



MEMORIAS

REVISTA DIGITAL DE HISTORIA Y ARQUEOLOGÍA
DESDE EL CARIBE COLOMBIANO

<https://doi.org/10.14482/memor.51.137.568>

Militancy in the Poetic Work of Wilfredo Mujica and Elena Yparraguirre (1994-2010)

*La militancia en la obra poética de Wilfredo Mujica
y Elena Yparraguirre (1994-2010)*

Miriam Encarnación-Pinedo

PhD in Social Sciences from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

Specialist in Contemporary History of Latin America.

dedia1983@gmail.com

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3137-2424>



MEMORIAS

REVISTA DIGITAL DE HISTORIA Y ARQUEOLOGÍA DESDE EL CARIBE COLOMBIANO

Año 19, n.º 51, septiembre-diciembre de 2023

Barranquilla (Colombia), ISSN 1794-8886

Submitted: December 6, 2022

Accepted: June 30, 2023

Miriam Encarnación-Pinedo

Abstract

For the Communist Party of Peru-Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL), which, between 1980 and 1992, engaged in a confrontation with the Peruvian State that cost almost 70,000 lives, ideology was the main vehicle for achieving the communist society to which it aspired. In order to achieve ideological cohesion during the conflict, and, after it, the construction of a memory that would facilitate its participation in legal politics, it promoted the creation of a specific type of art. This paper will describe the “art of a new type” through the poetic work of two PCP-SL militants: Elena Yparraguirre, second wife of Abimael Guzmán, and Wilfredo Mujica, former director of the Civil Association of Political Ex-prisoners of Peru. This research will enable us to contrast the efforts of the PCP-SL with those of other Latin American movements in the formation of a poetic and ideological corpus, and to know, in first person, this subversive subject.

Keywords: PCP-Sendero Luminoso, poetry, memory, ideology, politics.

Resumen

Para el Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL), que entre los años 1980 y 1992 sostuvo un enfrentamiento contra el Estado peruano que costó casi 70 000 vidas, la ideología era el vehículo principal para la consecución de la sociedad comunista a la que aspiraba. Con el propósito de conseguir cohesión ideológica durante el conflicto y, después del mismo, la construcción de una memoria que facilitara su participación en la política legal, promovió la creación de un tipo concreto de arte. Este trabajo describirá el «arte de nuevo tipo» a través de la obra poética de dos militantes del PCP-SL: Elena Yparraguirre, segunda esposa de Abimael Guzmán, y Wilfredo Mujica, exdirector de la Asociación civil de Excarcelados Políticos del Perú. Esta investigación nos permitirá contrastar los esfuerzos del PCP-SL con los de otros movimientos latinoamericanos en la formación de un corpus poético e ideológico, y conocer en primera persona al sujeto subversivo.

Palabras clave: PCP-Sendero Luminoso, poesía, memoria, ideología, política.

Cite as: Encarnación-Pinedo, M. (2023). Militancy in the Poetic Work of Wilfredo Mujica and Elena Yparraguirre (1994-2010). [La militancia en la obra poética de Wilfredo Mujica y Elena Yparraguirre (1994-2010)]. *Memorias*, 51, 29-56.
<https://doi.org/10.14482/memor.51.137.568>

Introduction

In 1962, philosophy professor Abimael Guzmán arrived in Ayacucho to teach at Universidad San Cristóbal de Huamanga. A year later, he went on to lead the Regional Committee José Carlos Mariátegui, a section of the Peruvian Communist Party (Degregori, 1990). After the Sino-Soviet rupture, at the IV Congress of the PCP (1964), internal party struggles ensued. Finally, Abimael Guzmán and 51 militants at the national level (Commission of Truth and Reconciliation CVR, II, 2003, p. 17) formed, in 1970, the Communist Party of Peru-Sendero Luminoso, after splitting from the Communist Party of Peru-Bandera Roja, led by Saturnino Paredes. The new formation sought to replicate the Maoist model, and to conquer support bases among the peasants to “encircle the cities from the countryside” (Degregori, 2000), with the aim of building a new State: “the People’s Republic of New Democracy”. For this purpose, it had an ideology: Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, and, since the First Congress of the PCP-SL (1988-89), also “Gonzalo Thought”:

(...) we say Marxism-Leninism-Maoism because it is the universal ideology of the proletariat, the last class of history, ideology that must be applied to the concrete conditions of each revolution and generate its guiding thought, in our case, the Peruvian revolution has generated the Gonzalo thought because “Chairman Gonzalo” is the highest expression of the fusion of the universal ideology with the concrete practice of the Peruvian revolution. (Communiqué PCP-SL, 1988)

In total, the confrontation between Sendero Luminoso and the State cost 69,280¹ lives, 54% of them due to the actions of the PCP-SL, according to a Commission of Truth and Reconciliation estimate (CVR, I, 2003). After twelve years of confrontations, on September 12, 1992, Abimael Guzmán was arrested with the rest of the leadership of the PCP-Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL) and then released. From that moment on, the organization, which had already suffered some decisive blows, collapsed. A year after his capture, Guzmán announced a “withdrawal”² and began to sketch the outlines of what would be called the “IV Stage” of “political

1 This figure has been the subject of multiple debates. In 2019, Silvio Rendón claimed that the number of victims, especially those linked to the actions of the PCP-SL, had been overestimated, since, in the absence of cross-referenced data for the analysis of the available information on the deaths caused by the PCP-SL, the decision was made to add those caused by the State, and then deduct those related to the PCP-SL. However, Manrique-Vallier and Ball (2019) refute the arguments put forward by Rendón, arguing that the figures proposed by him are even lower than the actual evidence of victims and, therefore, lack legitimacy.

2 On September 24, 1992, in his famous “speech from the cage”, after being shown inside a cage in all the national media, Abimael Guzmán, wearing the classic striped suit used by the comic iconography for the prisoner, stated: “It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long, and we will get there, and we will triumph!” (Comité de Apoyo a la Revolución del Perú, 2020).

struggle without weapons” (Valle Riestra, 2015), which for Guzmán meant the end of the “war”.

Sixty percent of PCP-SL members remained militant in the unarmed stage (Escárzaga, 2001, p. 78) and were known as the “acuerdistas”, because they were in favor of the peace agreement that Guzmán tried to reach with Fujimori’s government, which was never signed. Through the poetic work of two of them: Elena Yparraquirre, number two of the PCP-SL after the death of Augusta de la Torre, and the recently deceased Wilfredo Mujica, former director of Civil Association of Ex-Political Prisoners of Peru (ACEPP), we will analyze the subversive subject³, its main ideological approaches, and the interweaving of ideology and religion in its rhetoric. To do so, we will use the method of discourse analysis in order to evaluate the processes of mythification and ritualization inherent to militancy in the PCP-SL, and the tensions that arose within the “Party”⁴, between the individual and the collective. Likewise, we will frame the importance of art in the subversive ideological gear.

Therefore, this work will be approached from an interdisciplinary perspective, since, as Van Dijk (1999) states, CDA draws from different disciplines, as it “makes use of cognitive and social psychology, sociology, linguistics, and political science” (p. 27). From this interdisciplinary effort, this work will also be a dialogue with the sociology of literature, a discipline that, since its birth in the sixties of the twentieth century, has been concerned with contextually framing the literary work as a social production (Sapiro, 2016). That is why the sociology of literature is an essential tool for analyzing the message implicit in the text, “taking into account the social context and the framework of relationships in which the literary work has been created” (Romero and Santoro, 2008, p. 202).

Mujica, who was a militant during the third stage of the PCP-SL, is also a good exponent of the fourth stage, since, upon returning to Peru after his self-exile in 2000, became the director of ACEPP, and an active defender of the legality of the Movement for Amnesty and Fundamental Rights (MOVADEF). Elena Yparraquirre, the widow of Abimael Guzman, and second in command of the “Party”, was arres-

3 Following Calduch (1993), we understand as subversive groups those armed civilian groups that seek a radical and violent change in the political system of a country. To this end, the subversive group, with destructive power inferior to that of the State, will seek sufficient support from the civilian population to enable it to acquire equal strength in the context of the internal war in which it confronts the State.

4 This is the name used by the militants and sympathizers of the PCP-SL to refer to the Communist Party of Peru – Sendero Luminoso.

ted in 1992, in the event known as “the capture of the century”, after being found with the leader of the PCP-SL in a house in the Surquillo district of Lima. Between 2004 and 2006, her sentence to life imprisonment was ratified, which she is still serving today in the Chorrillos maximum-security prison.

Therefore, in the following pages, we will analyze the subversive subject through the poetic work of Wilfredo Mujica and Elena Yparraguirre. This work is organized in four parts: in the first, we present the object of study (the poetic work of the former subversives), as well as the importance given to art in the history of the organization; parts two and three analyze the rhetorical and discursive articulation of Sendero Luminoso’s proposals from the selected poems, in which we can distinguish the ideological maxims of the PCP-SL, but also the conflict between the personal and the collective, which on many occasions leads to “self-criticism”. In addition, we will compare Sendero Luminoso’s effort to reinforce its ideology through literature with that of other subversive movements that succeeded in creating an ideological corpus based on poetry. The last part corresponds to the conclusion.

