



Why resistance? Peru

POL 126

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TODAY

Ideology

Cause or instrument?

The Shining Path

Ideology

The “Great Replacement”

<https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/16/podcasts/the-daily/buffalo-shooting-replacement-theory.html>

Ideology

Set of “givens” that guide thinking/behavior

What function does ideology serve?

Identifies problems/grievances

Simplifies reality

Offers solutions



The big three (in civil war)

Marxism/maoism

Jihadist/islamist

Anti-imperial/National liberation (natlib)

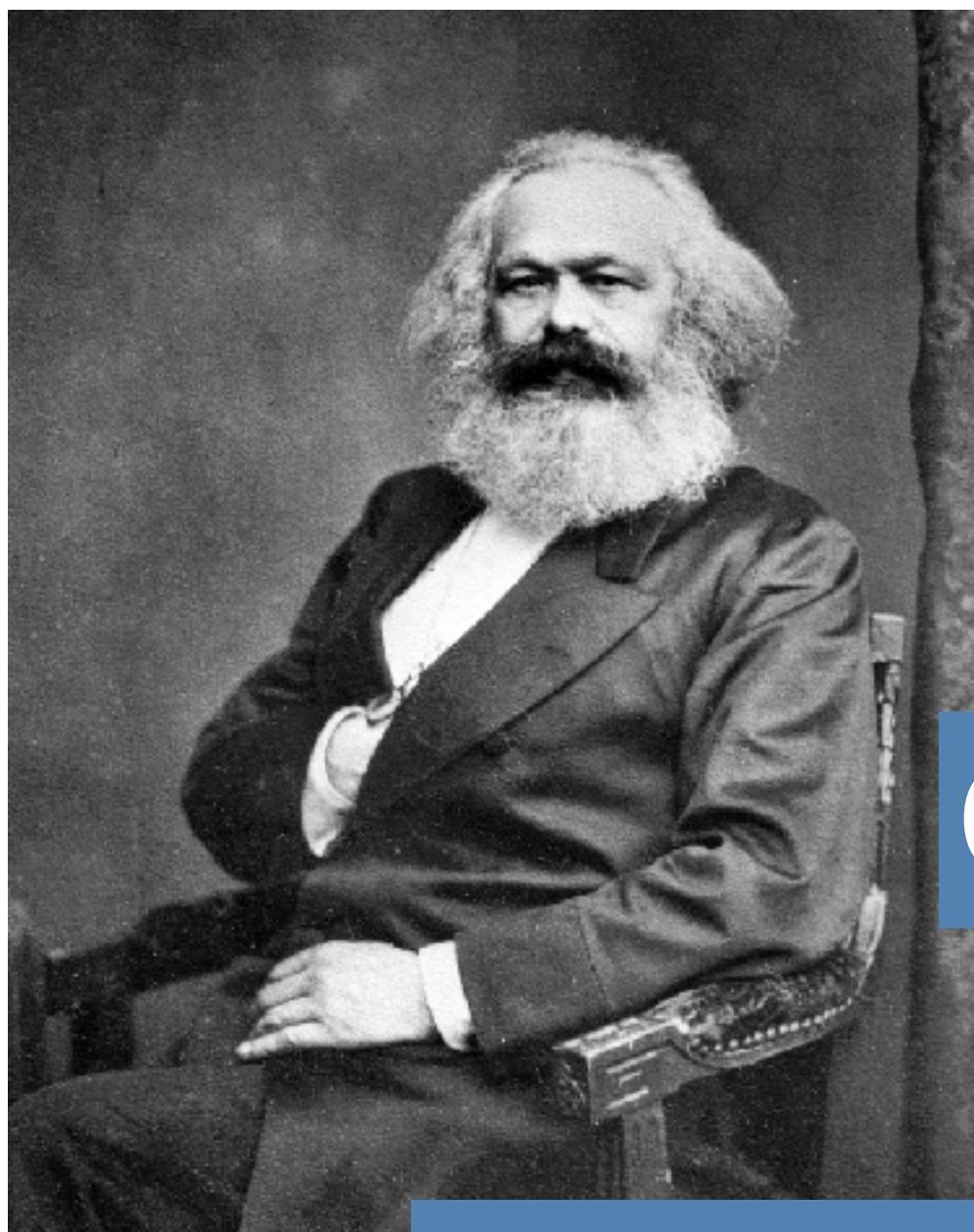
The future?

