Indigenism, Shining Path's cultural warfare against civilization

by Luis Vásquez Medina

A little-known and poorly understood but crucial aspect of the war that the Peruvian nation is waging against the Shining Path is the ideology known as “indigenism,” so named after the indigenous people whose interests Shining Path cynically claims to represent. Although indigenism was imposed from outside the country, during recent decades it has managed to undermine the Christian cultural matrix upon which Peru was founded nearly 500 years ago.

According to Max Hernández, a psychiatrist with the infamous London brainwashing center, the Tavistock Institute, “indigenism” could be summed up as a belief in two worlds: the world of the Indian and the world of the white man, each unassimilable and antagonistic toward the other, linked only through a relationship of domination and exploitation.

To be historically accurate, one must give Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1576) the sad title of inventor of this racist ideology. Las Casas was a half-mad monk who supposedly defended the Indians, at the same time that he pushed black slavery in the New World. Without a doubt, this Dominican monk is the father of both indigenism and the modern heresy known as Theology of Liberation. The flood of slanders Las Casas produced against the evangelization of America was the starting point for that British political operation against Spain known as the “Black Legend,” the historical myth that everything Spanish and Catholic is backward, authoritarian, and feudal, by definition.

Had it actually been implemented, Las Casas’s proposal for “peaceful evangelization”—which basically involved excluding the soldier from accompanying the missionary in his efforts at redemption—would have brought Spain’s evangelization epic to a halt. Ever since the works of Las Casas were published, they have served to discredit not only Spain but also Catholicism. In this regard, it is interesting to note that in 1936, Hitler’s National Socialist Party published, in the city of Leipzig, the masterwork of Las Casas: A Brief History of the Destruction of the Indies, with the subtitle “Under the Sign of the Cross” added.

The modern elaboration of “indigenism,” a belief structure which in fact has nothing to do with the Indian population, can be traced back to the mid-1800s, beginning with the Italian gnostic and masonic currents that arrived in Peru during those years. Together with the Italian Giuseppe Gari-baldi (1807-82), who arrived in Peru in 1851, came a number of individuals linked to the masonic lodges of the New Europe, headed by Mazzini and Lord Palmerston. One of these individuals, Emilio Segui, who had been Mazzini’s private secretary, was head of the masonic lodges of Lima and Callao for years. Segui stayed active for decades: In 1919, for example, he functioned as the protector of José Carlos Mariátegui, founder of the Peruvian Communist Party and intellectual father of Shining Path. Segui sponsored Mariátegui’s visit to Italy for “training.”

Also trained in these gnostic circles was Manuel González Prada, whom many consider the “father” of “romantic” indigenism in Peru. González Prada was a furious anti-Catholic militant, an admirer of the positivism of August Comte and of the anarchism of Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Also collaborating in the creation of romantic indigenism was writer Clorinda Matto de Turner, wife of a U.S. Adventist minister who was a member of the American Bible Society. She was expelled in 1895 from the country for her virulent attacks against the Catholic Church. This “romantic” indigenism is also the point of departure for the “social” indigenism which developed in the early decades of the twentieth century, which ended up producing José Carlos Mariátegui.

“Social” indigenism was consolidated as a movement through the founding of the Pro-Indian Association in Lima in 1912. Included on its first board of directors were: Joaquin Capelo, Emilio Segui, Daniel Alomias Robles, Rómulo Cúneo Vidal—all Masons—and the German Dora Mayer. The association was headed by Pedro Zulen, a graduate of Harvard University who was Bertrand Russell’s correspondent in Peru. Zulen’s lover, Dora Mayer—who would later collaborate with Spartakus socialist Rosa Luxemburg in Germany—wrote a book which presented Zulen as the theosophical reincarnation of the English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley. Zulen was a radical indigenist who maintained that only the Indians could save Peru. One of the most active members of the association was the Mason Segui, who in 1883 founded the newspaper La Voce d’Italia, which was published until 1930.