State of the Art

Literature is a source of great interest for the social sciences. In her book, *Foundational Fictions*, Sommer (2004) wrote an essential work to understand the role played by literature in the construction of the new nations that were in the process of being forged in Latin America after independence. In the literary genre, analyzed by Sommer, which she called “foundational literature”, she demonstrated that, through fiction, an imagination that was conducive to the unification of the nation could be created. In this way, the author showed not only how literature is placed at the service of politics, but also how it can be a useful source for history. For his part, historian Hayden White also reflected on the strong interweaving that exists between history and literature by pointing out that historical reality is mediated by language, so that the language of the historian not only prefigures reality, but also determines it (Cabrera, 2005, p. 122).

In this sense, this paper will also use literature to analyze the subversive subject and the role it plays in the remembrance of its past. Above all, we will work with the prison poetics elaborated by two subversive prisoners of the PCP-SL, who, deprived of their freedom, or after leaving the places where in which they had been imprisoned, began to capture their memory in their poetic work. These testimonies -because of the subversive character of the narrator and the fact that they

were written during or since confinement, that is, from the counter-hegemonic culture- are part of what Saumell-Muñoz (1993) called the anti-discourse: “it is an anti-discourse that operates at the level of sympathies and that demands the collaboration of a “solidarity platform” that understands the message, adopts it as valid and true, and allows the mobilization of public opinion” (p. 499). They are, therefore, texts with political intentionality that aim at identifying, if not with the political cause of the militant, at least with the “social nature” that led them to undertake such actions.

In Latin America, in the context of the Cold War, combative poetry and literary production experienced a renewed boom, especially in the countries of the Southern Cone and Central America. In this sense, Uruguay is a paradigmatic case, since it is the country that has the most writers as “political prisoners”. So much so that, even in the Punta Carretas prison, in what is known as *Corridor 23*, two literary magazines were published, with a single issue per edition: *Línea Bestia*, directed by Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro, and *Recortes*, directed by Jesús Rodríguez (Azulgarat, 2007, p. 46). In Central America, the case of El Salvador has received special attention from the study by Chávez (2017), in which he demonstrates the active role played by the young poets of the cultural movement “La Masacuata” in the creation of the revolutionary groups of the 1960s and 1970s, who recognized themselves as part of the “new left”.

From the social sciences, there have been some studies aimed at understanding the subversive subject through art, with greater emphasis on the plastic work of the PCP-SL than on the rest of the disciplines. In this sense, the article by Quintanilla Flores (2017) reflected on an exhibition that was organized at Lugar de la Memoria, la Tolerancia y la Inclusión Social (LUM), in 2016, under the title “Esquirlas del odio” (Splinters of Hate), which mainly exhibited works produced in prison by Sendero Luminoso militants. In her study, the author concluded that labeling, *a priori*, the Sendero Luminoso artistic testimony did not allow for an adequate reading of the work, and, therefore, neither did it allow for drawing accurate conclusions about the subversive subject. In the same way, Anouk Guiné (2019) studied the works created from June to September 1987 by some PCP-SL prisoners who survived the episode known as “the massacre of the prisons”⁵, which occurred in

5 Between June 18 and 19, 1986, more than 200 prisoners lost their lives as a result of the brutality employed by the armed and police forces in the Lima prisons of San Juan Bautista “El Frontón”, San Pedro (Lurigancho), and Santa Barbara. The events occurred after the prisoners decided to riot because they refused to be transferred to the new Canto Grande maximum-security prison. As a result of the riots, three members of the Navy and one of the Republican Guard also died (CVR, VII, 2003).

June 1986. In her analysis of the 36 works created by members of Sendero Luminoso, the author analyzed “the voice of non-hegemonic culture”, and the use of art as an ideological weapon by Guzmán’s followers.

In this regard, Sarmiento Dávila (2017) also wrote his master’s thesis on two works of art of the PCP-SL and their constraint within the parameters of “subversive artistic indigenism”. The author considers that the art of the PCP-SL belongs to that current because of its sociopolitical character, because it is guided by Mariátegui’s thesis on art, and because it is oriented toward “the artistic vindication of the indigenous person understood by the PCP-SL as an armed peasant” (p. 51). For the author, the main characteristic of subversive artistic indigenism is its explicit adhesion to the Sendero Luminoso cause. Malvaceda Espinoza and Cruz Manrique (2019) also analyzed the art of the PCP-Sendero Luminoso, and they found that it is framed in the subversive artistic indigenism, in socialist realism, and in the artistic current “Hong, guang, liang”⁶ of the Chinese cultural revolution. Valenzuela (2013) argues that the Movement of Popular Artists (MAP) is responsible for a large part of the plastic production of the PCP-Sendero Luminoso inside and outside of prisons. MAP would have contributed to the creation of a “new type of art” whose function was to break with what the PCP-SL calls “the old” (the State and the bourgeoisie) to set itself up as a pedagogical instrument at the service of the “revolution”, especially during “Stage III”. However, Sanchez Huaranga (2016) recognizes the difficulty of tracing the birth of MAP, which induces him to confer a late origin to it. For the author, MAP was probably formed in the mid-1980s, and its impact, according to the interviews he conducted, would not have been too great.

With strict regard on the field of literature, which is the one that most directly concerns us, the author who has worked in greater depth on the work of the PCP-SL is Max R. Cox, who has followed in detail the publications of the publishing group Nueva Crónica and the Agrupación Cultural Ave Fénix, both of which are affiliated with the PCP-SL. On the literary analysis of the work of the PCP-SL, Díaz Chávez (2020) analyzes the novel “Trece Días” by Agustín Machuca, one of the founders of MOVADEF. Paolo de Lima et al. (2012) study the literary context and the poetic counterculture of the 1980s that saw the birth of literary movements such as “Tres triste tigres” and “Kloaka”, which, without carrying the banner of any subversive group, harshly criticized the established power.

6 “Red, bright, and dazzling” are the characteristics that representations of Communist China should have. The “Hong, guang, liang” current represents the official art of the Chinese Communist Party.

On the other hand, there are several analyses on art that have the internal armed conflict as a context. In this regard, the text by Sagermann (2014) shows the permeability that exists between victim and victimizer during the years of the conflict in a film (“La teta asustada”) and two novels (“La hora azul” and “Abril rojo”), while Aroni (2015) studies the construction of an intergenerational memory that is recreated on the representation, through a carnivalesque staging, of the massacre of Accomarca, perpetrated by army troops in 1985.

In general, the study of the subversive subject has been approached from different points of view: several authors have analyzed the subversive subject based on the testimony of those disassociated from the “Party” (Del Pino, 1998; Portocarrero, 2012; Asencios, 2016; Cáceres, 2013; Malvaceda, 2014; Kirk, 1993); of those who remain linked, or “acuerdistas” (Zapata, 2017; Guiné, 2016; Encarnación, 2020a; Caro, 2006; Valenzuela, 2012; Valle Riestra, 2015; Caro and Ulfe, 2012); or their relatives and friends (Perilli, 2020; Agüero, 2015). For the analysis of Proseguir (or Sendero Rojo), which emerged from the fragmentation of the PCP-SL after Abimael Guzmán gave up arms in 1993, the studies by Jiménez Vigara (2019) and Fernanda Díaz (2015) are relevant, describing the trajectory of those who opposed the “peace agreement” and advocated continuing the “war”. Finally, the discourse of the PCP-SL has been analyzed on multiple occasions (Degregori, 2000; Strong, 1992; Gorriti, 1990; Rénique, 2003; Ríos, 2018).

PCP-SL Literature

Since the mid-1990s, some publications by prisoners and inmates sentenced for terrorism began to appear on the Internet: a collection of poems called “Parvulez”, a short story published by Elena Yparraguirre, and the collection “Cuentos de amor y lucha” (Cox, 2008). This type of poetic, political, and prison production is experiencing a renewed development, especially due to the way it is disseminated, i.e., as a result of its publication in blogs and Internet pages, which will later take the physical format of the book. However, it is the 2000s that mark the rise of subversive and prison literature, especially of a collective character. Thus, in 2008, the Nueva Crónica movement, a publishing house born as a collective of “political prisoners”, published “Camino de Ayrabamba”, a story written in the Canto Grande prison in 2005 by Walter Vargas Cárdenas and compiled in the collection entitled “Relatos de guerra interna” (Stories of Internal War). In turn, Ave Fénix, a collective of prisoners formed in the Miguel Castro Castro prison, published the collection of short stories “Desde la persistencia” (From Persistence) in 2005. A few

years later, in 2009, in a publication of *El Diario Internacional*, the political character of the literature produced by the collective would be defended:

Just as we recognize and point out our limitations, which we still persist in overcoming, we also say clearly that we never agreed with the “art should not be mixed with politics” nonsense, because we do not believe in an art outside of politics, because art, literature, and culture have a social origin, and, therefore, a social character, and all artistic and cultural manifestations serve in one way or another to a particular class. (*Ave Fénix y la lucha del pueblo peruano*, 2009).

