the social organizations think that it is correct to be infuriated against those who have the power, if this one is oppressive or damages the HR. For its part, SL to some extent raised a counter-offensive to equate the conditions of the most vulnerable with those who have always held perpetual abuses. However, everything changed when those insurgent groups began with targeted killings and a series of torture mechanisms towards the andean population to which he had promised substantial changes. Under this premise, the insurrection can be reconfigured as a revolt supercomposed by some communities or certain groups who at some point make the decision to contradict the arbitrarily established order.

We have always respected the State and the institutions that accompany it... but, we will not tolerate a state that murders and disappears our brothers and sisters like terrorist groups... what evil have we Aymara done to be massacred and killed?... then, seeing a series of outrages against us, hatred of “the greats” is born... we will never forget the things they did to us. Our future generations will remember that we were

massacred and in them our suffering will be present (S7).

It is noted notoriously that the ontological being Aymara finds a degree of resentment against the state governed by *the great* and a repulsion by the terrorist groups annulling the line that separated the *eros* from the *tanatos* as a freudian psychoanalytic reconfiguration. At the same time, genuine respect for the State and human life is also visualized as the maximums of anthropologically constituted subjects. However, the burning and latent blood of the aymaras remains when they manifest that memory does not kill oblivion.

The idea of revolution begins from the moment we are born with Aymara blood... that blood that generation after generation has resisted Spanish invaders and other foreigners... we are already tired of tolerating violations of our rights and that for whatever happens to the rulers in turn, We end up paying for everything... The Aymara people are in their just rebellion and the revolution that can take place in the coming years to claim our freedom will be completely legitimate. We are raising all this with the aim of achieving social justice (S5).

If the emphasis is placed on the S5 discourse, it can be seen that the *other's* recomposition exists in the underlying narrative of the claim raised by the aymaras with qualitative and quantitative kinship. So what seems to be fundamentally helpful in opening the way to revolution is the customary Aymara blood from us to give the struggle for equality and plural justice. At that point, there is a suspicion that under any circumstances a generalized revolution can erupt in the NAM, because, the natives seem to have ample reason to enter into a close row against those who have not served as links in access to justice and freedom.

Likewise, from the doctrine it is based that the leadership of the Peruvian State must be vested in governments with an inclination to dialog and the unrestricted respect of HR within the framework of the International Conventions. The ruler who performs his work according to the above, then, is-will be democratic and there will be no inhumic discussions affecting political management. But if this management acts outside the framework of the law, violating human dignity, it would be before a *de facto* or dictatorial ruler unlawfully established and implanted. In this perspective, the perceptions

of the leaders of the 9CC and 15CC show, on the one hand, that the three Peruvian governments (Belaunde, García and Fujimori) did not act under the cores of legality and, on the other hand, the insurgents did not understand that subjugation of the population would not help in the construction of communism. In simpler terms, the socialism that SL sought did not meet democratic talantes, since it was genocidal par excellence.

We need a president who respects us and who makes us feel human beings ... why do we love a president who is in charge to us to kill? Whenever we are going to choose, we vote with a lot of hope that perhaps this president could worry for us the poor, as it made it Velazco (S3).

There is a loss of anthropocentrism in the aymara who have long endured and seen from very close range the atrocities that the government in the company of seditious groups has been implanting in each of the Aboriginal groups. The governed want to recover humanity lost by systematic genocides and paranoia, appealing to the democratic dialogue that is frequently usualized at the time of elections. In NAM its inhabitants vote to see in prognosis a better reality that they can talk about for generations, as well as they do of the good representatives that Peru had, as is the case of General Juan Velazco Alvarado (1968 - 1975), ruler who made the Agrarian Reform feasible in all spheres of a feudal state constituted by centuries.

What has been stated so far seems to invite the clandestine principles of work to be afloat for the proper functioning of revolutionary intelligences categorized into three: clandestineness, compartmentalization and verticality. Knowing that the former is described as a value that is based on secrecy, not only as protection out but also internally of the organization. The second is based on fragmenting the information to ensure that an enemy hit does partial and non-total damage to the organization. And the third requires strict respect for top-down hierarchy and vice versa of organization and the application of leninist principles of democratic centralism (Acosta, 2020). But haven't the times and conditions at the entrance to today's millennium changed? It seems not for the inhabitants of the NAM, hence, the desire of revolution to build men and women

remains an int act, as a bold and original proposal will be (Casola, 2020; Huanca-Arohuanca, 2019a; Andrade, 2020).

