

Poli-416:
**REVOLUTION
& POLITICAL
VIOLENCE**



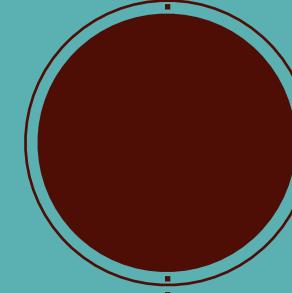
TODAY'S AGENDA



The Shining Path and support in the Peruvian highlands



The Shining Path and resistance in the Peruvian highlands



Ideology

(for the purposes of this class)

What is it?

Set of “*givens*” that guide our thinking/behavior

What purpose does it serve?

Identifies problem/
grievances

Simplifies reality

Offers solution



Example

What is it?

Problem

Solution

Simplification

The big three (in this class)

Marxism, Maoism, and
variants

Jihadist/Islamist

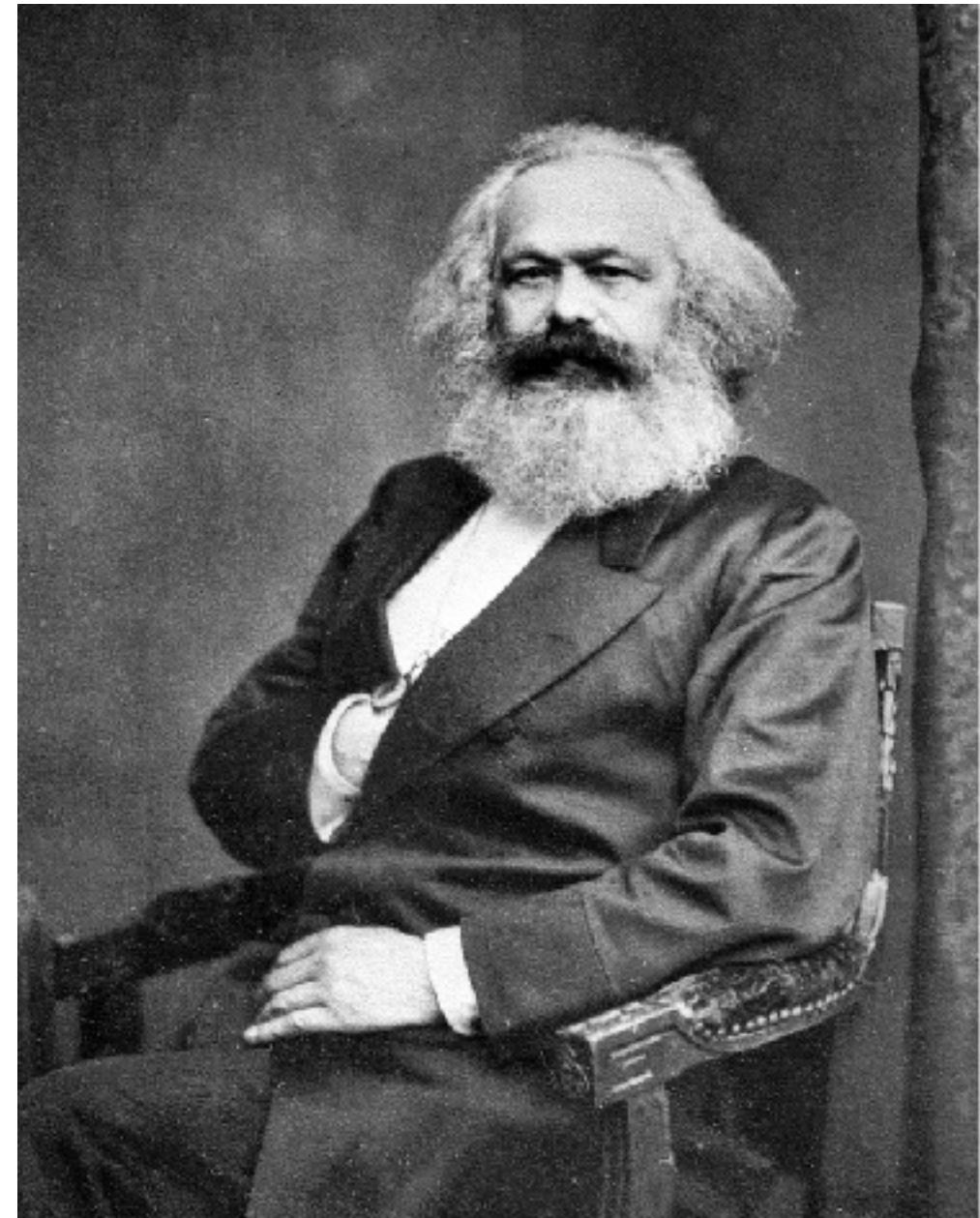
National liberation /
Anti-imperialism /
Third-Worldism

(white) supremacist

Fascist/far right

Anarchist/
primitivist

Marxism, Maoism



Problem

(class)
Inequality

Poverty

Exploitation

(class/rural/
urban)
Inequality



Solution

“workers”

Revolution

“peasants”

Urban

Rural

Vanguard

Mass-line

Jihadist/Islamism

Problem

Poverty

Inequality

Exploitation (of
muslim comm.)
by outsiders

Illegitimacy of
MENA states

Solution

Revolution

Fundamentalism

Separation

Religious rule

Saudi Arabia

May Allah reward you all for your comments we asked you to express in our letter entitled “Enunciation of the atheism of the Saudi regime”.

After reviewing those comments, we want to inform you of the following:

First: We have taken the advice that it would not be suitable to quote any scholars still serving. We have decided to omit those quotes from this letter and only mention other available evidence.

Second: As you wanted to know the reasons behind raising this matter at this specific time, although there were past occasions to raise it, we would like to inform you of the following:

1-We do not disagree with you that the present Saudi regime (which is dissident from Islam) existed for a long time as shown in the letters and Fatwa's of Sheikh Mohammed Bin Ibrahim Al Al-Sheikh.