The Pro-Indian Association spread throughout Peru’s interior, recruiting many people to indigenism, such as the theosophist Luis E. Valcárcel, who was key in creating the “indigenous conscience” which was later re-elaborated by Mariátegui. Valcárcel and Segui were the first to pose a “Marxist solution” to the Peruvian “Indian problem.”
Indigener as a communist weapon

Coming out of the 1922 Congress of the Communist International in Baku, the "globalist" faction headed by Bukharin upheld the thesis that world revolution would occur first in the backward countries, and later the industrialized ones. Thus, this communist faction maintained that the Marxist movements in the semi-feudal countries should try to draw the native peasant masses into the process of socialist revolution, by means of an ideological syncretism which mixed Marxism with native ideologies. This thesis was carried into practice, with the help of British intelligence, through the Chinese Communist revolution. Both José Carlos Mariategui and Luis E. Valcárcel, the "prophets" of Shining Path, shared this view and helped to bring it about in Peru.

Although Mariategui was not a masonic militant, gnosticism held a fascination for him ever since his early youth, when he organized a black mass in the Lima cemetery. In his adult life, Mariategui found the ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche (who declared that "God is dead") so attractive that he included an epigraph of that philosopher in his most important work, Siete ensayos de la interpretación de la realidad peruano ("Interpretations of Peruvian Reality: Seven Essays"). (Other Peruvian Marxists were openly masonic, as is Ricardo Martínez, the founder of the Peruvian Communist Party and author of the only Marxist history of Peru. Martínez ended his days as a spiritualist medium.

APRA and indigenerism

One could say that the political party of Masonry in Peru is the APRA party. Agustín Haya de la Torre, its founder, was a radical gnostic. His eldest brother Edmundo was for a long time the head of the Scottish Rite Freemasonry in Peru. Haya de la Torre’s principal protector and financier was John Mackay, the Scottish director of the Anglo-Peruvian College and leader of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). Haya de la Torre considered himself a direct disciple of González Prada, and like him was also inclined toward spiritualism. His fame as an anti-Catholic was earned in May 1923, when he led masonic groups, students of San Marcos University, and certain workers’ circles against "the consecration of Peru to the sacred heart of Jesus." The ensuing revolt caused several deaths, after which the project was cancelled at the request of the Catholic Church. The day after the revolt, the magazine Variedades, led by a Mason, Clement Palma—an ally of Haya de la Torre—came out with a cartoon of Jesus, hands bloodied, on its cover.

In 1987, Peruvian President Alan García Pérez gave Peru’s citizens gooseflesh with a fiery speech in which he praised the “mystique,” “the sacrifice,” and the “discipline” of Shining Path’s cadre. Addressing himself to the APRA youth of Ayacucho, García said that if Aprista militants "more closely resembled those of Shining Path," the Aprista revolution would already have been won. To this Aprista admiration for Shining Path, one must also add their unabashed collaboration with the other narco-terrorist movement, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). Just months before finishing his term, Alan García facilitated the escape from jail of his good friend, former Aprista and a leader in the MRTA, Víctor Polay Campos.

This obvious affinity was nothing new. José Carlos Mariategui, in one of his most important essays, "The Problem of the Land," wrote: "In Haya de la Torre ... I find concepts that absolutely coincide with my own on the agrarian question in general, and on the indigenous community in particular. We proceed from the same viewpoints, such that it is inevitable that our conclusions should also be the same." Haya de la Torre and Mariategui offer "Marxist" interpretations of Peruvian reality, with only shades of difference between them: Haya de la Torre always reproaches Mariategui for being too "European-like" and describes his own viewpoint as more "autochthonous." He invented the term "Indo-America," with its explicitly racial allusion. "As a race," said Haya de la Torre, "the Indian is not only an economic and social force but a traditional and telluric one." He proposed creating a "new Indian" based on returning to the "socialist-idiomsyncracy of origin."

Anthropologists and psychiatrists

The contemporary phase of indigenerism was launched in the mid-twentieth century by a network of anthropologists, ethnologists, and other "social scientists" from the French structuralist school of Claude Lévi-Strauss, coming primarily out of the Sorbonne. In the mid-1950s, these people deployed into the Peruvian mountains to carry out ideological profiling studies of the Indian communities.