### Repression-persecution and attack on freedom

Since the axiomatization of political violence by the state, insurgent groups and other anomaly agents, repression and persecutions against the elementary principle of the humanoid species, called freedom, can develop. So, the enemies of the decaying state turn out to be the seditious groups and the group of innocent civilians who sedent the people subsumed into poverty and the worst abandonment since the Republic was constituted. So repression must be understood, such as the mechanism of containment and moderation when the government criminalizes it in contexts of political-social violence. It can also be said that it is, a way of punishing the culprits by power or force exercised by the competent authority. But, if analyzed by the vectors of psychoanalysis, it can be ensured that it is a defense mechanism created by the subconscious of the state to ensure peace. Any of the approaches to the definition in particular does not justify the existence within the repression of HR violations and the destruction of the subject, only to destabilize a group that is not compliant with the government or that a vulnerable population has to live in the midst of genocide.

The culprits are others... why are they looking for us, why do they hurt us?... it is not enough to kill our innocent brothers... our families live very frightened so far, when they listen by the media about terrorism or the state, they tremble... they are afraid not because they are guilty, but because they have killed innocents and when they hear those words they believe they will kill them too (S6).

The most relentless genocide ever told in the history of Peruvians is the murder of thousands of innocent people who were unlucky enough to be born in chaotic times and who became collateral damage to the state and terrorist groups such as: SL and MRTA. For, the fear of violent repression that was conspired against the Aymara becomes increasingly intense, coupled by the bosom of hatred, paranoia and a series of pathologies that harmfully affect the subconscious of those who inhabit the puneño highlands.

More importantly, the parameters established from the *Leviathan* of Hobbes to the current Political Constitution of 1993 implemented quasi-democratically by the Fujimori government in the country's subnational agencies clearly denote the absolute rejection of the repressive actions and mistreatment that the government carried out towards citizens, in violation of HR within and outside its jurisdiction. In this sense, persecution is defined as the set of aggravated actions and harassment of some specific groups on other groups, in addition, it can be understood as the contention exercised by a government towards its own rulers with which they have political, cultural and religious differences. If this is how persecution is understood, then it can be argued that, in NAM, the criminal actions of terrorist groups and the repressive mechanisms of the State are serious.

The State has always followed us to incriminate us on certain crimes that we have not committed... but not only did the military seek us but also the terroirs to support armed struggle... for if we didn't do one or the other, they'd kill us. once the military came and told us: if they tell us who the terroirs are in this filthy town, we're going to take the shit out of them and we're going to kill them like the dogs they are... (S2).

It is clear, when authoritarian governments by nature incite hatred and cruelty about civil society, it does not matter whether those citizens are guilty or innocent. It seems that the end is contemplated in the implementation of a generalized paranoia in all possible dimensions, as happened throughout the pan-peruvian territory. The means that de facto governments use through their State Agents (AAE) to cover up their own crimes is to accuse and incriminate innocent people who do not have legal defense mechanisms, because they lack everything and show a condition of vulnerability. On the other hand, terrorism only changes the means of war to undermine the human dignity of the Aymara, because the end remains the same. The genocide of almost 500 years, was called conquest and evangelization of indigenous people, at the time of the internal armed conflict had another face, its face was called state terrorism and SL synthesized in a series of enforced disappearances at national and local level.

SL terrorism in the highlands increased from 15, in 1983, to 22 in 1984 and to 33 in 1985. In 1986 the hikers carried out 83 attacks and the number of victims amounted to 32. In 1987, violence actions were reduced after the hiking column was decimated in Cututuni, with 35 attacks being recorded; these, however, increased to 77 in 1988 and 97 in 1989 (CVR, 2003b). Thus, the divergences could not be realized by two main factors: on the one hand, the opposition within SL, and on the other, the decision of the Fujimori regime, who "continuing the genocidal line and policy of the Peruvian state applied increasing military repression leaving aside a political solution for the end of the war" (Rénique, 2003, p. 125).

From the whole section, it is of great relevance to analyze the loss of the sovereignty of the Peruvian State against SL and the same Aymara population that was losing its freedom because of the previous two, as State is the historically recognized guarantor of HR (Jara, 2020). Therefore, for Ferrajoli (1999) all those subjective rights that universally correspond to all human beings as endowed with the status of persons, citizens or persons with the capacity to act are fundamental rights; understanding by subjective right any positive (benefit) or negative expectation (of not suffering injury) attached to a subject by a legal rule, and by status the status of a subject, also provided for by a positive legal rule, as a budget of his suitability to be the holder of legal situations or author of the acts that are the exercise of them (Cardona et al., 2018) to legitimately guarantee freedom.

