



Why resistance? Peru

POL 126

Prof. Juan Tellez
Spring 2022

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 have?

Identifies problems/grievances

Simplifies reality

Offers solutions



The big three (in violence)

Marxism/maoism

Jihadist/islamist

Anti-imperial/National liberation (natlib)

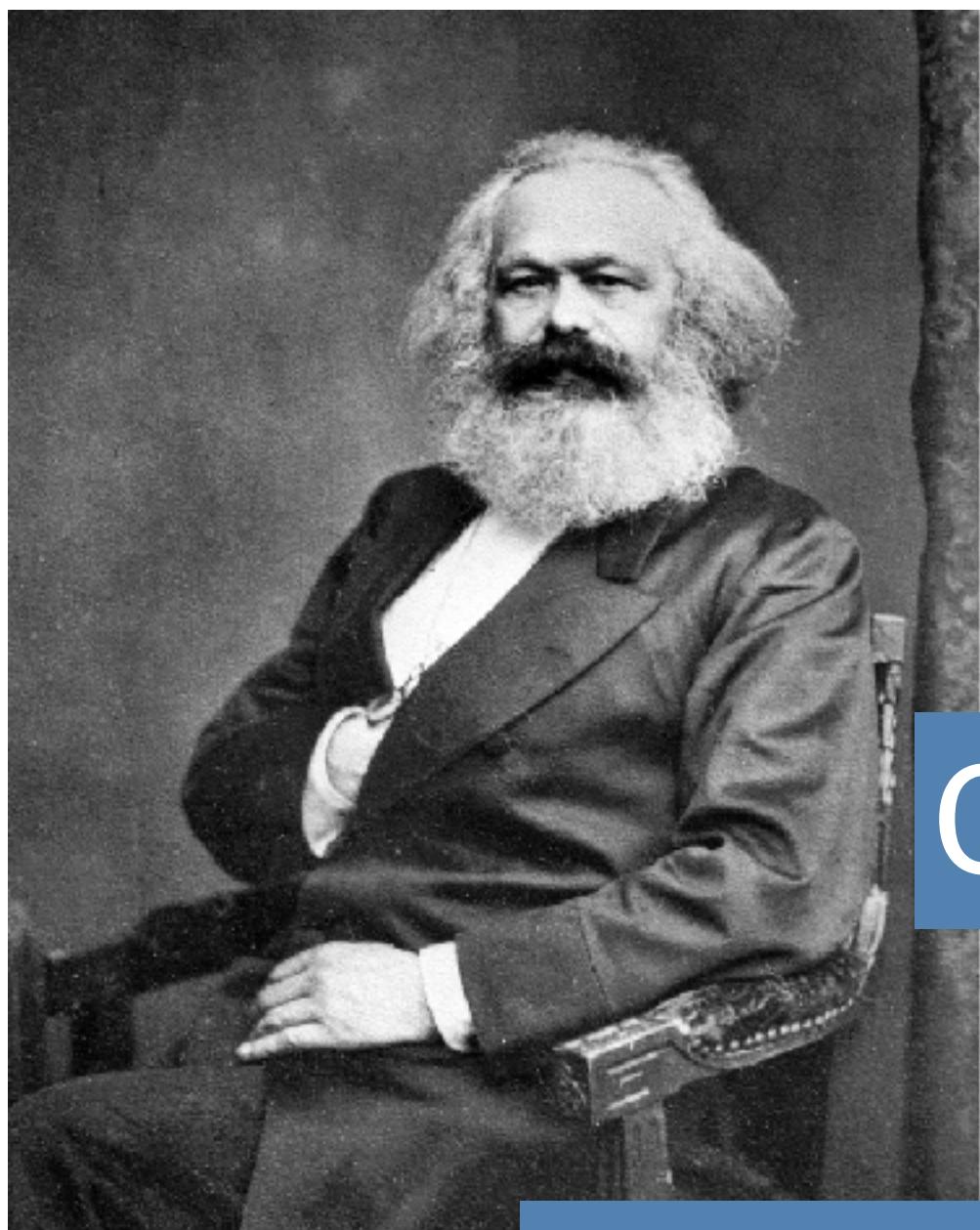
The future?