In 2008, the Ave Fénix publishing house brought out the book of poetry “La ceniza de lo vivo” (*The Ashes of the Living*). This is another collective work that describes the life of ex-subversives after having been defeated: “The poems are set in a second moment of the insurgent movement, not the boom of the eighties, but when the popular movement in the country was in retreat and the application of neoliberalism was being imposed at full force” (*Agrupación Cultural Ave Fénix*, 2008, p. 7). On the other hand, in 2014, the publishing house Nueva Crónica published “Cuentos de trinchera” (*Trench Stories*), with a prison theme, written with the purpose of “making way for the historical truth of the transcendent eighties” (Rojas Mendoza et al., 2014, p. 9). Finally, in 2016, Ediciones Memoria published “Testimonios de heroicidad” (*Testimonies of Heroism*), which, in the form of fiction, describes, in the voice of the survivors and their relatives, what happened during the “slaughter of the prisons”.

Wilfredo Mujica

Wilfredo Mujica Contreras was born in Lima on August 9, 1952. He graduated in education from Universidad San Martín de Porres and worked as a high school teacher in the departments of Ancash, Lima, and Callao before being imprisoned in 1988.

Former police colonel Benedicto Jiménez, in his book “La captura del presidente Gonzalo” (*The Capture of President Gonzalo*, 2012), recounts the arrest of Wilfredo Mujica. Jiménez describes how he obtained this information from a document found in a house in Monterrico, Lima, in which “Comrade David” (or “Javier”, but whose real name was Carlos Manuel Torres Mendoza), by way of exculpation, since he was in charge of directing the operation to transfer the leaders, explains the reasons for the arrest of Osman Morote, Margot Liendo, and Nina Sonia Alvarado, three prominent leaders of the Northern Regional Committee (CRN) of the PCP-Sendero Luminoso. In his plea, Carlos Manuel Torres argues that the fall of Sende-

ro Luminoso leaders on June 11, 1988, was related to failures in the security protocol of the Operational Support Group (GAP). Both “Comrade Miguel” and Wilfredo Mujica (or “Comrade Fernando”) belonged to GAP, who acted under the orders of “Miguel”, and was in charge of the logistics involved in hosting Sendero Luminoso leaders in the apartment he had rented in a villa in the Cercado de Lima, with the sole purpose, says Benedicto Jimenez, of providing lodging for CRN members.

Although it was known that Jorge, Mujica’s brother, was being harassed at work for having a brother with a criminal record (Mujica had previously been arrested for damage to public property and had served time in the Huaraz, Frontón, and Lurigancho prisons), it was decided to keep CRN leaders in the house in downtown Lima, and this is one of the reasons for the arrest (among others mentioned in the report, such as the fact that the help of other members of GAP had been requested without being ordered by “David”), according to Torres. The truth is that the house had been under surveillance for some time by “Delta 8” (DIRCOTE) (Jiménez Bacca, 2012). That day Osmán Morote (“Nicolás”), Margot Liendo Gil (“Noemí”), Nina Alvarado Ruíz (“Ana”), and brothers Wilfredo and Jorge Mujica were arrested. It was the first time that a high-ranking Sendero Luminoso leader had been captured, and there were two of them on Jiron Cuadros Street: Liendo and Morote, secretary and deputy secretary of CRN, respectively.

From Canto Grande prison, located in San Juan de Lurigancho, east of Lima, Mujica survived the riot that took place between May 6 and 9, 1992. The riot that initiated “Operation Move 1”, in which the police tried to transfer the inmates from Canto Grande’s 1-A wing to the Chorrillos prison, resulted in the death of 42 inmates (CVR, VII, p. 771), and is known by the PCP-SL as the “Day of Heroic Resistance”. In the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) on the events that occurred in Canto Grande, the name of Wilfredo Mujica appears as an “unharmed” prisoner among 230 inmates who were kept in what the prisoners called “no man’s land”, that is, in the yard of the Canto Grande prison (Inter-American Commission on Human Rights [IACHR], Case 11.015, 2004, p. 391).

After returning to Peru in 2010 from his eleven-year “self-exile” in Spain, Wilfredo Mujica became president of ACEPP (Asociación Civil de Excarcelados Políticos del Perú), an association created with the aim, according to its Facebook profile, of “facilitating the social reintegration of those released from prison who have served sentences for terrorism” (Asociación Civil de Excarcelados Políticos del Perú, n. d.).

The poetic work of the author is divided into three poetry books: “Cantos Aurorales” (Auroral Songs), of limited publication, printed in 1994 and written in Canto Grande, is presented in Lima in 1998, after recovering his freedom, with its annex “El poema y su tiempo” (The Poem and Its Time), a small section of poems made, according to the author, at the request of his “compañeros”, who asked to add understanding to the work. In 2007, he published his second collection of poems, titled “ANTrOLOGÍA”, which was printed in Madrid. His latest collection of poems, “Vivir el tiempo” (To Live the Time), was printed in Lima in 2010.

Elena Yparraguirre

She was born in Ica on September 14, 1947. Daughter of an Aprista merchant from Trujillo, and a woman from Lima who studied commercial medicine, when she finished her secondary school, she entered a pedagogical institute, where she studied education, and later validated her studies at Universidad de Educación “La Cantuta” (Lima). It was there that she had contact with the different leftist formations that existed in the seventies, and also where she chose PCP-Bandera Roja, which she considered to be the most coherent in its ideology. Shortly after, she got married and went to live with her husband in Paris for four years. In Paris, she completed a master’s degree and gave birth to her first daughter. Back in Peru, she resumed contact with the “Party”, which had already become independent from Bandera Roja and had formed a project that advocated armed struggle and was called Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path). Once incorporated, in 1979, as a member of the Permanent Committee of the PCP-SL, she abandoned her husband and children to completely dedicate herself to the “revolution” (Zapata, 2017). On the renunciation of her family, Yparraguirre comments on the back flap of her poetry book “Soledad comprometida” (Committed Solitude):

I was born three times: when my parents decided, and I thank them. When I decided to become a mother, and had a magnificent husband and two beautiful, unforgettable children. And when I decided to become a communist until the end, a path on which I met Dr. Abimael Guzmán Reinoso, with whom I long to end my days. (Yparraguirre, 2017, back flap of the book).

From the Standing Committee, Elena Yparraguirre organized meetings with the cadres representing the different regional committees. Especially from 1985 onwards, with the closest cadres, due to the zeal required by the clandestine na-

ture. In these meetings, the maxims of the PCP-SL were dictated, which had to be taken to the different Regional Committees.

After the death in strange circumstances of Augusta La Torre, number two of the PCP-SL, and wife of Abimael Guzmán, Elena Yparraguirre became the right hand of the Sendero Luminoso leader: “I have not been the second in the whole war process, I have been the third, the second was comrade Norah, who had more experience”, said “comrade Miriam” to the CVR (CVR Central Archive, 2002).

Elena Yparraguirre received a second conviction in 2018 when the Criminal Court tried her as perpetrator-by-means, along with other members of the PCP-SL leadership, for the Tarata crime⁷. Previously, in 2006, she had also been sentenced to life imprisonment (Fows, 2018). For her part, the number two of the PCP-SL, while recognizing the “excesses” of episodes such as Lucanamarca⁸ or Tarata, continues to maintain that the war initiated by them was just and aimed at improving the conditions of the most disadvantaged:

So, we have assumed responsibilities, we are assuming them, we have applied a revolutionary process in this country for the benefit of the mainly poor people of the Peruvian people, which to this day is the (...) it is undeniable, and in the application of this process, as in any process, there are limitations, excesses. (CVR Central Archive, 2002)

After the death of Abimael Guzman in the Callao maximum-security prison, on September 11, 2021, Elena Yparraguirre could not receive the remains of her husband because Congress published Law 1352, to cremate and scatter the mortal remains of Sendero Luminoso’s senior leadership. The decision was taken citing the need to preserve public security, and to prevent the creation of a place of worship to which sympathizers of the subversives could go. (Abimael Guzmán: Fiscalía dispuso la cremación del cuerpo de terrorista, 2021).

Elena Yparraguirre has published two collections of poems: the aforementioned “Parvulez”, edited in 2001 by Ediciones Paloma Carmesí, and “Soledad comprometida”, edited in 2017 by Manuel Augusto Fajardo Cavero.

7 In the heart of Miraflores, a middle-class commercial district of Lima, a Sendero Luminoso car bomb exploded on July 16, 1992, destroying several blocks of apartments, killing 26 people, and injuring more than 250 others.

8 In the city of Ayacucho, where, on April 3, 1983, the PCP-SL brutally murdered 69 peasants in retaliation for their collaboration with the forces of law and order.

Militant Poetry

Wilfredo Mujica writes a narrative poetry with strong Christian roots, which dates back to his time as a seminarian before joining PCP-SL. Throughout his work, the imprint of Vallejo can also be seen, which, in his poetry, is beyond any doubt and ideologically “justified” because, for Mujica, Vallejo was a man of the people, an “internationalist fighter against fascism” (Mujica, 2001). Mujica’s identification with Vallejo is supported by José Carlos Mariátegui, a key figure in the ideological configuration of PCP-SL, since Sendero Luminoso traces its origins to the founding of the Socialist Party by Mariátegui, in 1928 (Manrique, 2007). In this regard, the thinker from Moquegua stated in his “7 Essays” that Vallejo was a poet of lineage: “the indigenous sentiment has its own modulation in his verses. His song is entirely his own. It is not enough for the poet to bring a new message. He needs to bring a new technique and a new language as well” (Mariátegui, 2007 [1928], p. 259). For PCP-SL, Mariátegui is fundamental, because, based on his analysis of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal Peru of the 1920s, he constructed the line in favor of armed insurrection in an effort not to accept the changes that occurred during the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces (1968-1975), regarding, for example, the Agrarian Reform Law (1969) and the land ownership regime (Kruijt, 2008), all of which would have prevented him from using the argument of Peru’s semi-feudalism (García de las Heras, 2020).