(White) supremacy

Fascist groups

Ecological

Marxism / Maoism



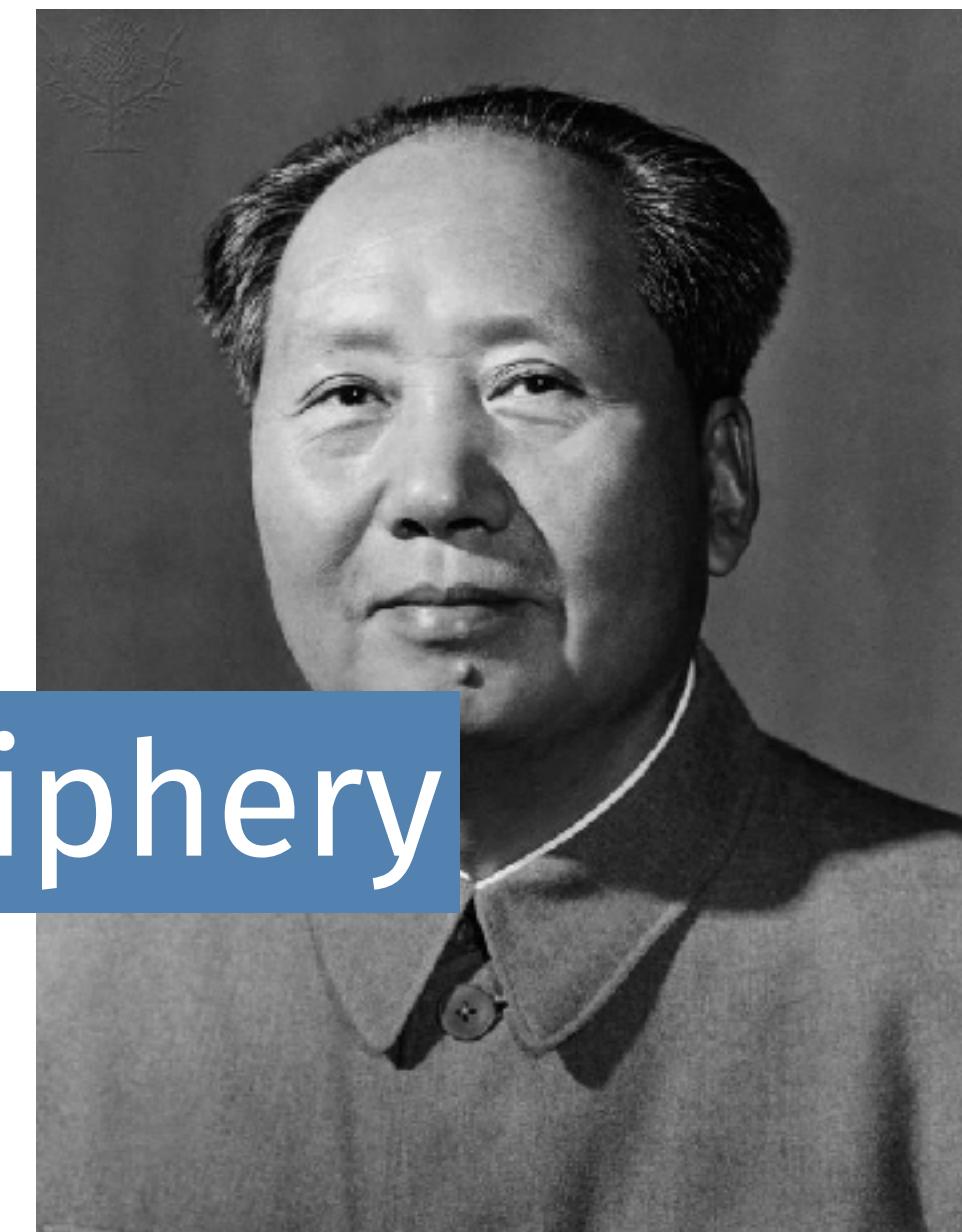
Problem

Poverty, exploitation

Cleavage: class

proletarian (urban)
revolution

Vanguard-led



Cleavage: rural/periphery

Solution

Peasant revolution

Mass-led

Jihadist/islamist

Problem

Exploitation of (muslim)
community by outsiders

Complicity of MENA states

Solution

Revolution, religious rule, separation

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.