2-On the other hand, there were several factors and many reasons that this subject was not raised previously.

The most important of these reasons is our inability to familiarize ourselves with the reality of the regime until now. The Saudi regime publicly appears to administer some of the Shari'a laws, serves as the custodian of the holy sites, spreads the D'awa (call to Islam), favors some scholars and supports some Islamic causes. The regime has largely succeeded in deceiving and misleading the nation of its secular reality.

Saudi Arabia is home to some of Islam's holiest sites and the deployment of US forces there was seen as a historic betrayal by many Islamists, notably Osama Bin Laden.

It is one of the main reasons given by the Saudi-born dissident - blamed by Washington for the 11 September attacks - to justify violence against the United States and its allies.

But news of the US pull-out does not mean the campaign is over for Bin Laden and his followers, according to the BBC's Arab affairs analyst Magdi Abdelhadi.



Bin Laden used American presence to justify anti-US attacks

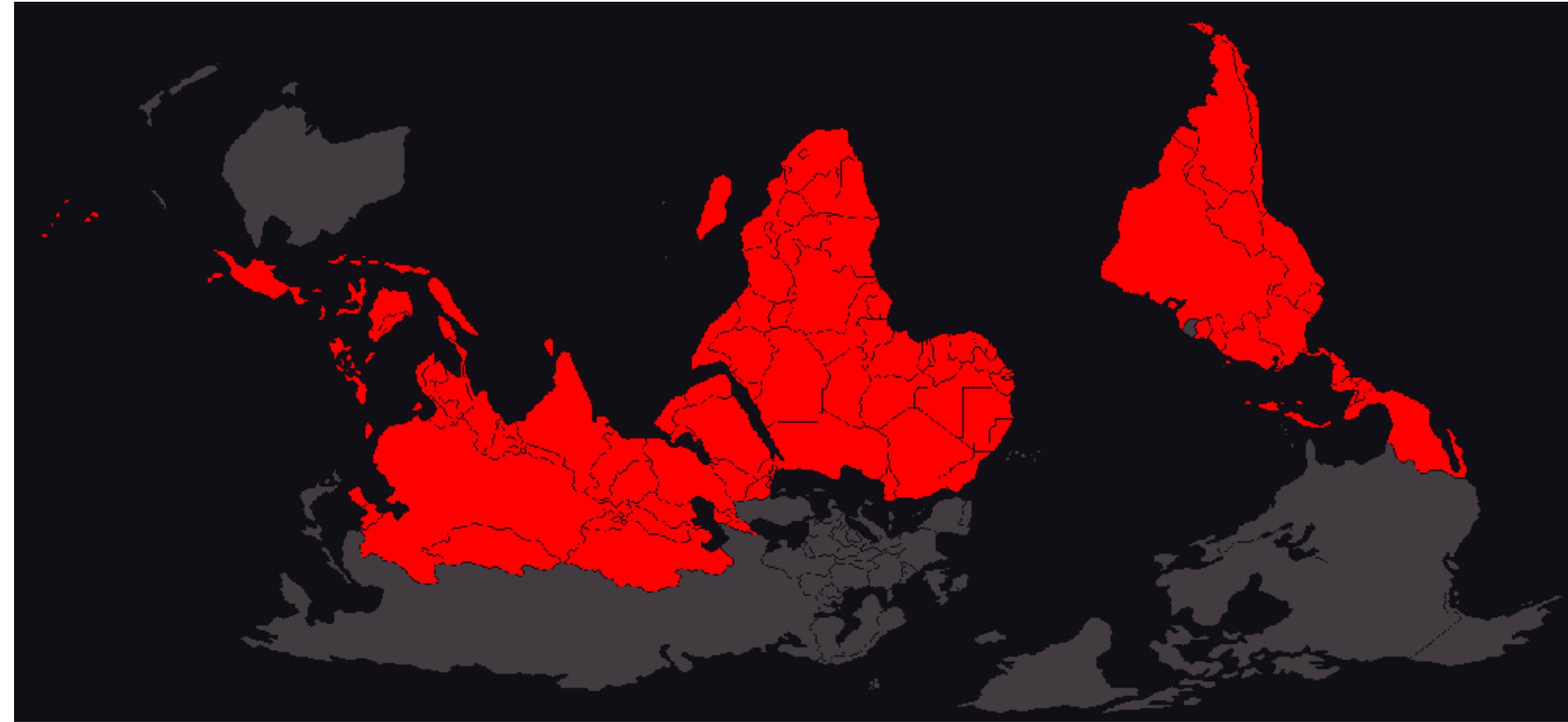
Anti-imperialism

Problem

Poverty

Inequality

Domination of third
world by first



Solution

National
Liberation

Self-determination

Decolonization

Ideology in rebel groups

Developing and maintaining an ideology
is costly; why do groups do this?

Discipline, socialization

Align **interests** of soldiers with supporters

Boost **morale**, fighting capacity

Simplify decision-making
and delegation



Ideology can also morph over time

In 60s/70s, FARC has orthodox Marxist-Leninist ideology



Fall of USSR + coca trade involvement =
more of a national liberation / anti-imperialist bent

Ideology in civil war: Instrumental adoption and beyond

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Abstract

How important is ideology for the analysis of civil war? In contrast to literature that neglects ideology in its emphasis on structural variables or situational incentives, this article argues for the recognition of its essential role in the functioning of armed groups if they are to explain observed variation in armed group behavior. For example, sidelining ideology leaves major phenomena unexplained, including both mass killing and restraint in violence against civilians. Ideology is defined as a set of more or less systematic ideas that identify a constituency, the objectives pursued on behalf of that group, and a program of action (perhaps only vaguely defined). Ideology matters in two ways. First, it has instrumental value for armed groups, socializing combatants with heterogeneous motivations into a coherent group, dampening principal-agent problems, prioritizing competing goals, and coordinating external actors including civilians. Ideologies differ in the kind of institutions and strategies they prescribe for meeting these challenges and in the extent to which they do so. Yet this first approach is incomplete, as ideology has more than instrumental value. Members of some armed groups act on normative commitments in ways not reducible to instrumental reasoning, and some groups constrain their strategic choices for ideological reasons, often normative concerns prescribed by their ideology. Some groups, for example, engage in restraint, declining to use violence though it would have strategic benefit. The conclusion lays out a twin-fold research agenda: a ‘weak program’ that analyzes the instrumental adoption of ideology and a ‘strong program’ that explores normative commitments based on particular ideologies and on social preferences.