In the epilogue of “Cantos Aurorales. El poema y su tiempo”, Mujica clarifies that his poem “Tú sí eres nuestro” (You Are Truly Ours) is dedicated to César Vallejo because, after the aforementioned riot at the Canto Grande prison, the prisoners had been forbidden to have any object: pens, leaves, books, etc. In spite of this, Mujica had obtained a copy of Vallejo’s complete poetry, which he carefully guarded until it was discovered:

Ocorre que es tarde... / cavilar contigo es condena / tú que sí eres nuestro / niéganos el derecho de sentarte en nuestras almas / los que enjaulan / arrancan las piedras de tu almohada / te blasfeman extreman su saña / tú inmensa- mente tierno. (Mujica, 2001, p. 27)

It happens that it is late... / to ponder with you is condemnation / you who are truly ours / deny us the right to sit you on our souls / those who cage / tear the stones from your pillow / blaspheme you with extreme viciousness / immensely tender you. (Mujica, 2001, p. 27).

In the above verses, we can find the recourse to polarization between the ex-group (the jailers), whose members “cage and deny the right to sit you in our souls”, versus the in-group (communist militants), “immensely tender”. This discursive bipolarity has also been studied for the case of other subversive and terrorist groups (El Hammoud, 2018; Cediél and Olave, 2021; Bolívar and Lizarazo, 2021a). In this regard, Aguilera (2003) analyzes, in the discourse of FARC, that the dichotomies established in their narrative, which differentiate them (the guerrillas) from the Colombian State, are not only constructed from Marxism, but also use the rhetoric of Catholic morality in the categorization of “good” and “bad”.

In the poem “Cuervos o Águilas” (Crows or Eagles), in the purest structuralist style, Mujica is even more explicit in the duality he describes, in the embodiment of the binary scheme of thought and the relations of opposition that take place, in this case, between crows (the reactionaries) and eagles (the revolutionaries):

En el bosque / (escondida) / en las raíces de la noche / -entre árboles de cemento-/
(te) abro camino / van cayendo los muros / como hojas de otoño / -misma estación
parisien / describe algún libro / La oscuridad se espanta / ante el mínimo fulgor / no
hay azabache / (nigérrimo averno) / ni penumbra / que resista (es una ley) / la flor
del ciruelo / también crece en invierno / No son mismos los críos / que acunamos
/ cuervos o águilas / (aún en la oscuridad / y en el bosque) / al vuelo se distinguen.
(Mujica, 2001, p. 63)

In the forest / (hidden) / in the roots of the night / -among trees of concrete-/ I make
way (for you) / the walls are falling / like autumn leaves / -same Parisian season /
describes some book / The darkness is frightened / at the slightest glare / there is no
jet / (black hell) / nor penumbra / that could resist (it is a law) / the plum blossom /
it also grows in winter / They are not the same children / that we cradle / crows or
eagles / (even in the dark / and in the forest) / they are distinguishable on flight.
(Mujica, 2001, p. 63)

In the “El poema y su tiempo” section, the author clarifies that the poem represents a reflection on life, on how the contradiction “that runs through all the processes of things and society” is articulated, forcing it to “define a position” (p. 80). It is not by chance, therefore, that the first point of “Gonzalo’s thought” exposes the need for “the unification of the laws of dialectics into one: the law of contradiction” (CVR, 2003, II, p. 16.). For Sendero Luminoso, the “law of contradiction” is indispensable, because, as a result of it, the advance of historical processes is produced. Within PCP-SL, contradiction is resolved with criticism and self-criticism. That is, with the criticism of the “comrades” in the face of a possible ideological

deviation, and with the acceptance of guilt and the return to the fold through self-criticism. The tension between the individual and the collective, and the recourse to self-criticism are perfectly reflected in the following poem by Mujica:

Camarada: / he olvidado mi condición de combatiente / y me he preocupado por mí mismo / he querido amar y me he dejado llevar / por esos instantes llamados eternos que casi siempre / claudican / He detenido el tiempo para mirarme en el espejo / he regodeado mi pellejo para inyectarle sangre fresca / he deseado un hogar ignorando que a las mayorías / se les arrebató o no les dejan / he bebido del proyectil almibarado del sistema / y te he negado tres veces y mil veces más / miserablemente / Camarada: / inclino la cabeza y me corrijo/ me autocritico todas las veces y las que hagan falta / me autocritico pública- mente / y me condeno con todas mis fuerzas / renuncio a mí y a mis intereses mezquinos: / Me comprometo firmemente / a diluirme con el colectivo. (Mujica, 2007, p. 65)

Comrade: / I have forgotten my state of combatant / and I have worried about myself / I have wanted to love and I have let myself be carried away / by those so-called eternal instants that almost always / claudicate / I have stopped time to look at myself in the mirror / I have gloated my skin to inject it with fresh blood / I have desired a home ignoring that for most / they are snatched away or forbidden / I have drunk from the syrupy projectile of the system / and I have denied you three times and a thousand times more / miserably / Comrade: / I bow my head and correct myself / I criticize myself as often and as many times as necessary / I criticize myself publicly / and I condemn myself with all my strength / I renounce myself and my petty interests: / I firmly commit myself / to dilute myself within the collective. (Mujica, 2007, p. 65).

The religious component existing in his poetry, on the other hand, is evident from the aforementioned verses “to sit you in our souls” and “they blaspheme you with extreme viciousness”. In this sense, more than a few Marxist theorists have pointed out the relationship between faith and revolutionary praxis (Bloch, 2007 [1947]; Goldmann, 1986 [1955]). In turn, the strong imbrication of Mariátegui’s dialectical materialism with religion has also been analyzed by different authors (Löwy, 2005; Pino Moyano, 2011). In “Hombre y mito” (Man and Myth, 1925), José Carlos Mariátegui advocated the power of the faith of the revolutionaries, placing it above of materialist science. For the Peruvian thinker, the proletariat, unlike the bourgeoisie, has been able to create myths that move to action, such as that of the “new man” and the “social revolution”: “Man resists following a truth as long as he does not believe it to be absolute and supreme. It is in vain to recommend to him the excellence of faith, of myth, of action. It is necessary to propose to him

a faith, a myth, an action” (Mariátegui, 1925). However, this type of myth -that which moves to action- would be against the canonical religious creed that confers the redemption of souls and sin to prayer, and which for Mujica is defined by the lack of initiative:

Y la realidad discurre inexorable / terca indolente / material contingente más fuerte / más dura... es el golpe contundente del martillo / (abres los ojos o te engañas) // «si llorando se cambiase el mundo / sería el primero en pedirles que lloren conmigo...» / o ¿«llanto de un pueblo que perdió su alma»? // Dicho y refrendado en distintas condiciones / Omnipotencia del cambio. (Mujica, 2007, p. 39)

And reality runs inexorable / stubborn indolent / contingent material stronger / harder... it is the forceful blow of the hammer / (you open your eyes or you are deceived) // “if crying would change the world / I would be the first to ask you to cry with me...” / or “the cry of a people who lost their soul”? // Said and endorsed in different conditions / Omnipotence of change. (Mujica, 2007, p. 39)

Liberation Theology, making the “theory of dependence” its own, put into practice, especially in the context of the Sandinista Revolution (1978-1987) and the civil war in El Salvador (1979-1992), that spiritual, and at the same time combative, conception of Marxism referred to by Mariátegui in “Hombre y mito” (Silva, 2009). In this regard, it is important to bear in mind that the intersection between Marxism and Catholicism in Central America is already glimpsed at the end of the thirties, being Geoffroy Rivas a good reference of it, leaving behind his first creations, poems such as “Patria”, to become a paradigm of committed poetry (Lara Martínez, 2002). Mujica’s poetry, also with strong religious roots, is linked both to Liberation Theology and to what is known as “mythical Marxism”. The latter, in its fusion with poetry, was used to form a poetic and musical corpus (Samacá, 2017) that, in the context of the Colombian conflict (1980-2016), was disseminated through the “fariana schools”, and served to unify the criteria of identity and belonging in both combatants and commanders of FARC (Bolívar and Lizarazo, 2021b). The same happened in the Nicaraguan conflict (1978-1987), where they also used poetry, in this case influenced by Liberation Theology, to add more co-religionists to the Sandinista project through poetic voices as representative as those of Ernesto Cardenal or Gaspar García (González Aya-la, 2008). The promotion of Sandinista poetry and its promotion experienced a boom period thanks to the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers (ASTC) of the Ministry of Culture under the direction of Cardenal (Chavolla, 2008).