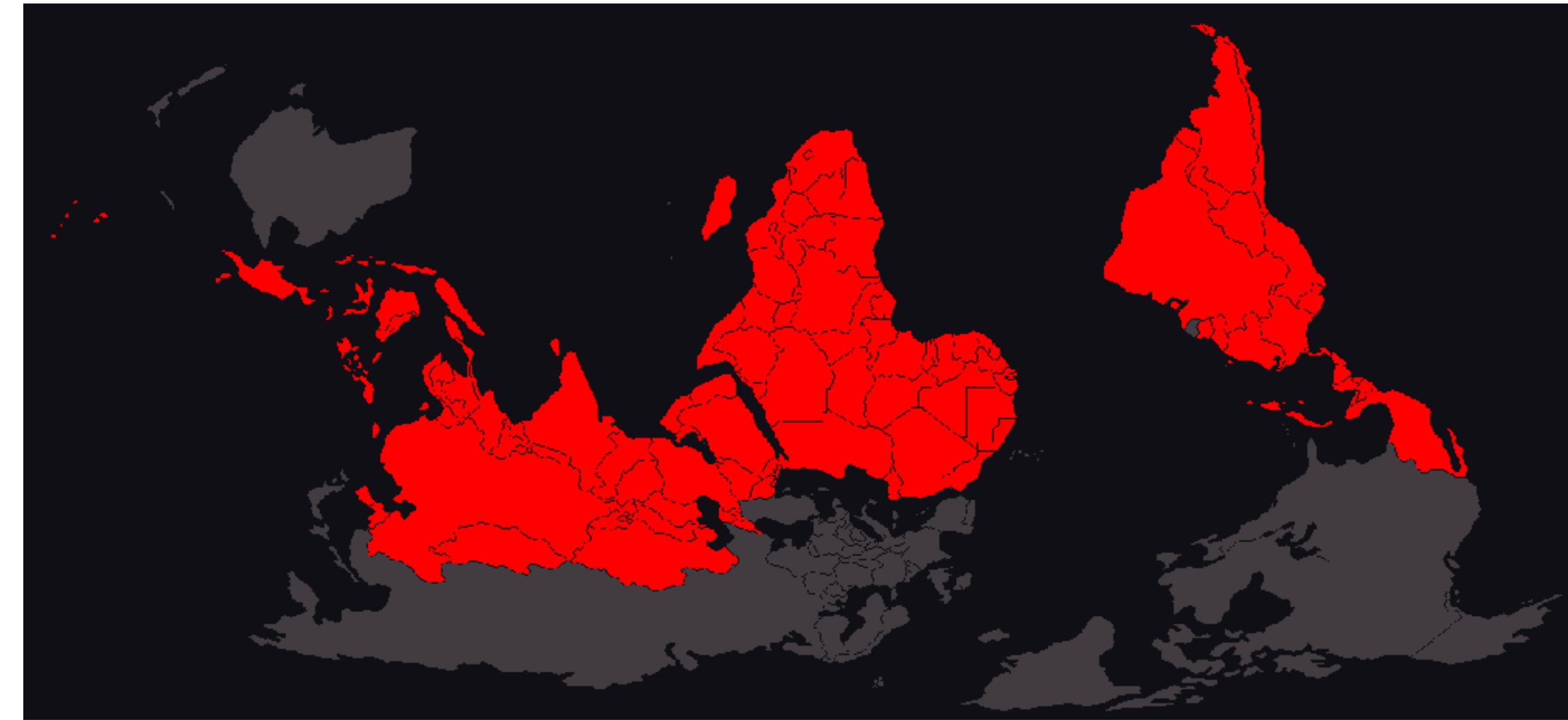
Bin Laden used American presence to justify anti-US attacks

Tension with Saudi: home to religious sites; religious rule – but cooperates with US, Israel

Anti-imperialism/national liberation

Problem

Domination of third world by first
(colonial powers)



Solution

National liberation,
self-determination, decolonization

**How does ideology “show up” in
civil wars?**

Ideology is not static

In 60s/70s, FARC had orthodox **Marxist ideology**



90s turn to **national liberation** (maybe: end of USSR; drug trade?)

Hardened fighters

Article

Journal of Conflict Resolution

Table 2 addresses the relationship between reasons for joining an armed group and choosing to demobilize or side-switch.²⁸ Model 1 tests whether ideologically motivated combatants are more likely to demobilize or switch sides. Those who joined for ideological reasons were nearly 85 percent less likely to side-switch than those who did not join for that reason. There is no statistically significant relationship between ideological reasons and individual demobilization.