(White) supremacy

Fascist groups

Ecological

Marxism / Maoism



Problem

Poverty, exploitation

Class-emphasis

Workers (urban)
revolution

Vanguard-led

Rural-emphasis

Peasant revolution

Solution

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.



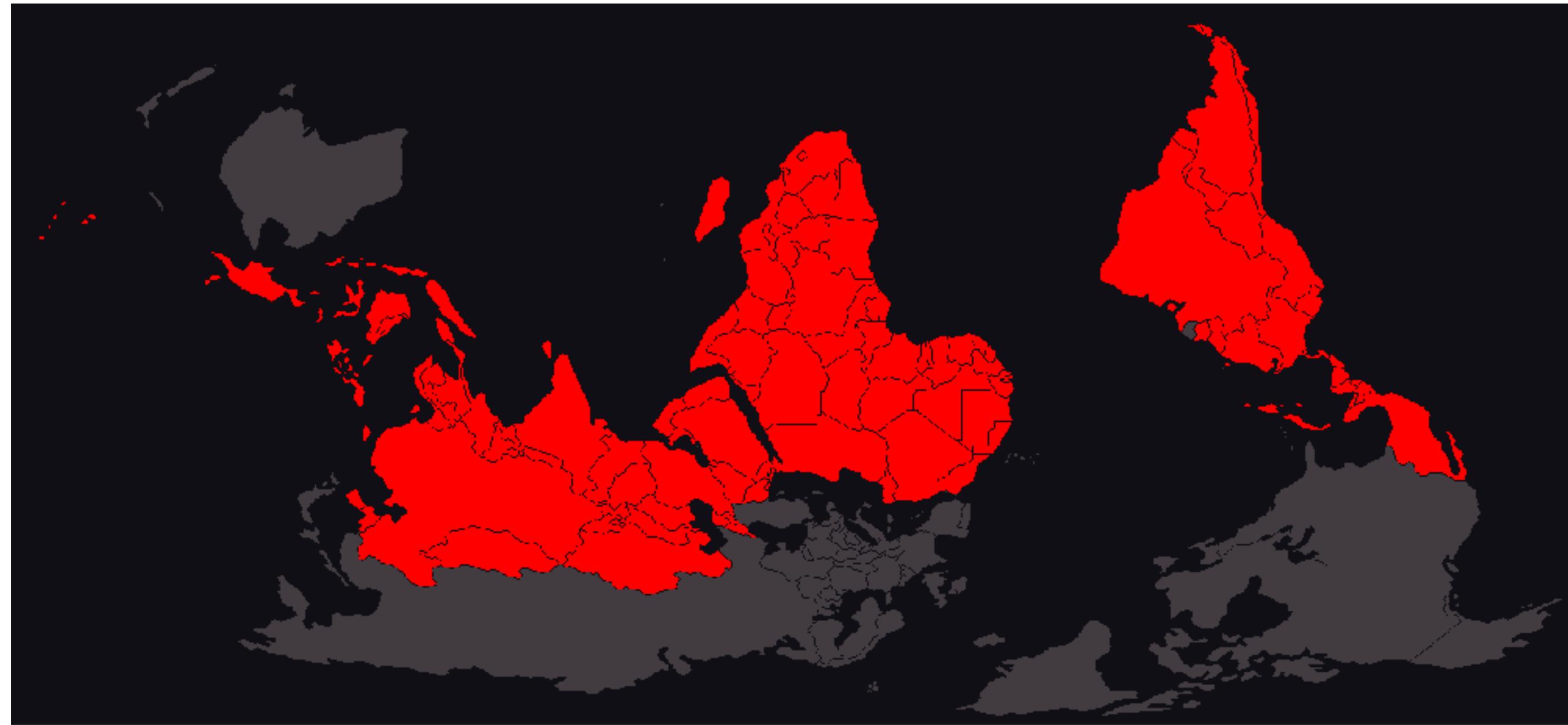
Bin Laden used American presence to justify anti-US attacks