☰ Chuschi, Peru



Chuschi

Peru

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Photos



Photos

Quick facts

Chuschi is a town in the Chuschi District of the Cangallo Province of the Ayacucho Region of Peru. On May 17, 1980, Shining Path guerrillas began their war against the Peruvian state by burning ballot boxes in Chuschi. On March 14, 1991, government forces perpetrated the Chuschi massacre in the



What did Shining Path believe?



Mariategui

“*sendero luminoso al futuro*
(the Shining Path to the future)”

Peruvian Communist

Emphasized importance of **local conditions**, uniqueness of Peru

Indigenous societies as models



Ideology in Shining Path

Class struggle: proletariat (who?) vs. reactionaries (who?)

Anti-imperialism: counter-revolution from abroad (esp. US)

Vanguard: party-leadership extremely important (almost infallible)

Violence and the “*poeticization* of death”

Counter-revolution from within



SP use **struggle sessions** to punish internal enemies

Poeticization of death



Self-immolation in Tibet



Martyrs in southern Lebanon

Benefits and weaknesses

Class struggle

Clear enemies,
allies

No treatment of racism

Anti-imperialism/
counter-revolution

Awareness of enemy

Paranoia

Vanguard

Coordination, line of
command, morale

Dependence, fallible

Violence

Ease of use

Satipo massacre

The refusal of history

Key: Even though Shining Path fights “for” peasants, their ideology is **mismatched** with (highland) Peru

How?

Local markets example

Racial hierarchies

Inevitability of progress



Cuba in the Congo and Bolivia

Che Guevara attempts to replicate Cuba in the Congo and then Bolivia

Expected **local support** that never came



Ideology and information

These are really just **information** problems, which we've seen before!

Cost of **simplifying reality** is throwing away information

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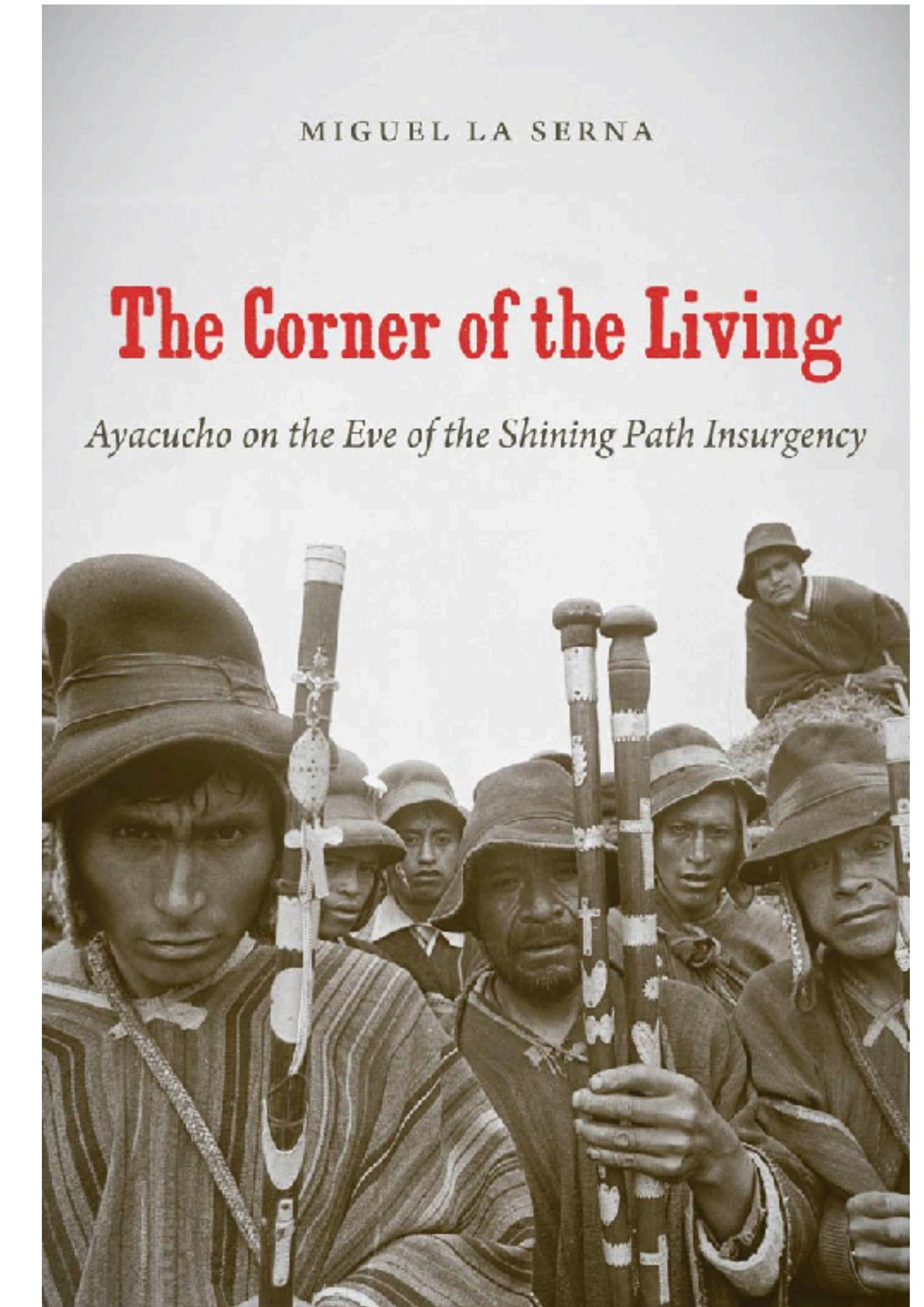


Who supported the insurgency?