**Ben Oppenheim^{1,2}, Abbey Steele³, Juan F. Vargas⁴,
and Michael Weintraub⁵**

Ideological soldiers seem less
likely to defect, surrender

Ideology shapes violence

Which **targets** are legitimate, which
tactics are acceptable

Might explain why some groups
constrain behavior
(e.g., Tamil Tigers wrt sexual violence)

Use of **suicide attacks** by religious
groups, very rare in Marxist groups



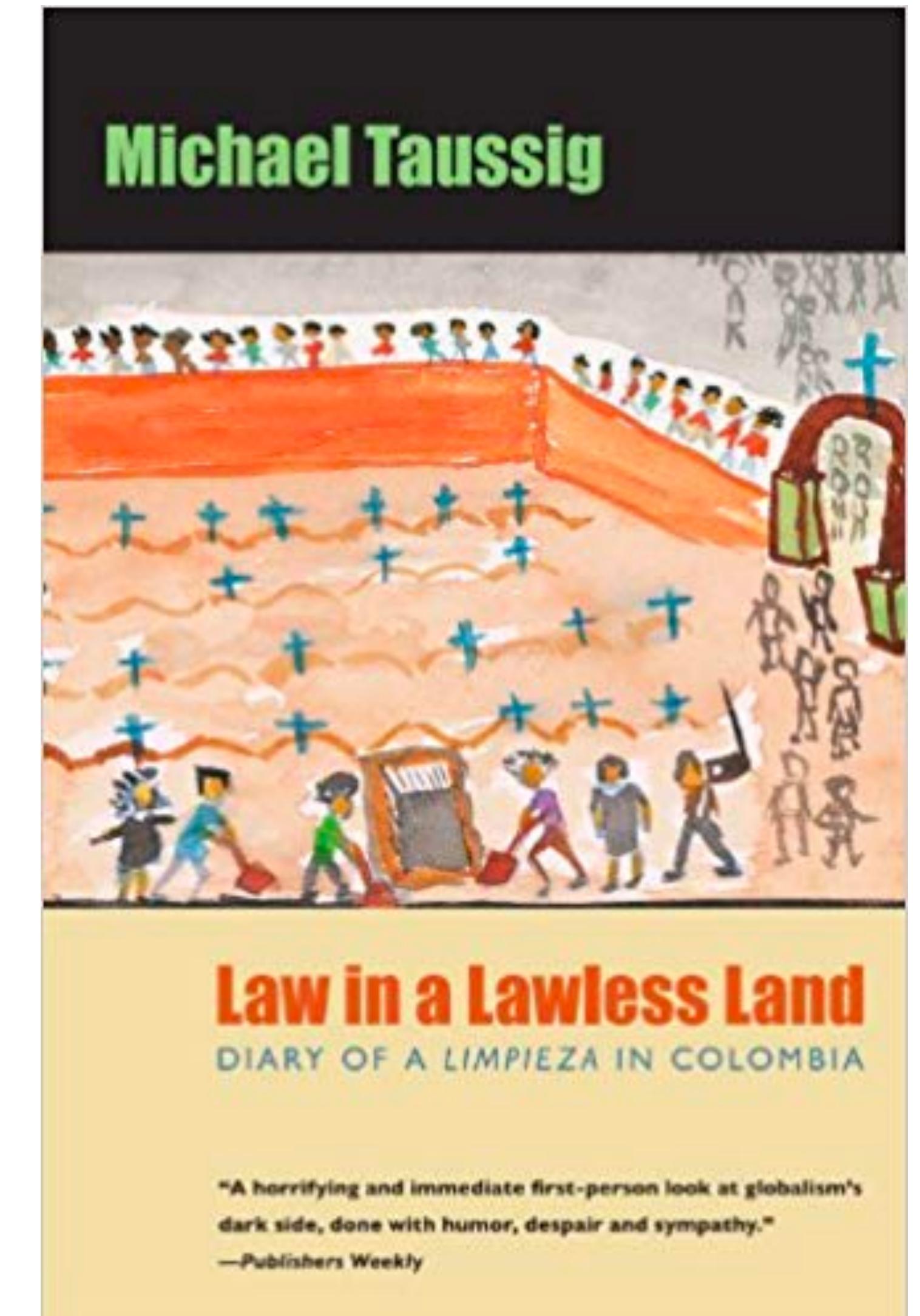
Flag of Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka

Costly ideological behavior

Armed groups also pursue costly behavior **tangential** to war

Examples of armed groups participating in **social cleansing**

Part of right-wing paramilitary ideology in Colombia – social disorder must be “cleansed”



State-like behavior

Other costly ideological behavior
resembles what **states** do

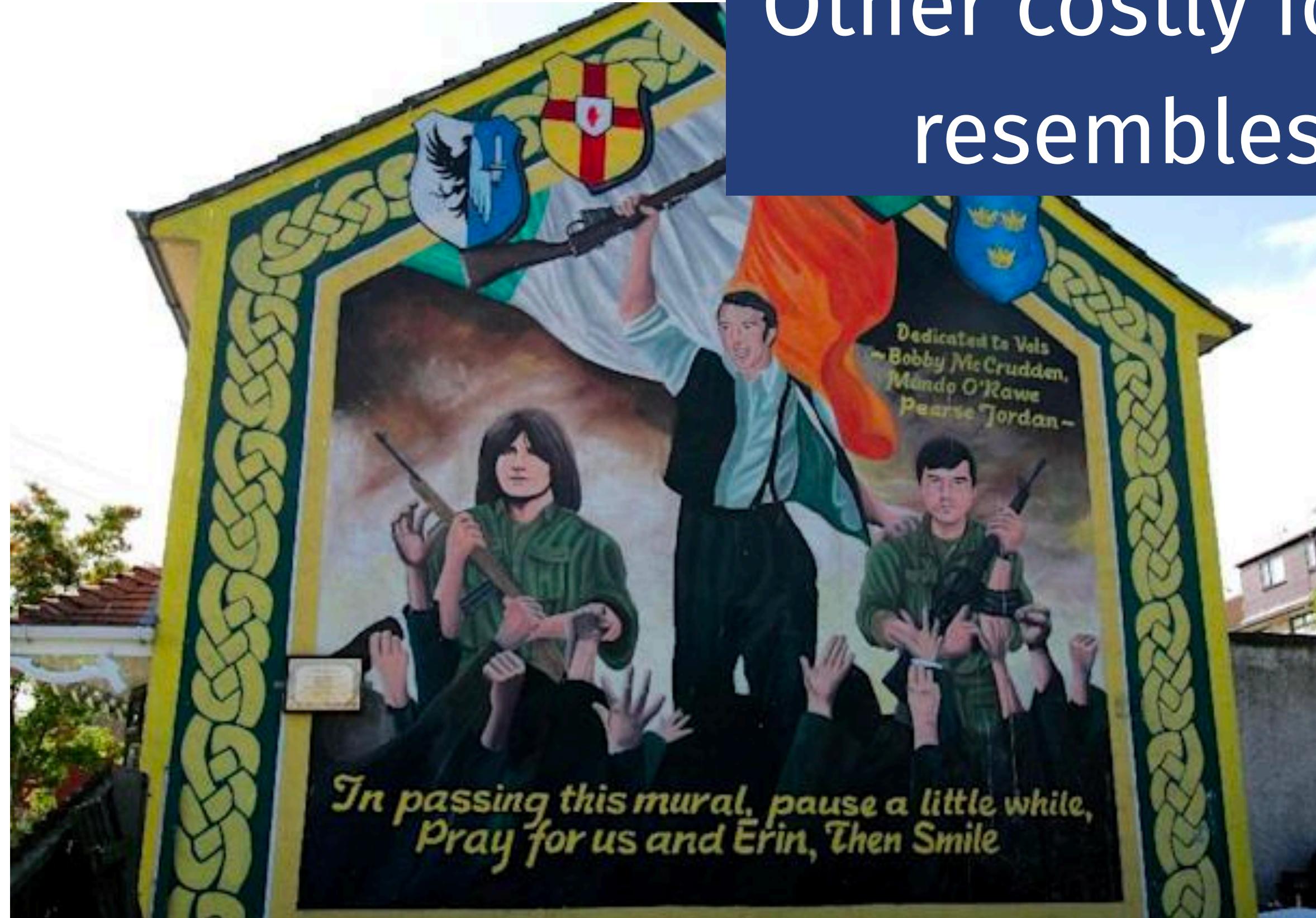


FIGURE 4.1 LTTE Graveyard (Courtesy of Ananthan Sinnadurai)



Imageries are constantly re-created through performance . . . Many are embedded in countless everyday practices. At roadblocks, words are uttered in the language of the state. At ceremonies, speeches are delivered in the same rhetoric of official language as before. From the village level through the small subdivisions to events at the headquarters of the rebellion, the same re-enactment of statehood seems to penetrate the new political order. (Förster 2012: 19–20)

Ideology → how groups communicate



Ideology in rebel groups

Developing and maintaining an ideology is
costly; why do it?