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

Anti-imperialism/natlib

Problem

Domination of third
world by first
(colonial powers)



Solution

National liberation,
self-determination, decolonization

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

True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why

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

Journal of Conflict Resolution

2015, Vol. 59(5) 794-823

© The Author(s) 2015

Reprints and permission:

sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: [10.1177/0022002715576750](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002715576750)

jcr.sagepub.com



Ideological soldiers seem less
likely to defect, surrender

Ideology shapes violence

Ideology can shape violence

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

Might explain why some groups
constrain behavior (e.g., Tamil Tigers
wrt sexual violence, non-religious
groups and suicide attacks)



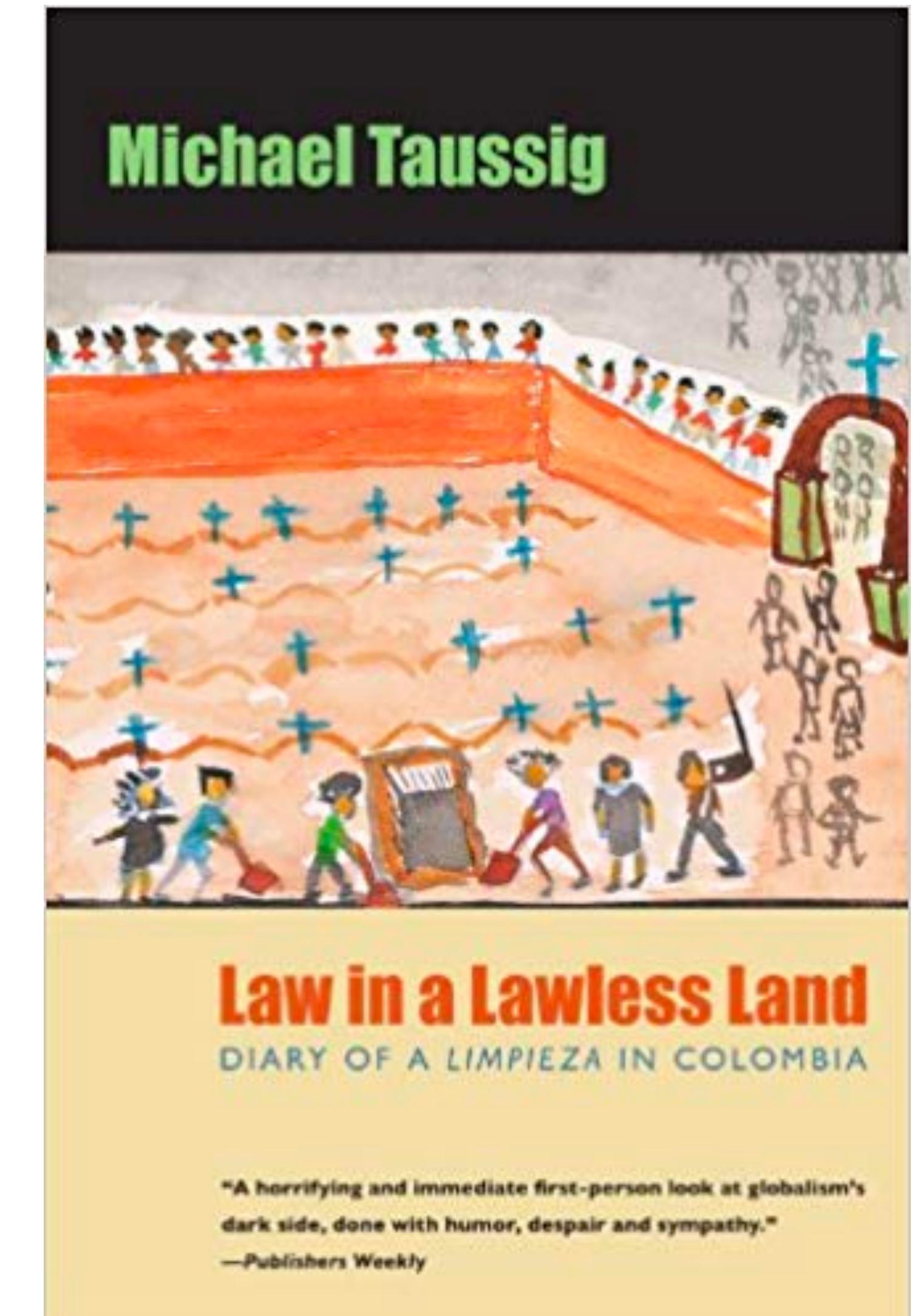
Flag of Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka

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

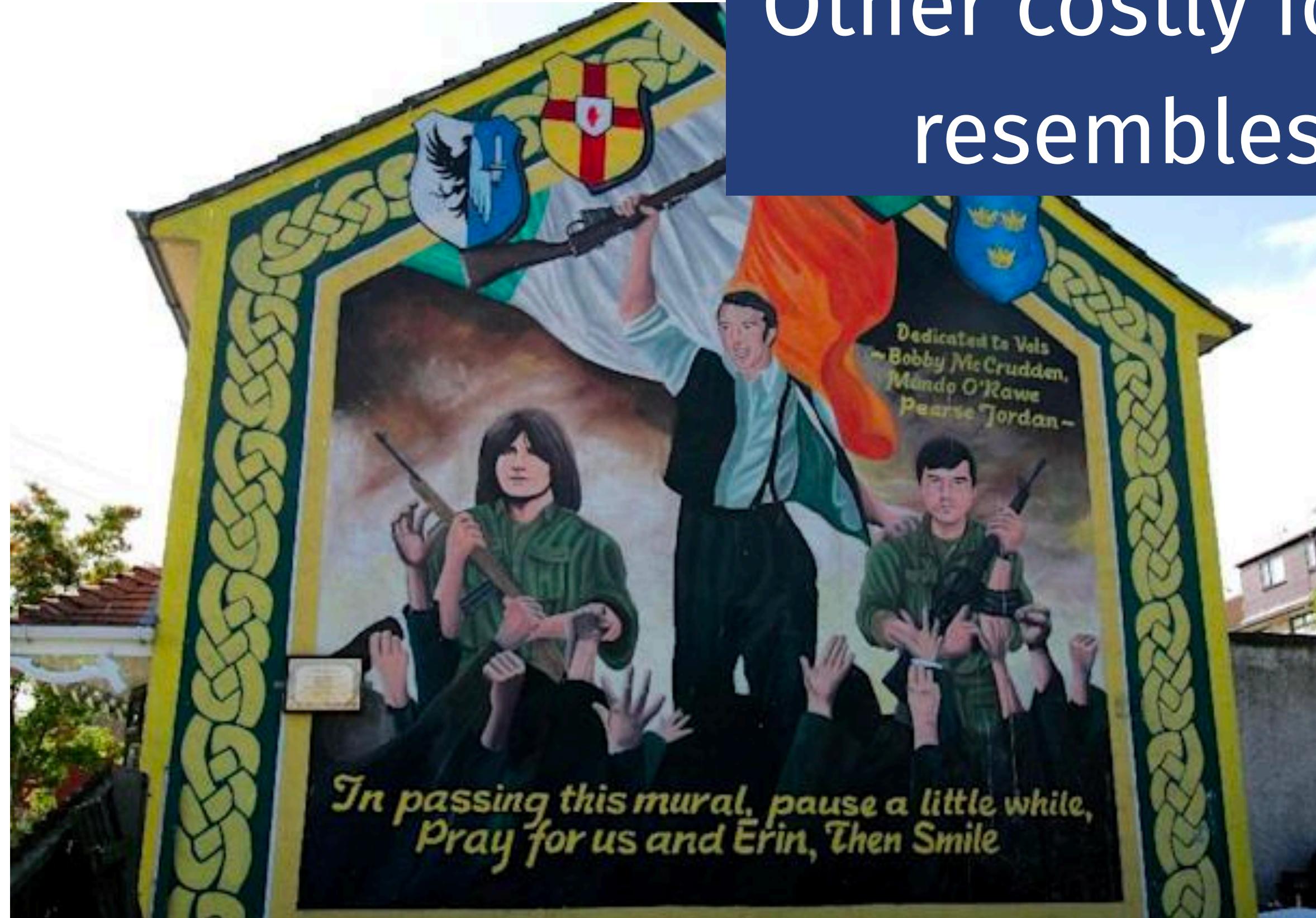


FIGURE 4.1 LTTE Graveyard (Courtesy of Ananthan Sinnadurai)



