

# LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL PROCESSES IN PERU

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***Abstract:*** *This paper presents an analysis about the paradigm the Leadership promoted by Shining Path. Explains the models, roles, and principal features of the emergent styles of leadership within terrorist groups. Besides, it makes an analysis of the reappearing of the subversive actions and the new strategies of fighting of Shining Path.*

***Key- Words:*** *Leadership, Terrorism*

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## Part I – General Aspects

Human societies, their culture and civilizations, emerge from other societies and cultures; they develop and become more complex each time. In their historical process, some civilizations are opposed to others, and inside of each one of them some groups fight against others under the leadership of individuals with characteristics according to the space and the place where these dialectic processes are developed.

Shining Path or The Communist Party of Peru,<sup>1</sup> has been analyzed and commented by several specialists and institutions from different focuses and paradigms, but none of them has made a detailed analysis of the leadership aspects inside this organization as it is our intention in this work. For that reason in this first part, we focus on developing those aspects related to the conceptual delimitation and the description of the terrorism in Peru. Variables that let us have a more certain approximation to the understanding of the central theme, which is the leadership.

### 1. Definition and models

#### *Defining the terrorism.*

There is not a universal definition accepted of terrorism. However, in the academic environment in terrorism matters we find an acceptable consensus and reasonably comprehensive of the causes of the phenomenon, although we have not agreed about “one” definition which considers all the aspects related to terrorism yet.

In this way we find Marta Crenshaw,<sup>2</sup> who says that the collective preferences or values these organizations pursue through the violence are the product of a rank of perceived alternatives. So the efficacy of the terrorist action will be measured with basis on the political goals reached or not in a successful way. Therefore, if we establish previously that these organizations have a political goal then it implies the need to study the

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<sup>1</sup> In this work we will use indistinctly the names Communist Party of Peru and Shining Path to refer to the same subversive group.

<sup>2</sup> Crenshaw, Martha: “The logic of terrorism: Terrorist Behaviour as a product of strategic choice”. in Reich, Walter. *Origins of Terrorism. Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Washington DC, Woodrow Wilson Center Press. 1998. pp. 8.

phenomenon farthest away its characteristics purely violent and interpret aspects such as the dynamics and the grupal psychology of its members, the process of taking decisions to what they are submitted, the methodology and the developed technique, the kind of means used and its economical power. We mean that preliminarily we could affirm that the election of a terrorist act could be due to a behavior of logical characteristics, without thinking if it is a moral act or not. Its stated expression will be represented through its tactical movements, in other words, the attacks, which represent the last link of a whole organic sequence, constituted by individuals trained and instructed properly who answer to a process of taking decisions and who depend on sophisticated means.

On his side Bruce Hoffman<sup>3</sup> attribute the causes of terrorism to reasons fundamentally of political character, in the sense of that these organizations look for the power, in order to get the political change. He agrees with the definition of the State Department of the United States whose Code defines terrorism as premeditated violence, politically motivated committed against no-combating objectives by sub national groups or clandestine agents, generally with the intention of influencing an audience. A “terrorist group” is defined as a group which practices the terrorism or which has meaningful subgroups to practice it.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, under this model we could suppose then that every terrorist act is motivated politically. However, if we only consider the political character, we would forget that some acts are motivated by other factors, and the number can increase according to the expansion of the activity in the international environment and in an increasing number of extremist acts executed in the name of religious and cultural causes. A new focus can center more in defining the terrorist acts, giving less emphasis to the motivation behind them.

But Alex Schmid,<sup>5</sup> in the first edition of his book “Political Terrorism: A Research Guide”, examined more than a hundred definitions of terrorism in an effort to find an acceptable explanation and reasonably comprehensive of the terrorist phenomenon and he never got a definition. Four years later and in a second edition, he was still far away

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<sup>3</sup> Hoffman, Bruce: “Inside Terrorism”. Columbia University Press. New York. 1998. In: Vigliero, Sebastian. The Terrorism: Some elements for its Comprehension. REDES. 2002. Brasil. 2002

<sup>4</sup> The definition of terrorism contained in the Title 22 of the Code of the United Sates, Section 2656f(d). Patterns of Global Terrorism. U.S. Department of State

<sup>5</sup> Schmid, Alex. “Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature”. New Brunswick, Transaction Books, 1984 pp. X.

from defining the problem and said that the search of an appropriate definition was even in course.

In general lines, and considering the existence of a vast heap of thoughts about the terrorism we could make a better marked perspective about the “terrorist” concept for some, this presupposes to be a characterization more sentimental in the sense that it is “immoral” while for others this represents a consideration of “political” character. That is why the finding of a definition depends on a part of a particular view of each analyst; its use implies a moral judgment and if someone is able to name as terrorist to an individual it will be unavoidable that others get persuaded by this moral point of view.<sup>6</sup>

In order to categorize the actioning of Shining Path I have believed as convenient to define the terrorism as a violent way inside the context of the fighting ways directed to taking the power and practiced by some organizations that among other characteristics it shows through the use of illegitimate or violent means; they are actions that possess essentially ideological, political or religious reasons.<sup>7</sup>

### ***Defining the leadership.***

As well as we do not find unanimity for the definition of terrorism, the same we find around the theme of leadership, due to that many people have investigated and published a lot about this theme, but however we even find vague definitions, fragmented and many times confused, because of this I have considered to select a definition that includes and facilitates comprehension as possible related to the analysis of the leadership in Shining Path.