Another characteristic very present in militant poetry, evident in Mujica's work, is the belief in a future life, which is not located -as it happens in religious epistemology- after death, but after the advent of the communist society.

(...) -no se puede amar a plenitud en estas circunstancias / (¡no señor!) / Es cierto pero no debemos sucumbir ni renunciarnos / hay que ser fiel hay que seguir luchando / porque nos permite vislumbrar el mundo / preparar el futuro donde seguimos siendo / entonces seremos plenamente / -es mi posición compañera. (Mujica, 2007, p. 41)

(...) - one cannot fully love in these circumstances / (no sir!) / It is true but we must not succumb or give up / we must be faithful / we must continue to fight / because it allows us to glimpse the world / prepare the future where we remain / then we will fully be / -that is my companion position. (Mujica, 2007, p. 41)

Guatemalan poet and guerrilla Otto René Castillo (1975, quoted in González Ayala, 2008), before dying of torture in 1967, wrote: "Tomorrow the rivers will love me for having pasted propaganda in the night of the homeland: they will remember my name" (p. 164). The tomorrow that configures the "communist society" in Mujica's poem "Animal extraño" (Strange Animal) is represented as follows:

Existencia culpada de vida / como la ley inexorable del triunfo / al que nos condenan / veredicto inapelable / al que llegamos por moral / invictos o rendidos // Es la cadena al que devino / un poco de materia / bellamente organizada: / ser omnívoro... / ¡oh temible carnicero! / (homus lupus homo) / ¡oh! Sublime el propio homo / inmolándose por el colectivo /. (animal extraño) (Mujica, 2007, p. 18)

Existence guilty of life / as the inexorable law of triumph / to which we are condemned / unappealable verdict / to which we arrive by morality / undefeated or surrendered. // It is the chain to which I became / a bit of matter / beautifully organized: / being omnivorous... / oh fearsome butcher / (homus lupus homo) / oh! Sublime homo himself / immolating himself for the collective /. (strange animal) (Mujica, 2007, p. 18)

For the author, love can only be full in this future society, once the triumph over the "old order" (the State) has been achieved, and the "Republic of New Democracy" has been established. The above verses are also useful to expose another component of militant poetry, which is the one that connects with the concept of the "new man"⁹, in this case, taken to the couple relationship: the "love of a

9 Che Guevara coined the expression "the new man" in a letter sent to intellectual Carlos Quijano, director of *Marcha*, a well-known leftist periodical on the American reality. The "new man" is the one over whom no form of domination weighs on and who will be the hero of the new society, of socialism (Guevara, 1975).

new type”. This is the love between “partners”, which requires, above all, ideological affinity. PCP-SL wrote two treatises on “love of the new type” and the “family of the new type”. One of them was shaped by Mujica under the title “La relación conyugal” (The Marital Relation), by compiling Abimael Guzmán’s speeches that circulated in the prisons about couple relationships within PCP-SL (Encarnación, 2020b). The other key document for understanding “class love” is “Marxismo, Mariátegui y el movimiento femenino” (Marxism, Mariátegui, and the Women’s Movement), published in 1974. The text, written by Catalina Adrianzén, was the work of the Movimiento Femenino Popular, the women’s section of PCP-SL, created in 1973 by Augusta La Torre (Guiné, 2016).

A poem by Elena Yparraguirre, which appears in her “Parvulez” collection of poems, defining the “family of a new type” and “class love”, since it serves to justify the decision taken by Yparraguirre at the moment she decided to abandon her children to fully devote herself to the “Party”:

Fuiste conmigo un día / en tu primera cuna / a tierras sin mar a puna / a ver las hijas del Ande / cargar las piedras / de explotación. / Vimos fuerza de plata / labrar de manos / hartas de cal / ardían en sus harapos / cuerpos doblados / arrugas de rebelión. / Ellas, mujeres / de pecho de acero / alzaban su voz de carne / caudal armado / agua sin sal / nombre escarlata dieron / su sangre y su prisión / para que nazca un día / el hijo sin opresión. / Al poco tiempo / ese mismo Año de la mujer / naciste hijo cerca del mar. (Yparraguirre, 2001)

You went with me one day / in your first cradle / to lands without sea to puna / to see the daughters of the Ande / to carry the stones / of exploitation. / We saw the strength of silver/ carving of hands / full of lime / burned in their rags / bent bodies/ Wrinkles of rebellion / They, women / with breasts of steel / raised their voice of flesh / armed flow / water without salt / scarlet name they gave / their blood and their prison / so that one day / a son without oppression would be born / Soon after / that same Year of the Woman / a son was born near the sea (Yparraguirre, 2001).

For this reason, the leadership of the organization urged Sendero Luminoso members in positions of power to give their children to the masses in order to achieve, in this way, their exclusive dedication to the “revolution”. In this sense, Elena Yparraguirre was crowned as the ultimate example of dedication to the Sendero Luminoso cause when she abandoned her family in 1982 (González and Maldonado, 2018).

Another great sacrifice promoted by Sendero Luminoso ideology is the “sacrifice of one’s own life”. In this sense, in the imaginary of PCP-SL, the sacrifice of lives (their own or others’) is fully justified because its purpose is the construction of an “egalitarian society” (Malvaceda *et al.*, 2018). Several authors debate the theories that explain the predisposition of terrorist groups to kill and die. Some scholars of the phenomenon emphasize the fusion of identity with the collective (Horgan, 2009; Whitehouse *et al.*, 2014), while others focus on the determining role played by ideology in homogenizing the “should be” of subversives (Kruglanski 2006; Dono *et al.*, 2022). For Gómez Jiménez *et al.* (2016), the most plausible theories in this regard are two: the fusion of identity with a group, i.e., achieving such integration with the group that the personal ends up being perceived as collective; and the theory of sacred values, which considers the values that subversives defend as non-negotiable. Sacred values are what produce devout actors committed to act in function of them, which is seen as transcendent and infinite. It is for all these reasons that devout actors are prone to make extreme sacrifices to defend their value or their group.

imperativo / un grito anónimo se eleva / entre la multitud / de puños / espero nada más morir / para que nazca el mito / contra los troncos estériles / de la corriente. (Yparraquirre, 2017)

imperative / an anonymous cry rises / among the multitude / of fists / I hope nothing more than to die / for the myth to be born / against the sterile trunks / of the current. (Yparraquirre, 2017)

Or, in the words of Mujica (2010):

(...) porque a la guerra / —amada mía / se concurre no para morir / se combate / aunque se muera // para seguir viviendo. (p. 22)

(...) because to war / - my beloved / one goes not to die / but to fight / even if one dies // to go on living (p. 22).

Rescuing Degregori’s term, “optimistic fatalism”, Sendero Luminoso’s discourse would be directed by personal tragedy, and universal, but future, glory. For the Ayacucho anthropologist, the best example of optimistic fatalism was that phrase repeated in slogans and proclamations: “we are condemned to triumph / what a beautiful condemnation” (Degregori, 2000, p. 155). Death is not sterile for the plans of the subversives. Death is fruitful because it is necessary for it to give way to myth. Therefore, it is a maxim of the “Party” to be willing to “give one’s

own life”, which is confirmed in the following premises of PCP-SL for the Stage III: “blood does not drown the revolution, but waters it”, and the one disseminated in the Frontón prison, on June 19, 1986, by the delegate of Sendero Luminoso, “Comrade Alejandro”, in the face of the armed encirclement of the Sendero Luminoso pavilions by Navy forces: “go out and look for bullets”. Abimael Guzmán himself responded in the so-called “interview of the century” as to whether he was putting himself in danger precisely by giving the interview:

As communists we are not afraid of anything; moreover, the Party has forged us in challenging death and carrying life in our fingertips to deliver it when the revolution demands it (Guzman, 1989).

The phenomenon, however, is not only consubstantial to the history of Peru: previously, in Latin America, in the sixties and seventies, a different type of Marxist revolutionary had emerged, the romantic Marxist who understood the sacrifice involved in the revolution and was willing to pay for it with his life; although there was the certainty of defeat, victory was future and possible by the example of the martyrs. As Pino Moyano (2011) exposes in his analysis of the martyrology of the Chilean left, death is more than a possibility, that is why one should not escape the bullets. From another point of view, Roque Dalton, the Salvadoran poet and guerrilla fighter who, together with René Castillo, founded *Círculo Literario Universitario (CLU)*¹⁰, ironized in his mature stage about the banality that for him animates the “heroic” death of the guerrilla fighter:

En el fondo somos gente muy conservadora: / hablamos de la revolución / y nos enorgullece de inmediato considerar / que moriremos con toda seguridad/ La prudencia no te hará inmortal, camarada, / y se sabe que el suicidio sana al suicida... (Dalton, 2016, p. 67)

Deep down we are very conservative people: / we talk about revolution / and we are immediately proud to consider / that we will surely die/ Prudence will not make you immortal, comrade, / and it is known that suicide heals the suicidal... (Dalton, 2016, p. 67).