SP want to win over peasantry and vary in success

Puzzle: why did some peasant communities **support** and others **oppose** SP?

Answer: local justice needs + characteristic of local communities



The realities of ideological training

I would wonder, you know, as a little guy[,] . . . ‘What will that be like? Are we going to have planes or something?’ . . . I didn’t really think that I was going to join a revolution just like that. . . . I just repeated what they told me, mostly [out of gratitude for the] care and respect that they rendered me. That was all. That was all, that was all, that was all. . . . [My participation] had nothing to do [with revolution] or carrying guns, not at all. It was just a matter of doing what [the teacher] told me to do, because I thought that it would please him if I did those things.⁴⁴

Supporters

Some peasants did support SP (who?)

What did that support look like?

Recruitment

Hiding

Spies

Networks

Transport

Why?

Did peasants support SP because they
love dense Maoist philosophy?

What did peasant communities get from
the SP?

“Rock of justice”

SP publicly punish different actors, yet there is a **mismatch** btwn SP and villager perceptions

Social deviants

Qalas

Rival community

Often **forgave** transgressors if join SP
(why did villagers like this?)

The mismatch: deviants

SP punish deviants to establish
authority, “offenses against the party”

Peasants allow/demand punishment to
correct behavior (ex: forgiveness)

Ultimately story of state and
customary **failure**

Qalas

villagers. “They were *qalas*. We *had* to obey them,” he explained. “The *qalas* were the lettered people. They could do anything to you. They could throw you in jail if you didn’t obey them. [They] bossed people around like it was nothing. . . . [They] had other people who took care [of their fields and animals], like: ‘Take care of my livestock,’ you know, and [their workers] would go and get their livestock. That’s who the [*qalas*] were. . . . [The *qalas*] could make or break the village.”⁶¹ Fulgencio offered

The Qala mismatch

To SP, “*qalas*” (elites, white) are inherently evil, let alone the corrupt ones

Yet peasants refused execution
(Chipana story); **why?**

To SP: deposing/expelling elites is **class warfare**

To villagers: punishing elites was about **restoring balance**

Intercommunal conflict

Rivalry between Chuschi and Quispillacct meant one side often supported SP violence against members of other

False or opportunistic accusations
(we've seen this before)

Burning the ballot box:
For SP a **renouncing** of elections
For villagers **assault** on rivals