Helps with **discipline**, socialization

Align interests of **soldiers** and **supporters**

Boost **morale**, fighting capacity

(In theory) **simplify** decision-making



Ideology: cause or instrument?

Is ideology **causal**? Do beliefs **cause** people to behave in certain ways?

Groups **say** ideology → behavior

Groups do costly ideological things

Is ideology **instrumental**? Do groups merely **use** ideology to explain behavior?

Ideology is “squishy”, changes

Behavior sometimes **contradicts** ideology

Shining Path ideology

Poor-ish country with history of unrest and exploitation

Strong class / racial divisions

Urban (Lima) vs. rural (highlands, jungle)

White / mestizo vs. indigenous communities

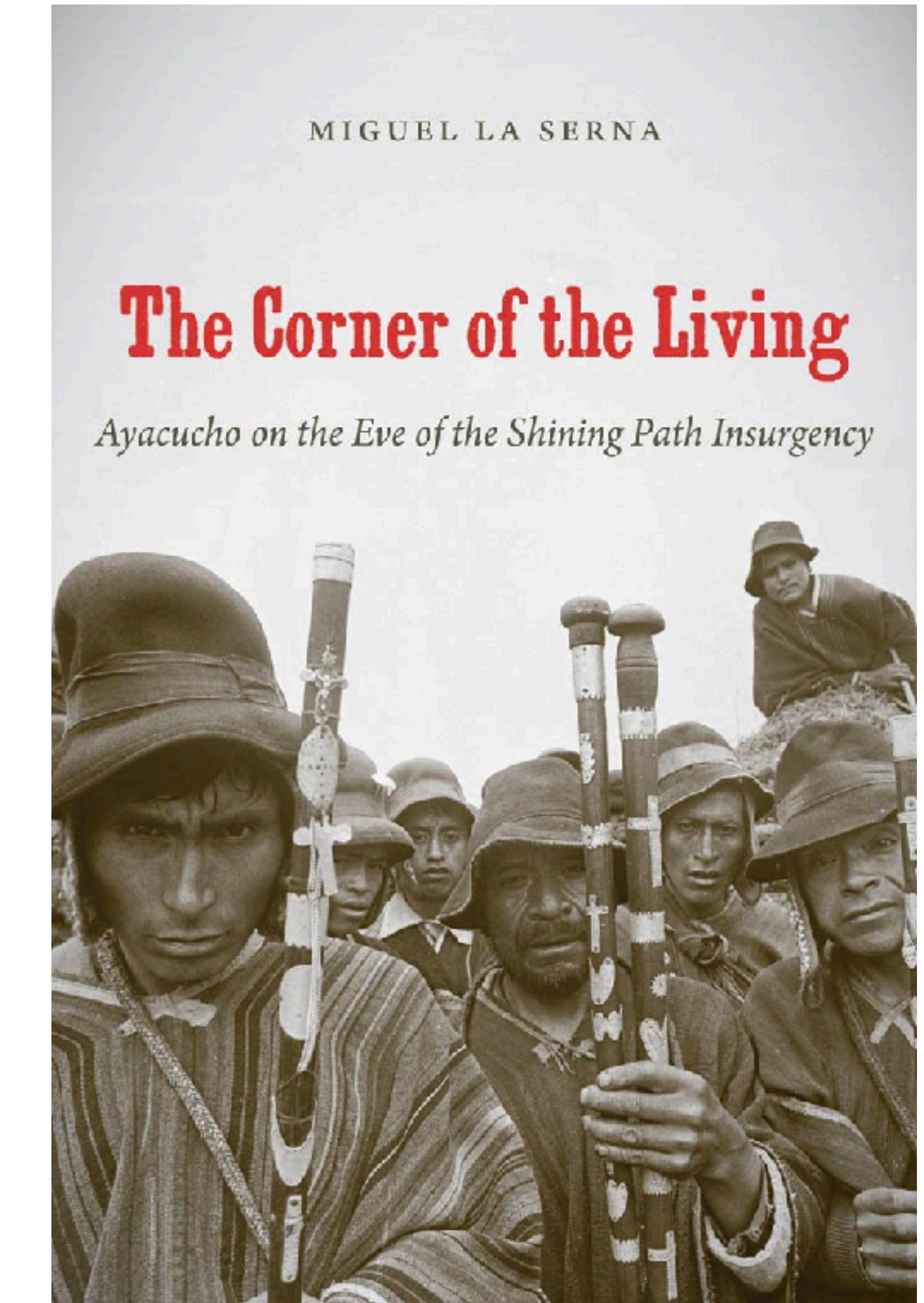


Who supported Shining Path?

SP wanted to spur peasantry to revolution, but varied in success

Puzzle: why did some peasant communities **support** while others **opposed** the SP?

Answer: local justice needs + characteristics of local communities



Shining path ideology



Marx + Mao + Abimael Guzman
(SP leader)

Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History

ORIN STARN

Abstract. This article examines the history and ideology of the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*). The rebels claim to embody a distinctively Peruvian Marxism. However, a close examination of the party betrays a conspicuous indifference to Peruvian culture and traditions. The distinctiveness of this largest and most diverse of the Andean nations disappears in the orthodoxy of a universal Marxism, in this respect placing the Shining Path within the long legacy of the imperial inscription of Latin American history into the preconceived categories and linear narratives of Western philosophy and science.

Our chief is Gonzalo
he of brilliant thought and action
inspired by Marx, Lenin and Mao he develops
our powerful ideology
and brings to a burning world
the invincible people's war.

