

Among the many questions are, who would be defined as the “enemy,” and what are their plans for the U.S. and global publics.

In conclusion, there is no single requirement for social movements more important than accurate well-documented information on which people can take action. Alternative press, now available to millions of people 24 hours a day through the Internet, must be preserved in order to provide the foundation for such democratic citizenship and activism.

—Julie R. Andrzejewski

See also Abu-Jamal, Mumia; *Adbusters*; Alternative Bookstores; Blogging; Culture Jammers; Cyber Rights; Digital Activism; Dissent; Electronic Privacy Movement; Fairness & Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR); Free Speech Activism; Indymedia; Media Activism; Media Literacy; Media Reform Movement; Mencken, H. L.; MoveOn.org; Political Satire; Timerman, Jacobo; Virtual Sit-Ins; Webb, Gary; Yomango; Zines; ZNet

Further Readings

- Aaron, C., & Fitzgibbon, T. (2006, April 26). *House ignores public, sells out the Internet*. Retrieved April 29, 2006, from www.savethenet.com
- The case for AlterNet*. (2006). Retrieved March 18, 2006, from <http://alternet.org/about/>
- Chester, J. (2006, February 1). The end of the Internet? *The Nation*. Retrieved February 12, 2006, from www.thenation.com
- Herman, E., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: A propaganda model*. New York: Pantheon Press.
- Smith, J. (1996). The fifth column of the fourth estate: A brief history of the alternative press in America. In J. Smith (Ed.), *Afflict the comfortable, comfort the afflicted: A guide for campus alternative journalists* (pp. 19–32). Cambridge, MA: Campus Alternative Journalism Project.
- Whitney, M. (2006, February 14). The Pentagon’s war on the Internet. *Alternative Press Review*. Retrieved March 20, 2006, from www.altpr.org

AMARU, TÚPAC, II (1738–1781)

Túpac Amaru II was the leader of the largest indigenous uprising in the Americas during the period of European colonization. From November 1780 until his death in

May 1781, Túpac Amaru II headed a powerful movement that quickly spread through the South American Andes and rocked elite colonial society to its core.

Born José Gabriel Condorcanqui in 1738 outside of Cuzco, the former capital city of the Inca Empire, Túpac Amaru II traced his lineage to Túpac Amaru, the last Inca emperor, who was executed by Spanish Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1572. His father was a *curaca* (chief) over the region of Tinta (Cana y Canchis) southeast of Cuzco and operated a successful trade route. The young Condorcanqui enjoyed the benefits of a Jesuit education, was fluent in both the colonial Spanish and indigenous Quechua languages, and could operate quite well in both worlds.

On his father’s death in 1750, José Gabriel inherited his mule train as well as his *curaca* status. He became a successful trader, gaining power and prestige throughout the central Andean highlands. At the same time, he also engaged in repeated legal battles with the Spanish colonial authorities to retain his *curaca* status. He also witnessed Spanish abuses of the indigenous population and growing discontent with colonial rule. Economic reforms had improved the efficiency of tax collection, which increasingly alienated Creole and mestizo populations.

Finally, on November 4, 1780, Condorcanqui took the name of Túpac Amaru and called for the expulsion of the Spanish and for the establishment of an independent Inca empire. He arrested the local Spanish official (*Corregidor*) Antonio de Arriaga and, after a summary trial, executed him. Túpac Amaru II pledged to destroy the hated colonial labor systems (*mita* and *obrajes*), roll back the new taxes, and free Indians to live in peace and harmony with mestizos and Creoles.

As news of the uprising spread, people flooded to join Túpac Amaru’s forces with his ranks quickly swelling to 60,000 troops. He attacked Spanish estates (*haciendas*), freed Indians from prison, and removed colonial authorities from power. Although seen as an indigenous uprising, much of the leadership came from the Creole and mestizo colonial middle class. The bulk of the fighting force, however, remained overwhelmingly indigenous and included both men and women. They were motivated primarily by local issues, and their interest waned as the army moved further away from their homes.

Micaela Bastidas, the wife of Túpac Amaru II, played a particularly important role in the movement, serving as chief strategist and propagandist. She had advocated the death of Arriaga and urged her husband to move more quickly in his attacks. A delay until the end of December to attack Cuzco allowed royalist forces to go on the counteroffensive, and the revolt began to fall apart. On April 6, 1781, the Spanish captured the leadership and took them to Cuzco. On May 18, Túpac Amaru II watched the torture and execution of Bastidas and other family members before he was drawn and quartered and his limbs distributed throughout the area as a lesson to discourage other indigenous revolts.

After the uprising, the Spanish engaged in a severe campaign of repression designed to destroy cultural elements of neo-Inca nationalism. The revolt, however, continued in a more radical phase under Túpac Katari's leadership in the southern Andes. Historians sometimes interpret Túpac Amaru II's uprising as a failed precursor to independence 40 years later. Ongoing debates disagree as to whether the uprising should be seen as a messianic movement or a class-based struggle. In either case, the name Túpac Amaru remains today as a potent symbol of resistance.

Reference to Túpac Amaru can also be found in contemporary guerrilla movements, such as the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA) in Peru and Tupamaros in Uruguay, even though most of them have no actual link with indigenous struggles but with left-wing tendencies. Several operas and compositions were inspired by the story of Túpac Amaru. Examples include *Túpac Amaru, la deconquista, il Pachacuti* by Luigi Ceccarelli and *Suite Túpac Amaru* by Marcela Pavia, both composers of contemporary music.

—*Marc Becker and
Alessandro Michelucci*

See also Indigenous People and Social Justice; Reparations Movement

Further Readings

Campbell, L. G. (1987). Ideology and factionalism during the great rebellion: 1780–1782. In S. J. Stern (Ed.), *Resistance, rebellion, and consciousness in the Andean world, 18th to 20th centuries* (pp. 110–139). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Glave, L. M. (1999). The “Republic of Indians” in revolt (c. 1680–1790). In F. Saloman & S. B. Schwartz (Eds.), *The Cambridge history of the native peoples of the Americas* (pp. 502–557). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Stavig, W. (1999). *The world of Túpac Amaru: Conflict, community, and identity in colonial Peru*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Thomson, S. (2002). *We alone will rule: Native Andean politics in the age of insurgency*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Walker, C. (1999). *Smoldering ashes: Cuzco and the creation of republican Peru, 1780–1840*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU)

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is a private, nonprofit organization charged with protecting and promoting select rights and liberties codified in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. Despite pressure to expand its reach internationally, the organization operates exclusively within the United States. Its national board, which is composed of state-affiliate and at-large representatives, formulates the organization's policy and oversees its operations. The ACLU's national headquarters is in New York City; a legislative office is located in Washington, D.C., and a regional office is in Atlanta, Georgia. Although bound to the policy decisions of the national board, state affiliate branches retain significant autonomy over local resource allocation, including deciding which cases to take. The ACLU reports to have more than 500,000 current (in 2006) members and to handle over 6,000 cases annually. Volunteer and permanent attorneys, administrators, and interns staff the ACLU, while membership dues, donations, grants, and attorneys' fees fund the organization. Profoundly controversial since its founding in 1920, the ACLU quickly attained, and continues to retain, a uniquely influential position in the United States' legal landscape.

The ACLU originally deployed a civil liberties agenda, which was animated by the principle of freedom from unnecessary governmental intrusion, and