Conclusion

Rebel and civilian interests don't always line up

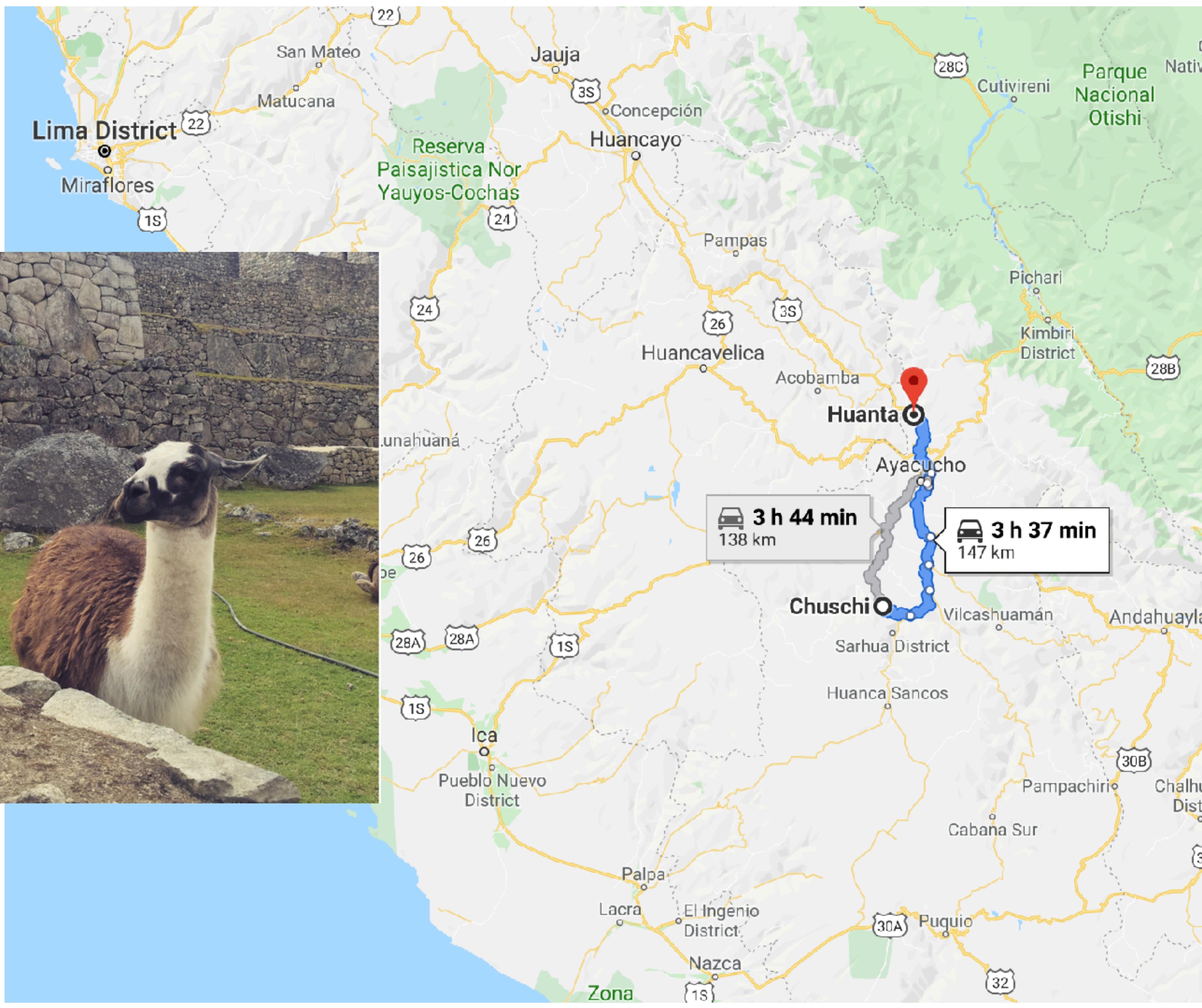
At the Water's Edge

This analysis of Shining Path has highlighted the ideological disconnect between Shining Path leaders and followers. Whereas PCP-SL leaders demanded justice against a semifeudal social structure, a reactionary nation-state, and capitalist imperialism, Ayacuchan peasants seemed much more concerned with administering justice against moral deviants, illegitimate power holders, and longtime adversaries who had disrupted public order at the local level. Indeed, it was Shining Path's unwillingness to adjust its universalizing, inflexible dogma to local realities that ultimately led to the guerrilla group's downfall. Initially, however, Chuschnicos and Quispillacctinos concluded that the potential benefits of Shining Path's external authority and justice system outweighed the potential costs. They were willing to experiment with this new system as long as it redressed these local grievances.

Even when they do, the two might be “speaking past each other”

Today

What happens when group ideology and local interests
don't line up



Resistance in Huanta

Rondas campesinas

Long history in Peru in places where **state can't impose order**

Take up arms against SP (examples?)

Become key to SP defeat



The original *ronderos* of Huaychao surrounding grave of Senderistas killed during *linchamiento*. Photograph by Oscar Medrano, *Caretas*; reprinted with permission.