A hymn of the Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path

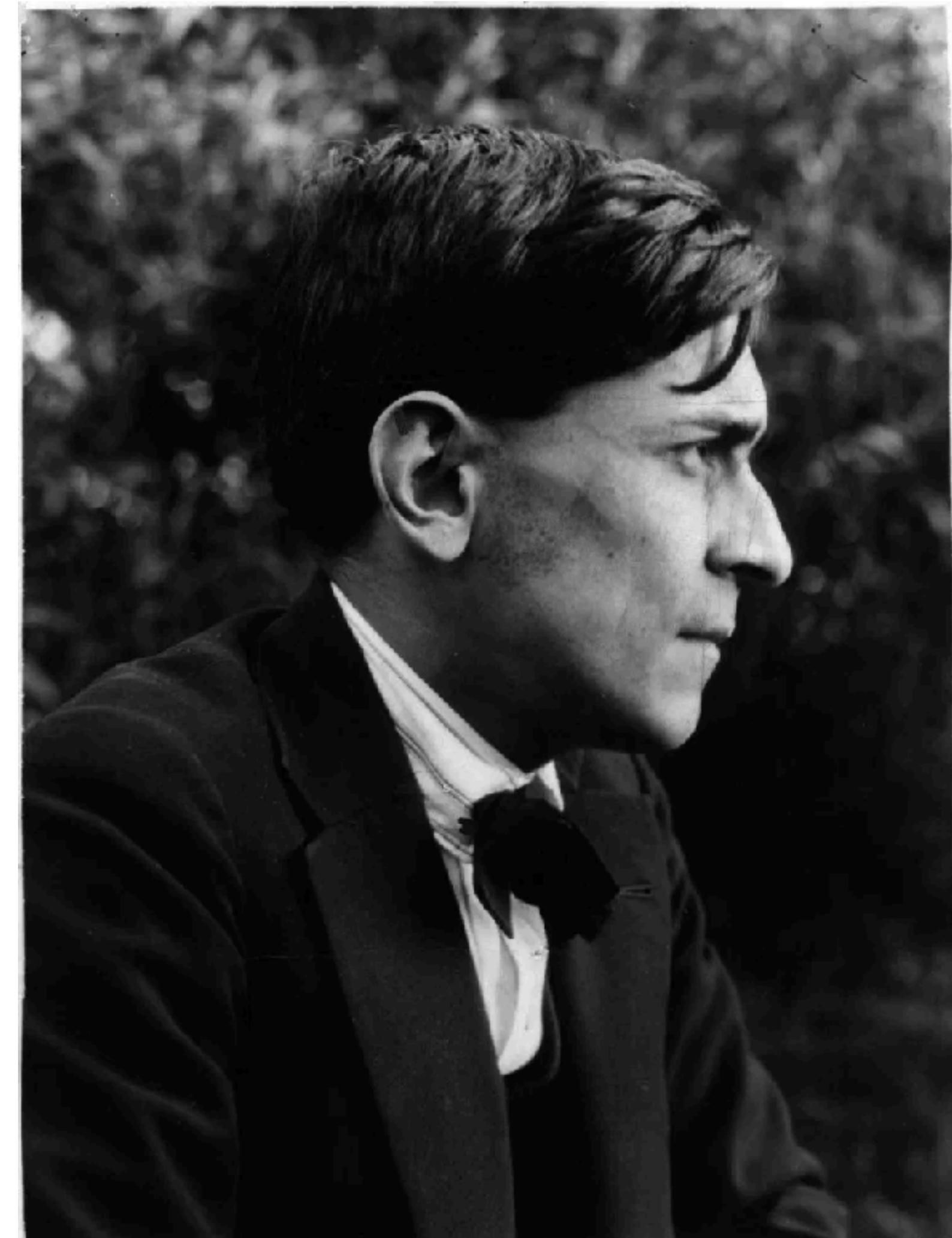
Mariategui

Communism = “*Sendero luminoso al futuro*”

(Shining path to the future)

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

Indigenous societies as models
of communist society



4 elements of ideology in SP

Class struggle = peasants vs landlords (and reactionaries!)

Anti-imperial = attempts at revolution will be undermined by outsiders (esp. USA)

Vanguard: party leadership extremely important to guide revolution

Violence: “poeticization of death”

Counter-revolution (within)

Fear of counter-revolution → secret “wreckers”
among cadre



Use “struggle sessions” to identify, punish (alleged)
wreckers

Poeticization of death



Self-immolation in Tibet



Martyrs in southern Lebanon

The refusal of history

Even though Shining Path fights “for” peasants, their ideology seems **mismatched** with Peruvian society

SP ideology sees society and relations in ways that != how the peasantry sees the world

Ideological mismatch

In SP ideology, markets are places of exploitation – where peasants exchange for meager wages

importantly, it overlooked the role of markets in mountain life. The trek to town to sell a sack of potatoes or a team of oxen provided a source of income for buying kerosene, soap, school supplies, matches and other essentials; it was also the major social event of the week with the opportunity for visiting, drinking, and even the touch of excitement with the purchase of an ice cream cone or a new cassette of Colombian *cumbias*. The prohibition on going to market proved a catalyst of resentment early on, and even sparked revolt against the Shining Path in the moors of

Banning markets goes over poorly; markets more complex

Racial hierarchies