For PCP-SL militants, the sacrifice made them “heroes”; that is why, shortly after the tragic episode of the aforementioned “massacre of the prisons”, PCP-SL, in official communication, proclaimed that day as the “Day of Heroism”. A year after

¹⁰ Circle from which Grupo Seis (Grupo Social e Ideas Superiores, Social Group and Superior Ideas) would later emerge, made up mainly of artists and students, which gained great relevance for its participation in the fall of the dictatorial regime of Maximiliano Hernández Martínez in El Salvador (Astvaldsson, 2017).

the “massacre”, on the commemoration of its first anniversary, Abimael Guzmán made a speech before his faithful:

(...) if the reactionary beast drank blood to the point of exhaustion to impose the peace of the dead, the miserable and artfully blinded lives transformed into imperishable, shape the monumental trilogy of the luminous trench combat of Frontón, Lurigáncho, and Callao, historical landmark that will further proclaim the greatness of the Day of Heroism. (Communiqué PCP-SL, 1987).

Blood is renewed after it is shed for PCP-SL, and even the dead come back to life in the future society. In the poem “Se agolpan en el balcón” (They Crowd on the Balcony), Mujica remembers his loved ones: his sister, who committed suicide because of a heartbreak while he was in prison, and the “comrades” who died after what happened between June 18 and 19.

Se juntan mis ausentes / desde mi Vilma / la última en partir / a los que irán mañana / en los recodos de los afectos / hasta mis trincheras cerebrales / se juntan / en festín / descubriéndome / encontrados sentimientos // Se juntan/ (uno a uno) / con todas sus vidas / en la punta de los dedos / los que no debieron partir / en junio / los que no deben irse nunca...combatientes / más algún día / luego / mañana / se juntan / desatando tormentas / anudándome / en / el / verbo / ausentes / se agolpan / en el balcón. (Mujica, 2001, p. 38)

My absent ones gather / from my Vilma / the last to leave / to those who will go tomorrow / in the bends of affections / to my brain trenches / they gather / in a feast / discovering me / crossed feelings // They gather/ (one by one) / with all their lives / at the tips of their fingers / those who should not have left / in June / those who should never leave...combatants / more someday / then / tomorrow / come together / unleashing storms / knotting me / in / the / verb / absent / crowding / on the balcony. (Mujica, 2001, p. 38)

Poetry Focused on Legal Policy

Some poems by Elena Yparraguirre expose the conflict experienced within the organization in the face of the leadership’s renunciation to continue with the armed insurrection behind bars. In the following lines, we can observe an ironclad defense of the decision taken by the PCP-SL leadership, starting from the premise often upheld by the “Gonzalo thought”, that the leadership of the “Party” is a necessity. In the face of the arrest of Abimael Guzman on September 12, 1992, the revolution, according to Sendero Luminoso logic, could not come to fruition. That is why, in 1993, she announces a “retreat”, and the new line “Fight for the peace agreement”

included in “Stage IV” of “political struggle without weapons”. As we can see in the following poem published in 2017, in her “Soledad comprometida” poetry book, Elena Yparraguirre exposes the need to move forward despite the circumstances of her imprisonment. It is a matter, for the detainee, of continuing not only with her life, but with the “politics” represented in “Stage IV”, after accepting, through “reason”, the circumstances that were imposed.

Calmo y opulento el tiempo / se mide en espacios reducidos... / y era la convicción la autora de los versos / la madre de la razón / que me hizo ver / era la noche que caía / sin luna y sin miel / que habría de aprender a caminar así / con la casa en derrumbe y sin pilares / buscar entre los escombros / recoger los pedazos / rehacer los propios clavos / levantar la casa / como los hombres hacen / después del terremoto.

Calm and opulent, time / is measured in reduced spaces... / and it was conviction the author of the verses / the mother of reason / that made me see / it was the night that fell / without moon and without honey / that I would have to learn to walk like this / with the house in collapse and without pillars / to search among the rubble / pick up the pieces / remake my own nails / raise the house / as men do / after the earthquake.

In this regard, it should be added that, although the majority of PCP-SL members decided to adhere to “Stage IV”, it was not easy for them to accept the decision, which forced PCP-SL leadership to send delegates to the different prisons in the country to convince the Sendero Luminoso cadres behind bars. As a result of this controversial decision, from the Callao Naval Base, the second in command of Sendero Luminoso dedicates some verses, in which, above all, she lectures those who have deviated from “Gonzalo thought”, or what they call the “liquidationist left-wing line” consolidated around a former member of the Sendero Luminoso Standing Committee, “Comrade Feliciano” (Óscar Durand), who decided to split from PCP-SL and create the “Proseguir” formation, in a clear allusion to continuing the war (Jiménez Vigara, 2019). The following poem, signed at the Callao Naval Base, on May 17, 1995, and attributed to Elena Yparraguirre, gives an account of the conflict with the dissident faction two years after Guzmán’s renunciation to continue with the “war”.

Soldado de la guerra popular / se soldado en la no guerra / encarna la gran ley. / Mira; el viento sopla siempre / y no habrá nadie que logre / borrarlos del lomo de los cerros / ni del alma de los pobres. (Poemas de Camarada Miriam, 2017)

Soldier of the people's war / be a soldier in the non-war / embody the great law. / Look; the wind always blows / and there will be no one who will manage / to erase us from the backs of the hills / nor from the souls of the poor. (Poems by Comrade Miriam, 2017).

Conclusion

The “art of the new type” created a Sendero Luminoso dialectic of its own that was linked to that which other subversive and guerrilla movements had used to refer to a series of common places that also appeared in Sendero Luminoso preaching: life placed at the service of the communist project, the family as negation of the individual, and exaltation of the collective, as well as the future society as the ultimate goal and space for harmony. Moreover, as in the case of other Latin American subversive movements, poetry was used as part of a conscious plan that sought to educate the “masses” and lead to ideological homogenization for the subversive cause.

The poetic register of the two authors analyzed leads us to reflect, in addition, on the other memories that exist in Peru, and that seek, in large part, through literature, to come to light. Although they are very controversial memories because of the authors who write them, the truth is that these memories have been published and disseminated with greater or lesser circulation, and also through the internet, from the mid-1990s to the present. From this, we can deduce the convenience of knowing the subversive subject's approaches from their writings to analyze how their memory is structured at certain moments to respond to the demands of each context: “Stage III” (of war), when the creation of a poetry extolling the hero and sacrifice is spread; or “Stage IV” (of political struggle without weapons), after 1993, which uses a poetry that seeks to align all dissident cadres with the surrender of weapons, according to the plans of the “Gonzalo thought”.

Although there is still much to be investigated, for example, about the nature of the Movimiento de Artistas Populares and its capacity to lead the “art of a new type” elaborated by Guzmán's followers, we hope that this approach to PCP-SL from the perspective of poetry will serve to reflect and open new debates.

References

- Abimael Guzmán: Fiscalía dispuso la cremación del cuerpo de terrorista (23 de septiembre de 2021). LA LEY. El ángulo legal de la noticia. <https://laley.pe/art/12043/abimael-guzman-fiscalia-dispuso-la-cremacion-del-cuerpo-de-terrorista>.
- Agrupación Cultural Ave Fénix (2008). La ceniza de lo vivo. Arteidea Editores.

- Agüero, J.C. (2015). Los rendidos. Sobre el don de perdonar. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Aguilera, M. (2003). La memoria y los héroes guerrilleros. *Análisis Político*, 4, 3-27. <http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/ar/libros/colombia/assets/own/analisis49.pdf>.
- Archivo Central CVR (2002). Memoria Histórica, Estudios sobre Actores Centrales. Sendero Luminoso. Entrevista a Abimael Guzmán y Elena Iparraguirre.
- Aroni, R. (2015). Coreografía de una matanza: memoria y performance de la masacre de Accomarca en el carnaval ayacuchano en Lima, Perú. *Anthropologica*, 33(34), 119-146. <https://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/index.php/anthropologica/article/view/13088/13699>.
- Asencios, D. (2016). La ciudad acorralada. Jóvenes y Sendero Luminoso en Lima de los 80 y 90. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Asociación Civil de Excarcelados Políticos del Perú [ACEPP] (s. f.). Información [Página de Facebook]. Recuperado el 30 de noviembre de 2022 de <https://www.facebook.com/Asociaci%C3%B3n-civil-de-Excarcelados-Pol%C3%ADticos-del-Per%C3%BA-399756207050138/B5>.
- Ave Fénix y la lucha del pueblo peruano (2 de septiembre de 2009). *El Diario Internacional*. <http://www.eldiariointernacional.com/spip.php?article2586>.
- Astvaldsson, A. (2017). Politics and Aesthetics of Modernity in El Salvador How to Describe/Write the irrational Violence? *MITOLOGÍAS HOY-REVISTA DE PENSAMIENTO, CRÍTICA Y ESTUDIOS LITERARIOS LATINOAMERICANOS*, 15, 367-383. 10.5565/rev/mitologías.432.
- Azulgarat, A. (2007). Trincheras del papel. Dictadura y literatura carcelaria en Uruguay. Trilce.
- Bloch, E. (2007). El principio Esperanza. Trotta (original publicado en 1947).
- Bolívar, I. J. y Lizarazo, S. F. (2021a). Sistema educativo y cohesión ideológica en las FARC-EP: entre el “nosotros” como patria social y el “Estado agresor”. *Diálogo andino*, GG, 463-474. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0719-26812021000300463>.
- Bolívar, I. y Lizarazo, S. (2021b). Entre sueños, montañas y vallenatos. Aprendizajes sobre la expansión regional de las FARC-EP en el Caribe. *Colombia Internacional*, 107, 139-162. <https://doi.org/10.7440/colombiaint107.2021.06>.
- Cabrera Acosta, M. (2005). Hayden White y la teoría del conocimiento histórico: una aproximación crítica. *Pasado y Memoria*, 4, 117-146. <https://doi.org/10.14198/PASADO2005.4.07>.
- Cáceres, C. (2013). Discursos sobre reconciliación: el caso de los presos desvinculados de Sendero Luminoso y MRTA. (Tesis de maestría). Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Instituto de Democracia y Derechos Humanos (IDEHPUCP). <https://idehpucp.pucp.edu.pe/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Texto-CristinaC%C3%A1ceres.pdf>.
- Calduch, R. (1993). Dinámica de la sociedad internacional. Editorial CEURA.
- Caro, R. (2006). Ser mujer, joven y senderista: memorias de género y pánico moral en las percepciones del senderismo. *Allpanchis*, 38(67), 125-156. <https://doi.org/10.36901/allpanchis.v38i67.479>.
- Caro, R. & Ulfe, M. E. (2012). Resituando el debate sobre el MOVADEF. *Quehacer*, 187, 54-59. <https://www.desco.org.pe/re-cursos/sites/indice/831/2469.pdf>.