The Rondas in the war

Rondas heavily involved in fighting

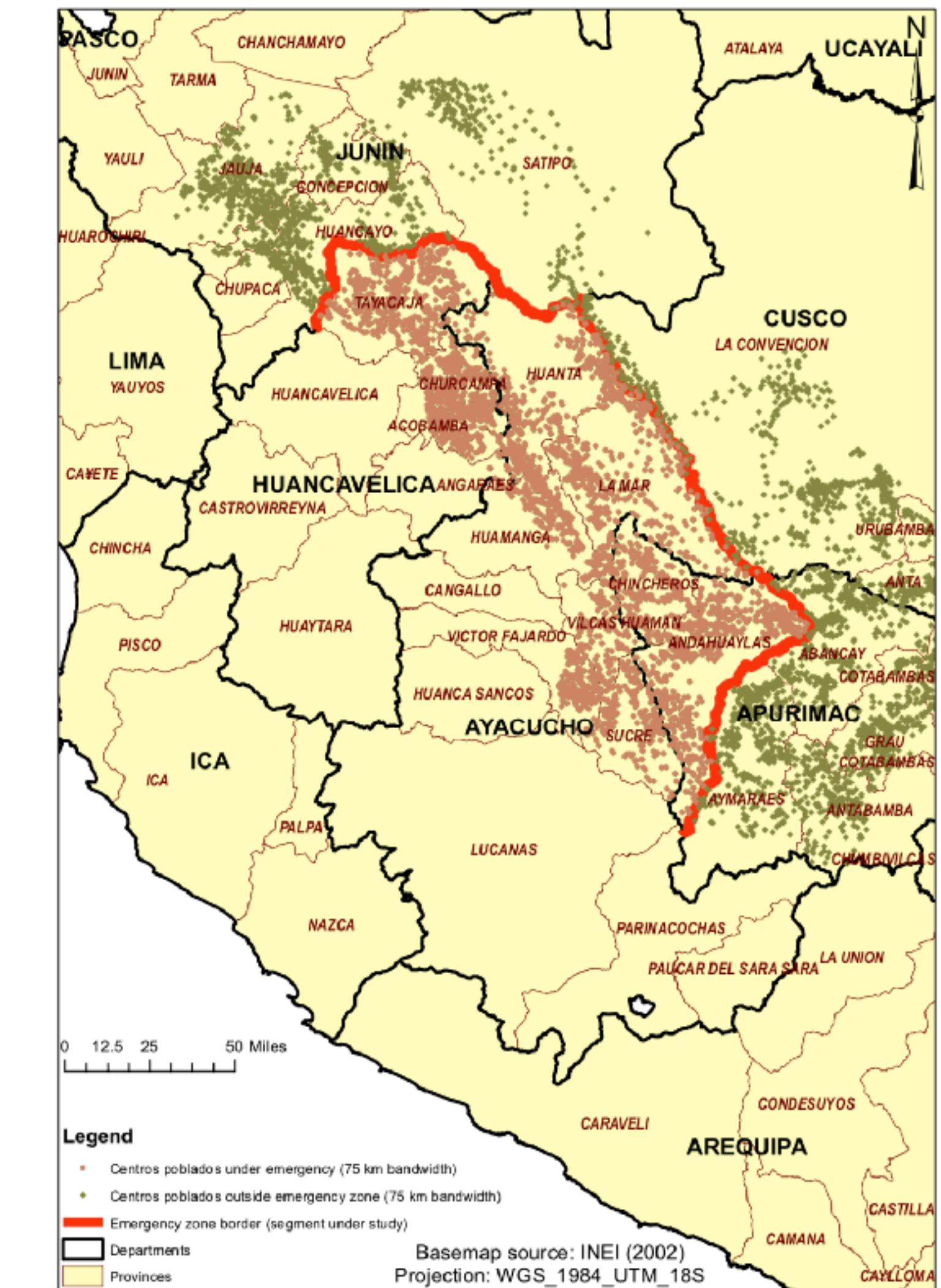
Retribution from
Shining Path

Indigenous peoples
also heavily targeted
by **the state (why?)**



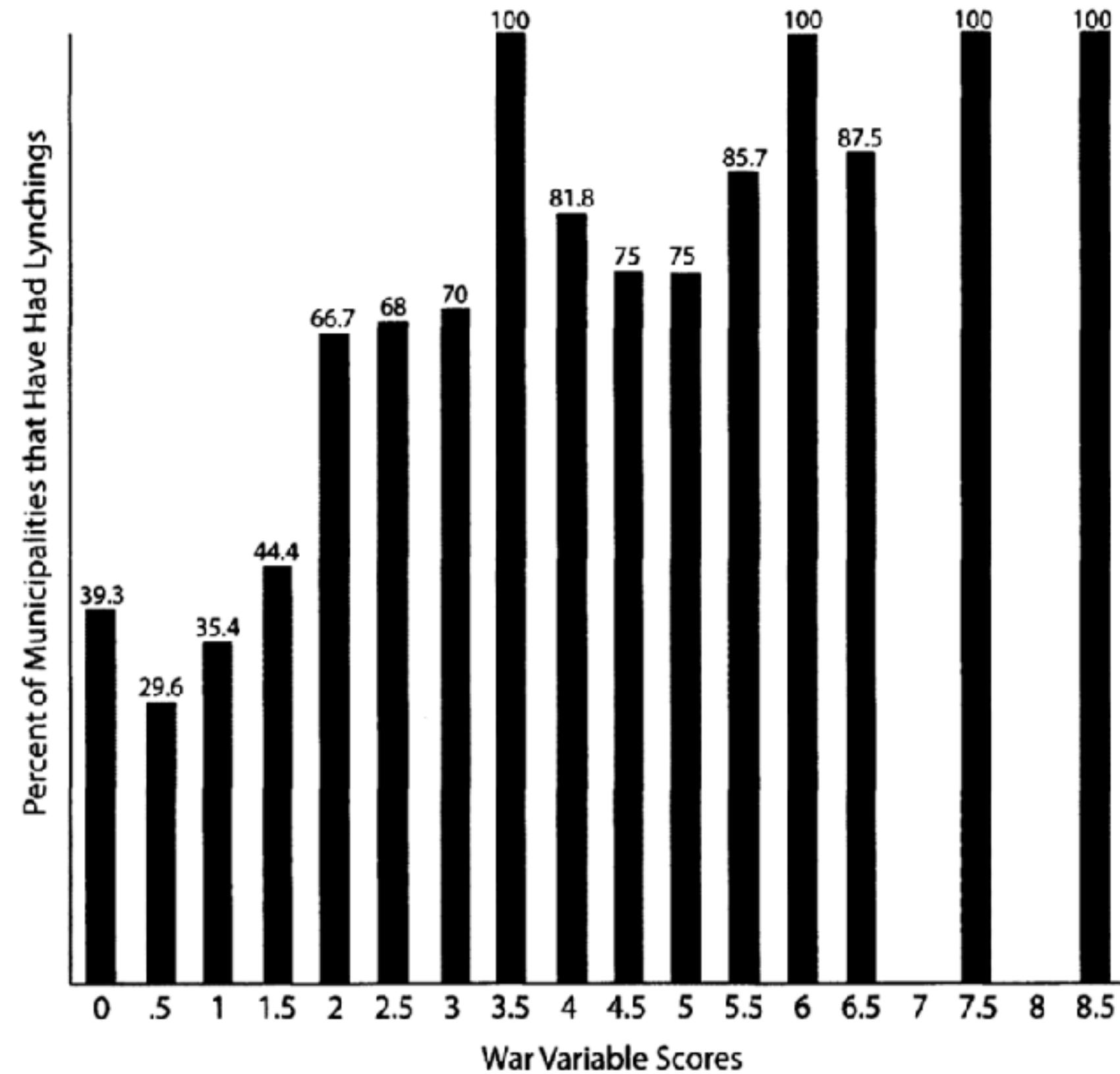
State targeting also led to Rondas

Peasants formed *rondas* as a way to **signal to state** that they were on the same side



Legacies

Figure 7.1 *Percent of Municipalities that Have Had Lynchings, by War Variable Score.*



Exposure to civil war and lynchings in Guatemala

Rondas are just self-defense groups

Like the paramilitaries in Colombia,
or vigilantes in Mexico

Self-defense forces != “evil”

Fight against insurgency, but
don’t necessarily “support” state

Reminder: what’s the big
problem with these orgs?

Principal-agent problems

When states cede power to orgs they open up a bit of a Pandora's box

What happened to the young journalists who showed up in town?

Examples abound

States sometimes give religious groups significant **autonomy**

Can produce unexpected **adverse outcomes**

Tension between legal and community **justice**
("minorities within minorities")

New York's Orthodox Jewish community is battling measles outbreaks. Vaccine deniers are to blame.