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

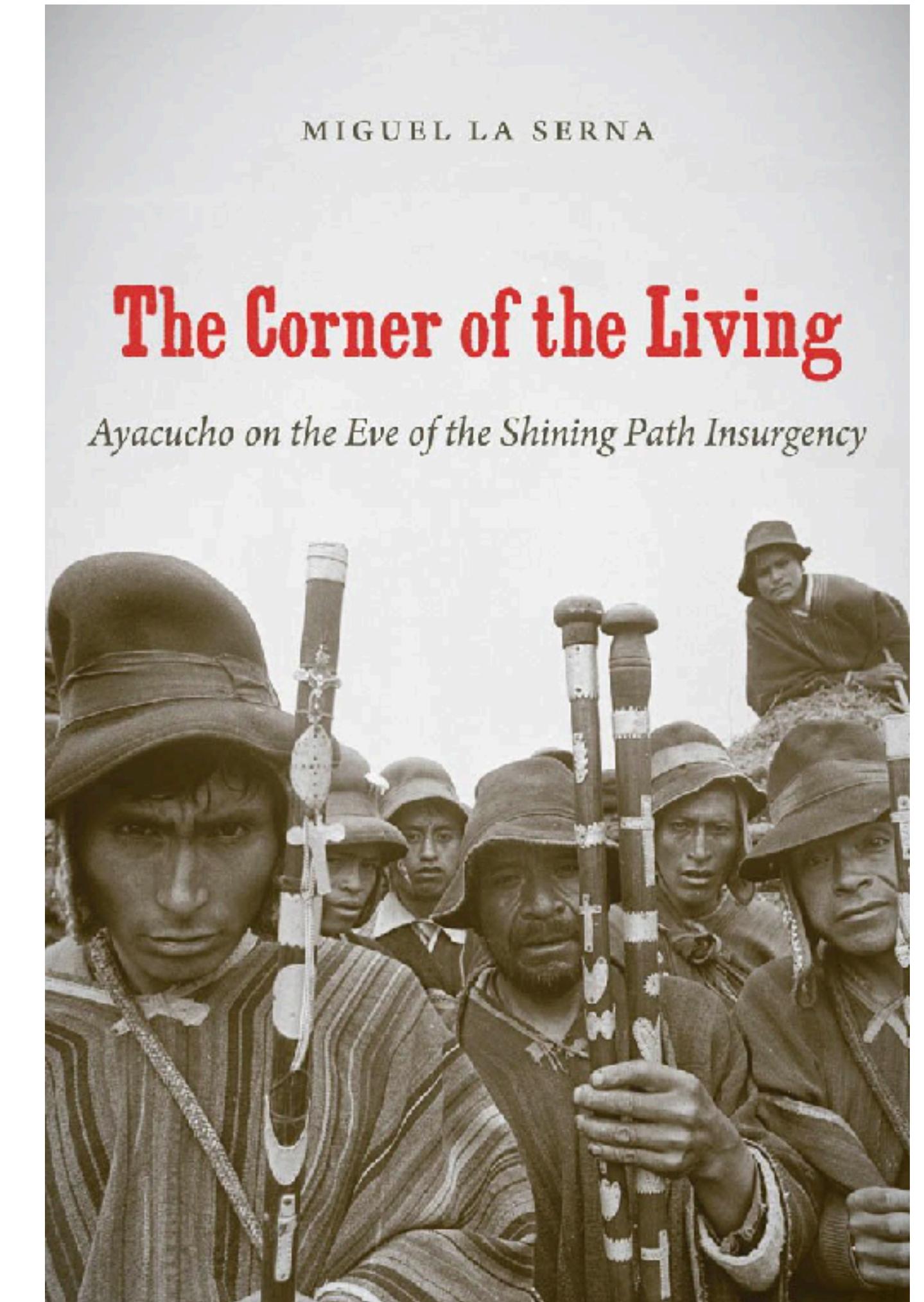


Who supported Shining Path?