The Peruvian guru of this group was Luis E. Valcárcel, who led them to establish an urban base of operations, founding such apparently respectable and exclusively academic institutions as the Institute for Peruvian Studies (IEP), established in 1964 by Valcárcel’s student and intimate colleague José Matos Mar. All of these people and their institutions maintained an "academic" profile while producing biased studies on such subjects as how to dismantle the Armed Forces, allegedly "exposing state violence," and "human rights violations." By 1969, a study had already been produced on "the subversive potential of the Ayacucho region," and the University of Huamanga—later the birthplace of Shining Path—had been refounded with money from the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, among others. Also, thanks to financing from the Ford Foundation, these same sociologists and anthropologists took control of the social science faculties of various Lima universities.

The orientation of this entire movement can be summed up by Valcárcel’s frank comment, "Ethnology was the fountainhead from which the new indigenerism sprang."

During the 1970s, this network of anthropologists joined forces with a group of psychiatrists and "social psychoanalysts" who had been trained at the Tavistock Institute. Tavistock got its start as the psychological warfare division of British intelligence after World War I. The studies of these
Sex and drugs used
to push indigenism

One of the principal concerns of the school of psycho-history of Max Hernández is that of unveiling the "true history" of the "resistance" of the indigenous culture against the penetration of western civilization. To this end, they have applied the method of psychoanalysis to some of the key myths and historical events of Peruvian history. One of these interdisciplinary analyses is that of the Quechua myth of "Taki Ongoy," which turns out to be especially important for understanding how these "social scientists" who are in charge of carrying out Shining Path's cultural warfare in Peru, also did the basic studies which were subsequently used to design what became Shining Path.

The "Taki Ongoy," literally translated as "the Chant Disease," refers to a nativist movement which appeared in 1565 in the Ayacucho region. It was a religious movement in that its priests preached a message of rejection of western religion and culture; they instructed their followers in the details of a complicated ceremonial which included chants, dances, and which ended in complete bacchanales with all kinds of carnal acts. As detailed in the interdisciplinary study done by Hernández, Lemlij, Pendola Rostorowsky, and Millones, initially published by the Institute for Peruvian Studies under the title "The Return to the Huacas" (the Huacas are the pre-Inca gods), the followers of Taki Ongoy were not allowed to wear Spanish dress, nor to enter churches, nor to use Christian names, nor to taste Spanish foods. In their ceremonies they used hallucinogenic drugs to induce communal orgiastic rituals.

In their sophisticated psychoanalytical study, Max Hernández and company establish the importance which this regional anti-western uprising had in what they term the movement of rejection of the West, which had the "greatest response potential against the Spanish" in this era of Peruvian history. It was even higher than the military uprising of the Inca nobility at the end of the sixteenth century. The superiority of the Taki Ongoy movement was based on the fact that this movement was directed toward controlling the deepest part of the mind of the indigenous peoples. The communal ritual orgies were essential in this function, because according to these psycho-historians, following the Freudian maxim that "the ego is primordially and fundamentally a corporal ego," through these orgies the indigenous would reconstruct their "ego," which had been (allegedly) destroyed by the violent phenomenon of the Spanish conquest. The orgies, by the same mechanisms in which physical contact between infant and mother creates the "ego" in the individual—conclude the psycho-historians—must rebuild a new "ego" for the indigenous.

In short, the return to the native religion, as proposed by the "indigenists" who back Shining Path, and also proposed by the psychotic indigenist Rigoberta Menchú, was a model designed by psychiatrists connected with the Tavistock Institute in Great Britain. The model includes the generalized use of drugs in the Shining Path ranks, and a recruitment method based on the rule that "the revolution enters by the womb"—a rule which, according to the confessions of jailed Shining Path members, was used when Shining Path would recruit by force among the indigenous population.

Tavistock-trained Peruvians were published in the early 1980s by several groups: the Institute for Peruvian Studies, of Valcárcel and company; the Peruvian Society of Psychoanalysis; and the highly important Interdisciplinary Seminar of Andean Studies, or SDEA.