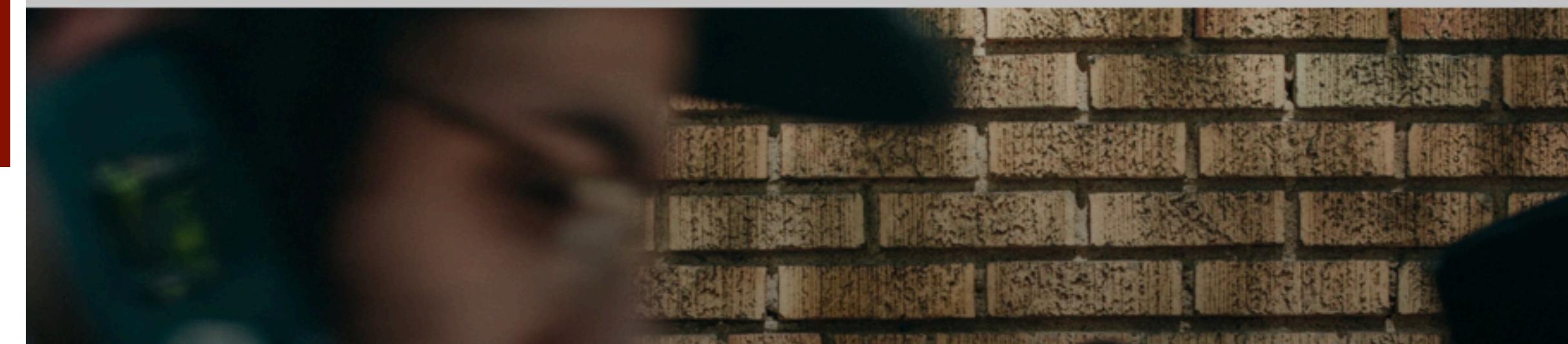
Rockland County and New York City have declared emergencies because of the outbreaks.

By Julia Belluz | @juliaoftoronto | julia.belluz@voxmedia.com | Updated Apr 10, 2019, 1:22pm EDT

Graphics: Javier Zarracina

The New York Times

*When Living Your Truth
Can Mean Losing Your
Children*

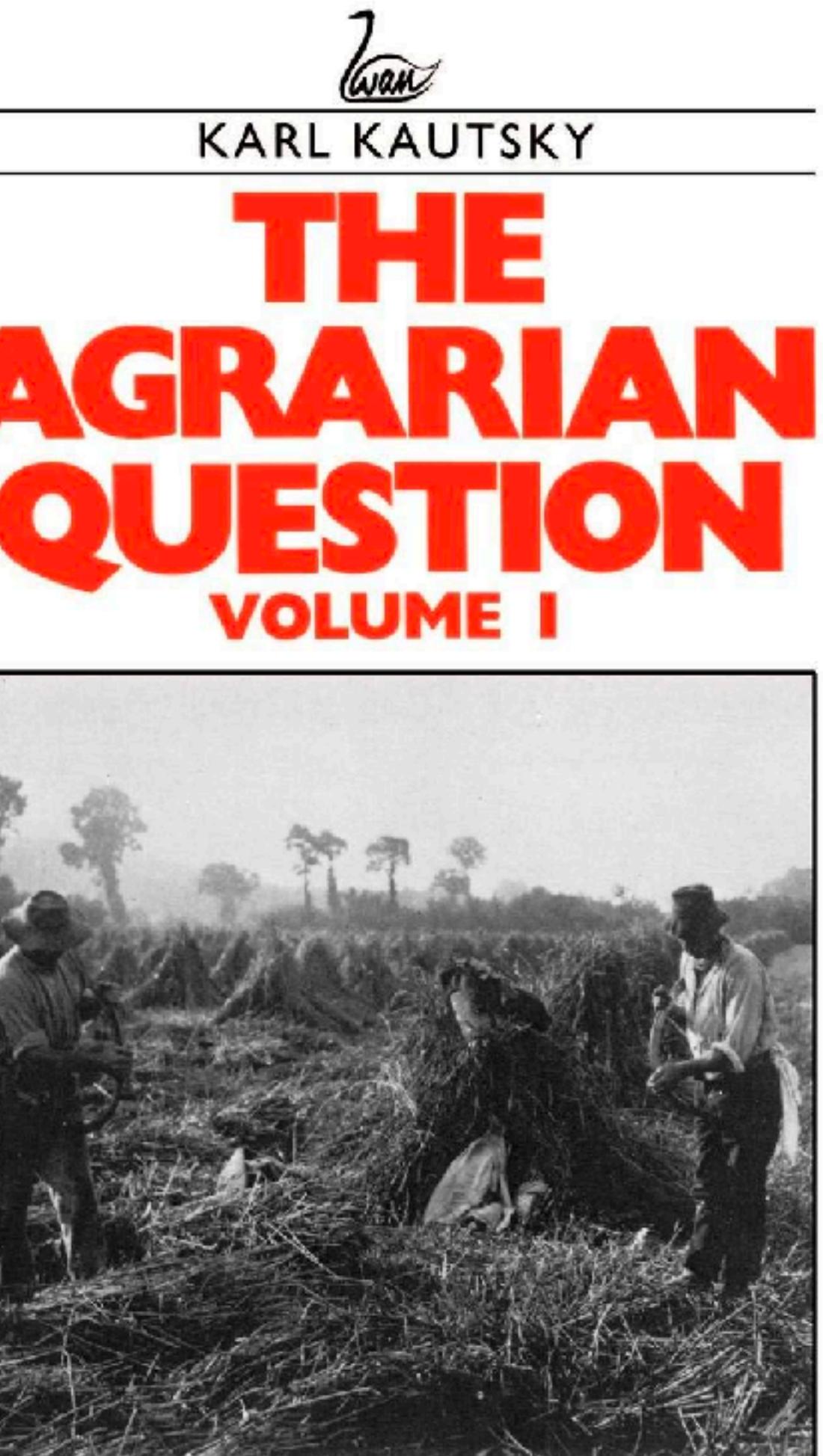


Unruly peasants

Marxists skeptical that peasants could be source of revolution

Urban experience unique
(alienation, repetition, no autonomy)

Peasants who have retained **autonomy** due to weak state want status quo



What went wrong in Huanta?