### **Paranoia in the Andes and the desire for a pluralistic government**

After nearly thirty years of opprobrium sown by SL and the FFAA members under the orders of the Fujimori-Montesinos government, the side effects that the NAM has endured remain as harmful traces. So the anomaly result is widespread paranoia in all the inhabitants in which terrorism was perpetrated. In defining contexts, paranoia is explained as a mental disorder in which people possess a deep fear and distrust of their peers. In this sense, it can be argued that aymaras to this day are experiencing persecutions by state and SL. This sense of persecution turns out to be so great



for those who had witnessed terrorism, who do not want to mention the word path or terruco, for fear of being imprisoned extra judicially and outside the international framework of HR. Having said it a priori, the actors speak.

They told us that if you mentioned the word “sendero or terruco” they would take us to the gray (prison)... the Chinese wants to see everyone in the gray, whether guilty or innocent, everyone comes in said... that is why we no longer want to know anything communists or socialists, if we talk about it the same thing will happen to us as brother Francis... just because an terroir came up to him and spoke to him, they disappeared him. the army has long been searching from house to house to see if we had Marx’s books. Mao. Lenin. Abimael Guzman, El Che and other posters... they just wanted to sow us to disappear us... how they could accuse us and lie to us that way, if we don’t even know how to read (S4).

It is clear that the Peruvian state intends to wipe out SL at the expense of the collateral damage that would entail the murder of thousands of citizens originating in Peru and a part of NAM. It is clear that, like seditious groups, the Fujimori-Montesinos government was characterized by the massive/selective/illegal/clandestine use of forms of violence in order to nullify indigenous people allegedly linked to SL and impose a state of terror in all spheres and forms of the world of Aymara life. Likewise, the principle of blaming the other without the necessary evidence is observed, even though there is slight contact with the groups at trial. The idea of government and insurgent groups is clear, because the purpose of both groups is to sow hatred, terror, feelings of persecution, delusions and paranoia in the inhabitants of the Andes, with the sole purpose of subjugating them and making them believe that their struggle is legitimate.

In any case, authoritarian and fundamentalist dictatorships characterized by having a leading monotonous like Fujimori and Abimael Guzman have almost completely weakened pluralist governments with alternating inclinations to neoliberalism. Contrary to the above, it is that the Nation aymara is committed to pluralistic governments that respect dignity, equality, solidarity and justice.

We honestly want governments like Bolivia’s. This model that manages Peru only favors the rich... we fight so that governments like the dictatorship of Chinese Fujimori will never come back... we are people who like to talk to the truth, we do not tolerate falsehood (S9).

The construction of a pluralistic model similar to the Plurinational State of Bolivia, which for thirteen years was led by the indigenous Evo Morales with the cliché of 21st-century Socialism, is eminent. But on the other hand, there is an abysmal rejection of dictatorial governments such as Alberto Fujimori, who managed a neoliberal policy of exclusion and rejection of the poor. In short, the desire for a revolution that does not yet come will remain for the inhabitants of the NAM a latent illusion that dodo government must take into consideration, knowing that, the ontology of the Aymara does not contain the prepositions of falsehood, because, those terms undermine the truthfulness and genuine reality of the man who inhabits the Aymara plateau of Peru.

What is analyzed up to this part of the manuscript shows that the fear of losing life, being kidnapped, or being the victim of a robbery, has generated a state of common paranoia, visible in the interviews conducted (Castillo & Reguant, 2017) in the NAM. Added to this is the fact that the paranoia of surveillance and internal security has contributed, under the pretext of the fight against terrorism, to the counter-hegemonic weakening of social movements and hindering their cross-border movements (De Sousa, 2018; Lárez, 2019; Huanca-Arohuanca, 2020) as one of the surviving aymaras of political violence.

## Conclusions

The contents of political violence in Peru and the Aymara Nation are due to the breach of human rights and a series of systematic violations of human dignity, both by state agents and insurgent groups that executed a series of inquisitive scourges and repressions, as if it were the middle ages, only to force victims, whether guilty or not, in choosing to live with death. So, as explained in the study’s development, the government sought to blame alleged sedition suspects without the evidence required by the legal standard in Peru and international agencies. For their part, the segments of Shining Path wiped out all that remained of the Aymara Indians, their lives. Therefore, today,

the Aymara live with the desire for autonomy and revolution to break so to speak, the judgment to live in oblivion and in the worst abandonment of their representatives and the total elimination of any dogmatic ideology immersed in the *tanatos* that undermines dignity and life itself.

It should be mentioned that political violence has its own history in the heart of Peruvians who suffered the damage directly or indirectly. Since, the internal armed conflict in reference to the Aymara Nation has fulminant psychological connotations that have impaired the subconscious of the actors, creating delusions of persecution (paranoia) in the victims and the desire for counter-revolution against the insurgent groups and the same state that at the time was complicit in the genocide towards the core of the inhabitants of the Aymara Nation. In short, only the opening of binding democratic channels between the government and the Aymara can redefine new spaces for transdisciplinary dialogues guarded by truth and imperative justice.

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