- Cediel, Y. y Olave, G. (2021). De las Farc-Ep a la FARC: tránsitos discursivos. *LENGUA Y HABLA*, 25, 155-182. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=8223766>.
- Chávez, J. M. (2017). *Poets and Prophets of the Resistance: Intellectuals & the Origins of El Salvador's Civil War*. Oxford University Press.
- Chavolla, J. J. (2008). Política cultural en la Nicaragua neoliberal. *L'Ordinaire des Amériques*, 211, 77-96. <https://doi.org/10.4000/ordea.2561>.
- Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación [CVR] (2003). Informe final de la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación. 9 volúmenes. Lima: Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación.
- Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos [CIDH] (9 de septiembre de 2004). Demanda en el caso de Hugo Juárez Cruzatt y otros ("Centro Penal Miguel Castro Castro"), Caso 11.015 contra la República del Perú. <http://www.cidh.org/demandas/11.015%20openal%20castro%20castro%20peru%209%20seto4%20esp.pdf>.
- Comité de Apoyo a la Revolución del Perú (2002). "Décimo aniversario del histórico discurso «desde la jaula» del Presidente Gonzalo". *LA NETA DEL OR* [blog]. 29 de septiembre, 2002. Recuperado el 4 de agosto de 2020 de https://revcom.us/a/v24/1161-1170/1168/csrp_s.htm.
- Comunicado PCP-SL (1987). Dar la vida por el partido y la revolución. CEDEMA. https://cedema.org/digital_items/653.
- Comunicado PCP-SL (1988). Línea de construcción de los tres instrumentos de la revolución. CEDEMA. https://cedema.org/digital_items/656.
- Cox, M. (2008). Bibliografía anotada de la ficción narrativa peruana sobre la guerra interna de los años ochenta y noventa (con un estudio previo). *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, 38, 227-278. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25479088>.
- Dalton, R. (2016). Una Antología levemente odiosa. Poemas de Roque Dalton. Brigada Para Leer En Libertad.
- De Lima, P., Vich, V., Buntinx, G., Quiroz, R. y Mazzotti, J. A. (2012). Los 80 en poesía y arte: Klokka, el neobarroco y otras especies. *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, 38(76), 445-468. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23631246>.
- Degregori, C. I. (1990). El surgimiento del Partido Comunista del Perú Sendero Luminoso. Ayacucho 1974-1977, del movimiento por la gratuidad de la enseñanza a la lucha armada. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Degregori, C. I. (2000). Discurso y violencia política en Sendero Luminoso. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études andines*, 29(3), 493-513. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/126/12629310.pdf>.
- Del Pino, P. (1998). Familia, cultura y "revolución". Vida cotidiana de Sendero Luminoso. En S. J. Stern (Ed.), *Los senderos insólitos del Perú: guerra y sociedad, 1980-1995* (pp. 161- 191). Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga.
- Díaz Chávez, O. (2020). Políticas y prácticas de género y representaciones de las masculinidades del PCP-SL en la novela Trece días. (Tesis de maestría). Universidad Católica del Perú. Repositorio PUCP. <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12404/16467>.

- Díaz, F. D. (2015). Por el camino del Neosenderismo. Crimen organizado en el Perú. Neosenderismo en la Región del Valle del Río Apurímac y Ene. (Tesis de maestría). Universidad Nacional de La Plata. Repositorio Institucional de la UNLP. <http://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/handle/10915/50314>.
- Dono, M., Alzate, M., Barreto-Galeano, M. I., Uhng, D. y Sabucedo, J. M. (2022). 'I know what is best for you better than you do': Cross-cultural evidence of the association between monopoly on truth and extremism. *International Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(3). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02134748.2022.2083292>.
- El Hammoud, O. (2018). Al Qaeda en el Magreb: Análisis del discurso terrorista sobre el yihad. (Tesis de doctorado). Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Repositorio Institucional UP. <https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/663872#page=1>.
- Encarnación Pinedo, M. (2020a). La memoria carcelaria en Sendero Luminoso y en el Movimiento de Liberación Nacional-Tupamaro (1982-2017). *Historia y MEMORIA*, 21, 235-268. <https://doi.org/10.19053/20275137.n21.2020.9572>.
- Encarnación Pinedo, M. (2020b). Mujer y familia en Sendero Luminoso (1974-2019): de la teoría a la práctica. *Cuadernos de Historia. Serie Economía y Sociedad*, 25, 135-162. <https://revistas.unc.edu.ar/index.php/cuadernosdehistoriaeys/article/view/31751>.
- Escárzaga, F. (2001). Auge y caída de Sendero Luminoso. *Bajo el Volcán*, 2(3), 75-97. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=28600305>.
- Familiares y amigos de los prisioneros (2016). Testimonios de heroicidad. Ediciones Memoria. Fows, J. (12 de septiembre de 2018). La justicia peruana condena a la cúpula de Sendero Luminoso por segunda vez. *El País*. https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/09/11/america/1536695908_960816.html.
- García de Las Heras, M. (2020). El eventual legado de Mariátegui en la composición ideológica de 401 Sendero Luminoso. *Araucaria. Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofía, Política, Humanidades y Relaciones Internacionales*, 22(43), 393-417. <https://dx.doi.org/10.12795/araucaria.2020.i43.20>.
- Goldmann, L. (1986). *El hombre y lo absoluto: el dios oculto*. Planeta DeAgostini (original publicado en 1955).
- Gómez Jiménez, Á., López, L. Vásquez, A. y Paredes, B. (2016). Morir y matar por un grupo o unos valores. Estrategias para evitar, reducir y/o erradicar el comportamiento grupal extremista. *Anuario de psicología jurídica*, 26(1), 122-129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apj.2016.04.001>.
- González Ayala, E. (2008). Aristas de la poesía revolucionaria en Centroamérica: el cristianismo, la muerte y la nación en las obras de Cardenal, Dalton y Castillo. *Cuadernos Inter.c.a.Mbio sobre Centroamérica y El Caribe*, 5(6), 157-174. <https://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/intercambio/article/view/3470>.
- González, J. y Maldonado, R. (2018). Mujeres "guerrilleras": la participación de las mujeres en las FARC y en el PCP-Sendero Luminoso. Los casos de Colombia y Perú. En A. Guiné (Ed.), *Género y conflicto armado en el Perú* (pp. 111-159). Université Le Havre Normandie.