In such a sense, for us the leadership is something that makes the world move. It is a public transaction that it is made with the history, where it is reaffirmed the capacity of certain individuals to touch, inspire and mobilize groups of people to make them act in

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<sup>6</sup> Jenkins, Brian: “The Study of Terrorism: Definitional Problems”. Santa Monica CA: RAND Corporation, P-6563, December 1980.

<sup>7</sup> For this definition I consider as a starting point the conceptualization of Popular War made by Abimael Guzman, and published in “The Diary” in 1988, in the denominated interview of the century, where Guzman says that the popular war has two aspects: one of construction and another of destruction. He repulses the terrorist name that it has been given to Shining Path, although he recognize that it uses terrorist actions and he justifies it by saying that the violence is a substantive matter of marxism, because “without revolutionary violence we can not substitute a class by another, we can not tumble down an old order to create a new one”.

unison in search of a determined object.<sup>8</sup> Where the individuals are important and are the reason of the historical processes and the happenings, so it would be absurd to believe that the countries can govern themselves and direct their destinies in a anonymous way. We should not forget that humanity does not do anything except the initiative of some big or little leaders who show the way and establish the lines that the common of people adopt and follow then.

## **2. Terrorism in Peru**

The armed groups that appeared in the 80s and even nowadays continue with their terrorist actions, are organizations totally different to the revolutionary models that had existed before in Peru, one with preeminence on the other, particularly the Communist Party of Peru, whose philosophical doctrine is based on the Chinese Revolution theorized by Mao Tse Tung and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), organization related to the Cuban communism and the M-19 Movement of Colombia.

It has been written about Shining Path profusionally; however, in a precise manner we will resume the most transcendental aspects of its ideology, strategy, organization and the social and economical costs generated by this subversive group; in order to facilitate the comprehension of the actual situation of the new senderist strategy and the change in the leadership style that is developing.

### **Shining Path**

The started phenomenon in the 60s and passed to the clandestine after initiating the armed fight with the burning of voting boxes on May 17 in 1980 in a distant country house of Chuschi, department of Ayacucho; is the one which in part, is going to be the beginning of a new political process in Peru with the participation of these organizations risen in revolt and the action of civilians and militaries in and out of the Peruvian government.

In that time the internal situation of Peru presented a panorama of instability as a consequence of 10 years of military dictatorship. The political, economical and social crisis and the notorious abandonment in which the peruvian society was, as a consequence of the lack of interest and the neglect in which the poorest provinces of the

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<sup>8</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur. "About the Leadership". In: *Leaders of the World– Kadafi*. Edited by Benjamin Kyle. Cinco. Colombia. 1987, pp. 7

highlands were by the centralism in Lima, associated to the lack of hope of the peruvian population for a better future, were an opportunity for Shining Path to begin to develop its revolutionary activity and reached a success without precedents during the 80s. The fight philosophy of Shining Path is remarked in the basic precepts of the Marxism-Leninism, in the doctrines of Mao Tse Tung and specifically in the contribution of its leader Abimael Guzmán Reynoso,<sup>9</sup> whose contribution is known as “Gonzalo Thought”, the one which consists of the application of the Marxism-Leninism Maoism to the Peruvian revolution.<sup>10</sup>

Under the guide of these philosophical precepts, Shining Path begins its actioning characterizing the peruvian contemporary society, as a semifeudal and semicolonial society<sup>11</sup> and considering that the only way to change such situation was by means of the Armed Fight, the same that should necessarily advance from the country to the city. It means that, the popular war should be executed in two places: In the country, which was the priority, and in the cities, where war should be made after the victory in the country. The war should follow “the way of fencing the cities from the country”.

So as part of the development of its strategy to achieve its goal, it proposes: 1. Implant urgently a long period of instruction in the managing level as well as in the bases; 2. Provide a wide warlike preparation to its members; 3. Start the armed fight in the best conditions, secure provided by the conditions of misery, injustice and official corruption; 4. Use in the guerrilla training the positive and negative results of military tactics used in the popular wars out of the country; and 5. Canalize the general socioeconomic discomfort of the country and specifically regional, in the headquarters, developing in the course of flow and reflow of the armed fight, the clearest alternative, direct and immediate to the national problematic to leave the underdevelopment and the liberation of the economical and cultural colonialism.<sup>12</sup>

This general strategy and the final goal of Shining Path were always directed towards the “power taking”, using for that a long war, the one which implied that it should develop militarily and economically on their own to take the initiative of defeating the enemy then and implanting the communism in Peru from that point. For this purpose

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<sup>9</sup> Abimael Guzmán Reynoso is well known too as the “President Gonzalo” and recognized as the fourth sword of the world communist revolution.

<sup>10</sup> Arce Borja, Luis. “Interview with the President Gonzalo”. The Diary. July 1988. Peru.