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)

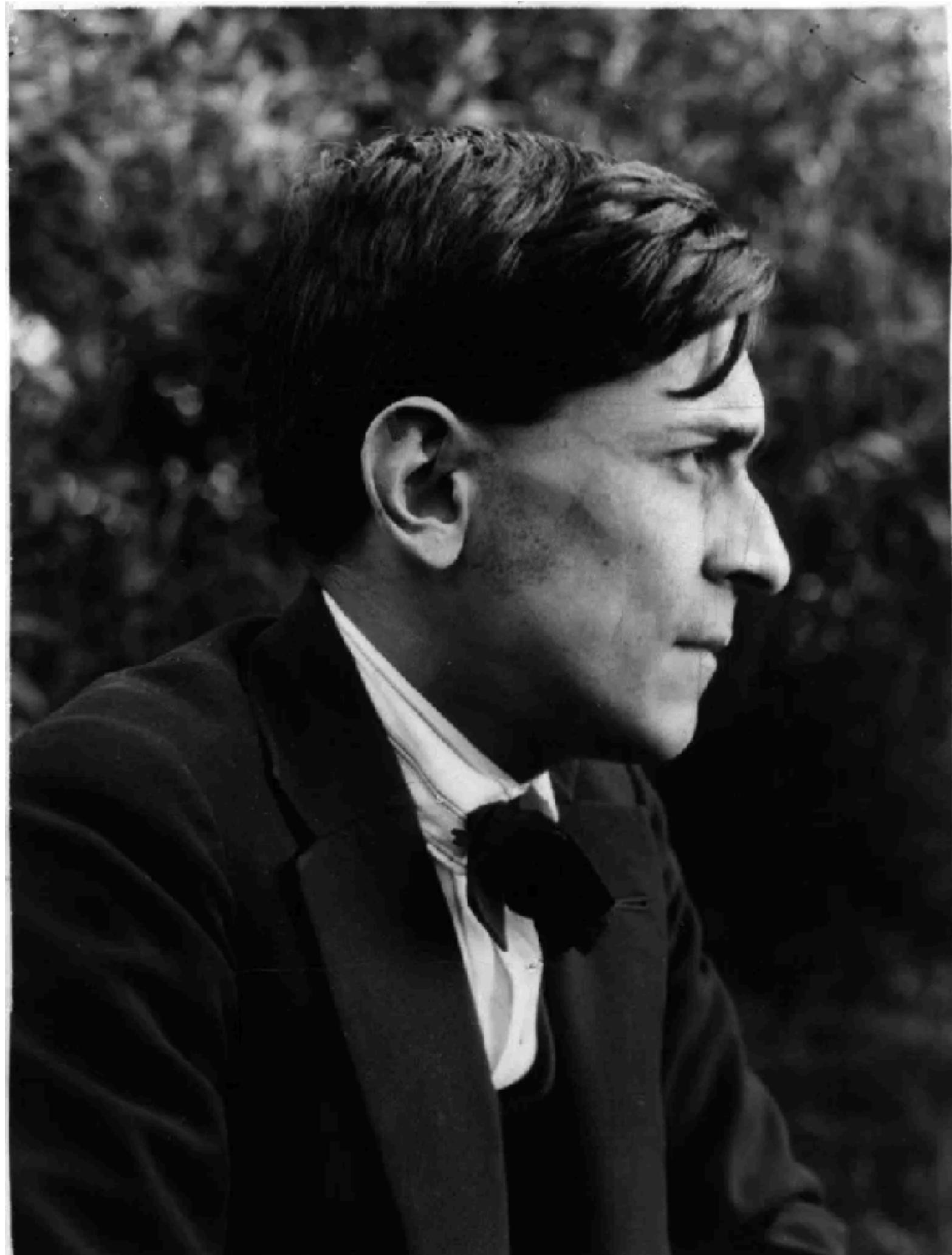
Mariategui

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



Ideology in shining path

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