Shining Path came in planning to
expel/kill **local elites**

Partly, to **exert own authority**

Partly because they **thought
peasants wanted this**

Why?

The varayoq

Customary elder authorities
(not elected)

Mete out punishment to deviants
(cattle-rustlers)

Are they infallible? Might peasants
have grievances?



Varayoqs of Huaychao with authority staffs. Photograph by Oscar Medrano, *Caretas*; reprinted with permission.

The *hacendados*

Essentially a **feudal** economy

Hacendado gives share of produce (no pay)

Highest authority, center of local economy

Hacendado can mete out punishment at will



Hacendados

Another reason why Huaychainos did not resent Chávez for his abuses is that they expected nothing better from a mestizo landlord. The following conversation with President Fortunato and *tayta* Esteban illustrates this point:

QUESTION: Did [Chávez] get mad a lot?

ESTEBAN: He'd get mad, because he's an aggressive person.

He's the *patrón*.

FORTUNATO: Everyone was scared of him.

ESTEBAN: People were always looking over their shoulders.

QUESTION: How's that?

ESTEBAN: If he was in a bad mood, people were scared.

QUESTION: What would people say?

ESTEBAN: They respected him.

FORTUNATO: They [respected him] out of fear.¹⁰⁰

He was a man who didn't feed us well; he gives [*sic*] us food that one would give to a dog in four [cattle] hides and only one tiny blanket for all six [*semanero* workers to share] on the cement floor in Huanta. . . . He'd only give us two [ears] of corn per person, and he'd give us very few things to cook ourselves. . . . And after working in the fields [all week] we'd return all the way from Huanta fatigued, having not eaten well [or] slept well; just totally fatigued we'd return.⁸⁷

While perhaps over the top, Chávez's system of justice did not strike Huaychainos as unreasonable. *Mama* Ernestina assured us that Chávez only resorted to the *verga* "for serious offenses."¹¹⁶ President Fortunato and *tayta* Esteban agreed. "[Chávez] ruled the hacienda," said the former. "He was respected because on his hacienda there were no thieves, rapists, or witches, because if there were he would punish people with his whip [made] of a bull's penis."¹¹⁷ Later in the conversation, we asked the

Shining Path Ideology

Local authorities were SP's bread and butter

No one likes authorities,
they always have enemies

Stark inequalities among
peasants and large landholders

To SP, it is **obvious** that peasants would
support violence against local authorities

Yet they didn't

Why?

Basically **culture**

Peasants were **invested** in customary justice, and wanted to preserve it

Also concerns about changing **gender relations**

How did SP justice and peasant justice **differ**?

Varayoq's are central

Narciso Huamán, the former *rondero* I mentioned above, expressed this sentiment after a night of heavy drinking, coca-leaf chewing, and laughter. At one point in the conversation, Narciso looked me square in the eye and confessed: “You know, Shining Path’s overall message wasn’t really that bad, about punishing wife abusers and cattle rustlers and all. But we couldn’t imagine wiping out our *varayoqs*. What for? They were so vital to our community.” Narciso looked down into his full cup for a brief moment. As he lifted it to his lips, he added in a near whisper, “Who knows, if it wasn’t for all that nonsense about liquidating local leaders, I’d probably be out there right now, fighting alongside [the guerrillas].” As soon as the

Even with the hacendados

They did expect landlords to respect peasants' cultural practices, however. According to *tayta* Esteban, Chávez donated various items to help facilitate his tenants' festivities, but he never participated in them.¹⁰² Similarly, when *tayta* Mariano described all the harvest and religious festivals that peasants celebrated throughout the year, he focused on the presence of the customary *varayoqs* in the rituals, saying, "The landlord didn't meddle. 'Just do what you need to do,' he'd tell us." When asked if the estate owner ever showed up during these events, *tayta* Mariano shook his head. "He didn't participate. . . . [He'd just say,] 'Just go and enjoy the fiesta.'"¹⁰³ Rafael Chávez thus understood his boundaries as a nonindigenous power holder. On the one hand, he adhered to cultural expectations of reciprocity by supplying certain goods for the festivities. On the other hand, he never attempted to insert himself into the indigenous rituals, keeping his physical and social distance.

"He was good for the good people, bad for the bad people." "In other words," *tayta* Esteban clarified, "he gave good land to obedient people, but he expelled the disobedient ones with a *chicote* and gave their plot to someone else." President Fortunato reiterated, "He only hit disobedient people with his *chicote* and he loved the obedient ones like a father." "Patrón, patrón," *tayta* Esteban affirmed with a nod of the head. President Fortunato continued, "Also, his tenants obeyed him as if they were his child [sic]."¹¹⁹

Peasants had an **equilibrium** arrangement
(even if imperfect) with hacendados

What would SP think?

How might SP respond to “the
hacendado is mostly nice, we want
to keep him around?”

Probably argue the peasants have
false consciousness

And maybe that's right; but armed groups still need to
convince population that revolution is in their interest

Why resistance in Huanta but not Chuschi?

Chuschi: peasants want SP justice even if they don't care about the ideology

Huanta: peasants don't want SP justice

Difference: **migration** broke down local authority structures in Chuschi

In general, rebels tend to be more successful in **power vacuums**

Elsewhere

“The FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) were everything in this village. They had the last word on every single dispute among neighbors (...).They were the ones who ruled here, not the state.”

“[The FARC] wanted to take power over these people and this land. But they couldn't. We had to obey them in certain ways, of course, because they have the weapons. But we [the peasant leaders] are the authority here. People recognize us as such. They could not take that away from us. They didn't rule us”.

Recap

Rebels want to win over population and have a “story” (ideology) for how to do that

But ideologies can be ill-suited for **local context**

The **strength** of local “culture” can derail plans

Rebels have hard time **adapting** to local realities

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