- Corriti, G. (1990). Sendero: historia de la guerra milenaria en el Perú. Editorial Planeta.
- Guevara, E. (1978). El hombre nuevo. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Guiné, A. (2016). Encrucijada de guerra en mujeres peruanas: Augusta La Torre y el Movimiento Femenino Popular. *Millars: Espai i historia*, 23(41), 97-128. <https://www.e-revistas.uji.es/index.php/millars/article/view/3238>.
- Guiné, A. (2019). Iconography of a prison massacre. Drawings by Peruvian Shining Path war survivors. En J. Galimberti, N. De Haro y V. Scott (Coords.), *Art, Global Maoism and the Chinese Cultural Revolution* (pp. 289-310). Manchester University Press.
- Guzmán, A. (24 de julio de 1989). Entrevista a Abimael Guzmán / Entrevistador: Luis Arce Borja. Periódico El Diario, Lima, Perú.
- Horgan, J. (2009). *Walking Away from Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements*. Routledge.
- Jiménez Bacca, B. (2012). La captura del presidente Gonzalo. Rivadeneyra.
- Jiménez Vigara, M. (2019). Sendero Rojo o el Partido Comunista del Perú Marxista-Leninista-Maoísta (1992-1999). Ideología, Organización y Estrategia. *Americania: Revista de Estudios Latinoamericanos*, 10, 172-201. <https://doi.org/10.46661/america-nia.4912>.
- Kirk, R. (1993). Grabado en piedra. Las mujeres de Sendero Luminoso. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Kruglanski, A. (2006). Inside the terrorist mind: The relevance of ideology. *Studies in Psychology*, 27(3), 271-277. [10.1174/021093906778965008](https://doi.org/10.1174/021093906778965008).
- Kruijt, D. (2008). La revolución por decreto: el Perú durante el gobierno militar. Instituto de Defensa Legal.
- La poesía de la profesora Elena (14 de diciembre de 2014). *Diario del Pueblo*. <http://diariodelpueblo3.blogspot.com/2014/12/la-poesia-de-laprofesora-elena-la-mujer.html>.
- Lara Martínez, R. (2002). Pedro Geoffroy Rivas, la poetización de la ciencia. *Realidad: Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 8G, 223-251. <https://doi.org/10.5377/realidad.voi86.4076>.
- Löwy, M. (2005). Mística revolucionaria: José Carlos Mariátegui y la religión. *Utopía y Praxis Latinoamericana*, 10 (28), 49-59. http://ve.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1315-52162005000100003&lng=es&nrm=is&tlng=es.
- Malvaceda Espinoza, E. y Cruz Manrique, Y. (2019). Influencia del simbolismo cultural sobre la identidad política en militantes del Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL). *Revista SOMEPSO*, 4(2), 13-27. <https://revistasomepso.org/index.php/revistasomepso/article/view/22>.
- Malvaceda Espinoza, E. (2014). Alternativas pacíficas ante la violencia política desde los exmilitantes del PCP-SL. (Tesis de maestría). Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Repositorio PUCP. <http://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/repositorio/handle/20.500.12404/5789>.
- Malvaceda, E., Herrero, J. y Correa, J. (2018). Socialización y radicalización política en militantes del Partido Comunista del Perú-Sendero Luminoso (PCP-SL). *Convergencia*, 25(78), 71-91. <https://doi.org/10.29101/crcs.v25i78.4657>.

- Manrique, N. (2007). Pensamiento, acción y base política del movimiento Sendero Luminoso. La guerra y las primeras respuestas de los comuneros (1964-1983). En A. Pérotin-Dumon (Dir.), *Historizar el pasado vivo de América Latina* (pp. 1-69). https://www.verdadyreconciliacionperu.com/admin/files/articulos/273_digitalizacion.pdf.
- Manrique-Vallier, D. y Ball, P. (2019). Reality and risk: A refutation of S. Rendón's analysis of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission's conflict mortality study. *Research & Politics*, G(1). Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168019835628>
- Mariátegui, J. C. (1925). *El hombre y el mito*. Mundial.
- Mariátegui, J. C. (2007). 7 ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana. Fundación Biblioteca de Ayacucho (original publicado en 1928).
- Movimiento Femenino Popular (1974). *El marxismo, Mariátegui y el movimiento femenino*. Movimiento Femenino Popular.
- Moyano, M., Kruglanski, A. y Trujillo, H. (2022). Processes of radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism (Procesos de radicalización, extremismo violento y terrorismo). *International Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(3), 492-503. doi: 10.1080/02134748.2022.2083294.
- Mujica, W. (1998). *La relación conyugal (expresión profunda de la condición humana)*. Manuscrito no publicado. Lima, Perú.
- Mujica, W. (2001). *Cantos Aurorales (el poema y su tiempo)*. Gráficas Escorial. Mujica, W. (2007). *ANTrOLOGÍA*. Ediciones Lord Byron.
- Mujica, W. (2010). *Vivir el tiempo*. Grupo Editorial Arteida.
- Perilli, C. (2020). Retrato en familia: Sybila Arredondo. *Heterotopías*, 3(5), 1-17. <https://re-vistas.unc.edu.ar/index.php/heterotopias/article/view/29110>.
- Pino Moyano, L. (2011). De dogmas, hombres nuevos, muerte y martirologio. La relación subterránea marxismo-cristianismo en Chile, 1960-1970. *Revista Izquierdas*, 11, 1-18. <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=360133451001>.
- Portocarrero, G. (2012). *Profetas del odio. Raíces culturales y líderes de Sendero Luminoso*. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Quintanilla Flores, S. (2017). Evitar convertirse en piedra; reflexiones sobre el arte de Sendero Luminoso en la exposición *Esquirlas del odio*. *Revista Arte y Diseño A&D*, 5, 72-81. <https://revistas.pucp.edu.pe/index.php/ayd/article/view/19635>.
- Rénique, J. L. (2003). *La voluntad encarcelada: las "Luminosas Trincheras de Combate" de SL del Perú*. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Ríos, J. (2018). Sendero Luminoso: Una apología de la violencia. *Revista de Cultura de Paz*, 2, 277-294. <https://www.revistadeculturadepaz.com/index.php/cultura-paz/article/view/22>.
- Rojas Mendoza, Z., Hernández, V., Vargas, W., Burgos, E., Quispe, R. y Huaylla, A. (2014). *Cuentos de la trinchera*. Editorial Nueva Crónica.
- Romero Ramos, H. y Santoro Domingo, P. (2008). Dos caminos en la sociología de la literatura: hacia una definición programática de la sociología de la literatura española.

- Revista Española de Sociología, 8. Recuperado a partir de <https://recyt.fecyt.es/index.php/res/article/view/65051>.
- Sagermann Bustinza, L. (2014). La memoria de la violencia: las consecuencias del conflicto armado contra Sendero Luminoso representadas en una película y dos novelas peruanas. *Studia Romanica Posnaniensia*, 41(1), 147-162. <https://doi.org/10.14746/strop.2014.411.010>.
- Samacá, G. D. (2017). Versos de amores que matan los odios malditos del yanqui opresor: música insurgente y discurso político de las FARC-EP. *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura*, 44(2), 227-259. <https://doi.org/10.15446/achsc.v44n2.64022>.
- Sánchez Huaranga, C. D. (2016). El Pcp-Sendero Luminoso en las Universidades, Concepto y Práctica del Folklore: El 'Arte de Nuevo tipo' en los sikuris. Centro Cultural de San Marcos. https://www.verdadyreconciliacionperu.com/admin/files/articulos/2070_digitalizacion.pdf.
- Sarmiento Dávila, H. (2017). Arte y violencia política. Análisis de 2 obras artísticas del PCP-SL 1979- 1980. (Tesis de maestría). Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. Repositorio de tesis digitales UNMSM. <https://cybertesis.unmsm.edu.pe/handle/20.500.12672/6828>.
- Sapiro, G. (2016). La sociología de la literatura. Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Saumell-Muñoz, R. E. (1993). El otro testimonio: literatura carcelaria en América Latina. *Revista iberoamericana*, 59(164), 497-507. <https://doi.org/10.5195/reviberoamer.1993.5170>.
- Silva, S. (2009). La Teología de la Liberación. *Teología y vida*, 50(1-2), 93-116. <https://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0049-34492009000100008>.
- Sommer, D. (2004). Ficciones fundacionales. Las novelas nacionales de América Latina. Fondo de Cultura Económica (original publicado en 1991).
- Strong, S. (1992). Sendero Luminoso. El movimiento subversivo más letal del mundo. *Peru Reporting*.
- Valenzuela, M. (2012). Sendero en la prisión: Apuntes etnográficos sobre los senderistas del penal de Miguel Castro Castro. Argumentos. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 5. <https://argumentos-historico.iep.org.pe/articulos/sendero-en-la-prision-apuntes-etnograficos-sobre-los-senderistas-del-penal-miguel-castro-castro/>.
- M. (2013). Violencia política y teatro en el Perú de los 80. El teatro producido por Sendero Luminoso y el movimiento de Artistas Populares. *Pacarina del Sur: Revista de pensamiento Crítico Latinoamericano*, 14(1). <http://www.pacarinadelsur.com/home/pielago-de-imagenes/625-violenciapolitica-y-teatro-en-el-peru-de-los-80-el-teatro-producido-por-senderoluminoso-y-el-movimiento-de-artistas-populares>.
- Valle Riestra, E. (2015). Movadef, el pensamiento Gonzalo y la reaparición de Sendero Luminoso: 1992-2012. (Tesis de licenciatura). Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Repositorio PUCP. http://tesis.pucp.edu.pe/repositorio/bitstream/handle/20.500.12404/7323/VALLE_RIESTRA_PADRO_ESTEBAN_MOVADEF.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1999). El análisis crítico del discurso. *Anthropos*.
- Vargas Cárdenas, W., Rojas Mendoza, Z., Hernández Bautista, V., Limay Silva, P. y Ramos Torres, P. (2008). Camino de Ayrabamba y otros relatos. Canta Editores.

Miriam Encarnación-Pinedo

Whitehouse, H., McQuinn, B., Buhrmester, M. y Swann, W. (2014). Brothers in arms: Libyan revolutionaries bond like family. PNAS, 111(10), 17783-17785 <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1416284111>.

Yparraguirre, E. (2001). Parvulez. Ediciones Paloma Carmesí.

Yparraguirre, E. (2017). Soledad comprometida. Manuel Augusto Fajardo Caveró. Zapata, A. (2017). La guerra Senderista. Hablan los enemigos. Penguin Random House.