of ‘*todas las sangres*’. ‘Reading through the documents of the PCP-SL’, as one observer emphasises, ‘one would think that Peru was as homogeneous as Sweden or Japan’.⁴⁷ Not surprisingly in the light of this insensitivity to racial and ethnic questions, the internal organisation of the party in the 1980s and early 1990s still mirrored the Peruvian structure of stratification by colour and class, much as it had in the early years in Ayacucho. The party elite remained mostly white professionals, as was made clear by a widely shown video captured by police of Guzmán and his inner circle dancing to ‘Zorba the Greek’ at a 1991 *fiesta* in a Lima safe house. By contrast, newspaper photographs of arrested fighters disclosed the threadbare clothes and mixed features of youth in the lower ranks of the Shining Path, who came overwhelmingly from the brown-skinned and impoverished majorities. In a reflection of the survival of prejudices of

SP ideology all about class – misses how race (indigenous versus white) shapes social relations

Ideological blinders: Cuba



Che in the Congo, Bolivia

Che attempt to replicate Cuban success in Congo then Bolivia

Many, poor oppressed miners in Bolivia; **seems** ripe for rebellion

Local support never materialized, rebellion put down by state



Ideological blinders: Bolsheviks lose Ukraine

WW1 – Germany advancing on weakened, (newly communist) Russia

Bolsheviks debate peace – some believe Europe on verge of communist revolution, hold out → better terms

Delays gives Germany time to advance, Russia loses Ukraine, Finland



Recap

Ideology plays a prominent role in armed groups

Important functions – but hard to tell if/when cause or instrument

SP – mix of Marx and Mao and idiosyncratic leader

SP ideology seems poorly matched for Peruvian context