SDEA was founded by psychiatrist Max Hernández, after he returned from years of training at Tavistock. The group's personnel included:

- Max Hernández, Peruvian psychiatrist. Studied at the Institute of Psychiatry of the University of London and at the Tavistock Institute. Former president of the Peruvian Society of Psychoanalysis, and former vice president of the International Association of Psychoanalysis. Founder of the Interdisciplinary Seminar of Andean Studies, SDEA.
- Moisés Lemli, Peruvian doctor also trained at Tavistock. Member of the Royal College of Psychiatry in London. Specialist in the use of drugs in psychoanalysis. Member of SDEA. His last book is entitled Alucinogenos y Shamanismo en el Perú (Hallucinogens and Shamanism in Peru).
- María Rostworowski de Díaz Canseco, historian of the Institute of Peruvian Studies and of the Institute for Andean Research at the University of California at Berkeley in the United States. She has dedicated her entire career to writing a refutation of the Augustinian version of Peruvian history written by the Inca Garcilazo de la Vega.
- Luis Millones, Peruvian anthropologist. Studied in the United States, and was professor at the University of Huamanga together with Shining Path chieftain Abimael Guzmán. Also a member of SDEA.
- Carlos Iván Degregori, Shining Path "expert" of the Institute for Peruvian Studies, one of Max Hernández's favorite disciples.
In the late 1980s, SIDEA published a series of collective writings that had been under preparation since the 1970s. Among these are: “Entre el mito y la historia” (“Between Myth and History”), “Psicoanálisis y pasado andino” (“Psychoanalysis and the Andean Past”), “El umbral de los dioses” (“Threshold of the Gods”), “Psicoanálisis y educación” (“Psychoanalysis and Education”), and “Memorias del bien perdido” (“Memories of the Lost Good”). The last is a psychoanalytical study of Garcilaso de la Vega written by Max Hernández.

**Destroying Peruvians’ identity**

The “theoretical” work of the SIDEA crew, headed by Hernández, is a sophisticated deconstructionist effort to destroy the identity of the Peruvian. Hernández and company prepared a new psychoanalytic view of Peruvian history centered on destroying the figure of Garcilaso de la Vega (1539-1616), an Incan and a Christian Platonic humanist, the true founder of the Peruvian nation.

According to Hernández, the Peruvian and his nation are the product of an act of lust and sin, the rape of the Indian mother by the savage Spanish conquistador. He shares this view with the Mexican “historian” Octavio Paz, who says that the most profound image he holds of the American mestizo is dominated by the rape of his Indian mother. According to Hernández, the mission of the “psycho-history,” which he inaugurated, is to expose the “concrete condition of the mestizo and the copulation which gave rise to him, which lie submerged in the most remote areas of the subconscious.”

The conclusions of this “historic” work of Hernández and company are that Peruvians, after 500 years of domination, have not been able to shed this self-image of bastardy stemming from the first encounter between Pizarro and the Inca Atahualpa, in Cajamarca in 1532, described as the “fundamental image of our nation, which gave shape to the conjunctions and disjunctions that continue to capture our national imagination.” The first encounter between Incas and Spaniards, which Hernández calls “object rape,” “beginning of the degeneration,” and “stomp of bastardy,” has deep sexual meaning, according to Hernández: It is the “victory-penetration” of the Spaniards who make all Peruvians bastards, “children of chance and sin.”

For Hernández, history is a cycle which goes from “construction to the deconstruction of structures.” The present-day “internal structure of Peruvian society is made up of four parts: Two parts are white, and two are Indian.

. . . One Indian part is shamed by defeat and servility; one dominant and contemptuous white part complains that Pizarro didn’t do away with all the Indians; another part is the heir of Bartolomé de las Casas and feels guilt for being white; and finally, there is the other Indian part, resentful, furious, in pain, which wants to do away with the other three parts.”

These lines make it clear, if not altogether explicit, that this last part of Peru’s present-day “internal structure” is represented by Shining Path, which has begun the “deconstruction” of society.

Max Hernández’s work is intended to wipe out all reference to the act of love, of agapé, which guided the birth of the first Peruvian and, correspondingly, of the Peruvian nation. Hernández’s psychoanalytic history uses Garcilaso de la Vega as the “original” symbol of the violent carnal rape of the Indian mother by the Spanish father. In his study of Garcilaso, Hernández resorts to what he calls a “deconstru-