<sup>11</sup> Characterization that had been made by the Red Flag Left Group in 1964.

Shining Path was structured as a political-military organization that has been combining the guerrilla practices and terrorist. For such a reason this popular war have been executed in three stages the same as the one developed by Mao Tse Tung:

1. First Warlike Phase: Establishment of the Republic of New Democracy.<sup>13</sup> This phase was spread out by Shining Path during the period 1980-1983, fundamentally in the departments of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica. Making use of the absence of the state and using methods in the intimidation, the persuasion and the paternalism it succeeded in having certain initial support for the increase of its actions in the military field.<sup>14</sup> This senderist actioning from the first years in the 80s was characterized by its surprising way, a big movement capacity, move and intelligence to camouflage with the population who did not take part in its plans.<sup>15</sup> This phase is an innovation with respect to the maoist methodology; its establishment was necessary because it does not exist a developed revolutionary situation in Peru, so it had to make several proselytism and psychological actions to make the peruvians aware of the existence of a communist group that began to fight for a future that any peruvian wanted.
2. Second Warlike Phase: Implantation of Socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This should be executed under the basic classical precepts of the lengthy war -this stage should be understood according to the scheme provided by Shining Path, due to its development was minimize by the capture of its leaders in 1992- and it had to pursue the following stages: strategic defense and strategic balance. This stage should be characterized by an offensive against the state and its military power through the direct confrontation in order to get armament and establish liberated and useful zones to start the last phase.

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<sup>12</sup> Hidalgo Morey, Teodoro. "Shining Path". Ed. Monterrico. Lima. 1992. pp. 20

<sup>13</sup> It is a transitory organization that the revolutionary forces are making during the armed fight and it is expressed by means of the local committees and the supporting bases. It is not a republic in the traditional sense of the concept, because when the victory of the revolution is produced, the , conquered republic enters to the socialism world, dominated by the communist party and no by the proletariat, as it has been seen in all the places where the revolutionary communist forces have gotten the victory.

<sup>14</sup> People Defensory. "The forced disappearance of people in Peru". A Series of Defensorial Reports. Report N° 55. Lima. 2002. pp. 40

<sup>15</sup> According to DESCO during 1980 Shining Path executed 219 actions, while in 1981 it made 715, in 1982 it accomplished 891 actions and 1,123 in 1983, In. "Political Violence in Peru", Vol. I 1980-1988. Lima, 1989. pp. 28

3. Third Warlike Phase: Establishment of the Communism in Peru. During this period the country will win out to the city by means of a Total War and the communism will be established. Chronologically, this stage is expected to happen in ten years.

On the other hand, from its strategic perspective, Shining Path, on one side, as a holder of an authoritarian order that is expanded violently in opposition and fight not only against the state but also against those other attempts more or less democratic that arose from the society. Shining Path appears as an antimodern reaction with maoist ideology that arises in the same bowels of systems that were suppose to generate modernity: the university and the school. Because Shining Path was created from the meeting that took place at San Cristóbal National University –Ayacucho- between an intellectual elite from a dark blond province with a young social base provincial and dark blond too, that suffered a painful process of uprooting and hopeless as a consequence of the margination and the political and economical exclusion of the Lima centralism. Shining Path offers to them a structure, standards, values and a new political identity based on the marxism-leninism-maoism.

#### ***Social and economical impact of the Terrorist Action.***

“I will know you for your actions” says a proverb. And the resulting actions from the terrorist action of Shining Path are a sample of the mentality of those leaders who are precise to mention in order to understand the magnitude of these actions in a poor country like Peru.

#### *Social cost:*

According to the mentioned data given by Victor Quechua,<sup>16</sup> due to the direct effects of the terrorist groups, 26,829 people died, more than 4,000 dead or hurt children were found, 55,000 orphans and 238 disappeared in the whole country. Besides, the terrorists are responsible for having abandoned more than 131,700 children in the orphanage.

The murder of civil and political authorities by the terrorists hands gained 593 victims among them 4 prefects, 11 sub prefects, 86 governors, 167 governors-lieutenants, 13 prosecutors, 70 peace judges, 164 mayors, 25 mayor-lieutenants, 30 municipal agents

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<sup>16</sup> Quechua, Víctor. “Peru: 13 años de oprobio”. Lima. 1994. Pp. 400-407



and 23 regulators. The higher number of dead people was found in Ayacucho with 128 victims, secondly Junín with 83, Puno with 63 and Lima with 63.

Among other murdered authorities are 156 dead people: 6 representatives, 12 laborer leaders, 9 political leaders, 18 neighborhood leaders, 41 communal leaders, 22 leaders of the human sites, 5 leaders of the ‘Glass of milk’ program, 21 leaders of urban patrols and 22 candidates. Lima was the most affected with 58 cases, followed by Junín with 21 and Puno with 13.

The terrorism gained a total of 300 murdered professionals among them 127 teachers, 92 engineers, 21 clergy people, 17 administrators, 13 journalists, 7 lawyers, 2 professors, 5 accountants, 11 nurses and 5 doctors. The department of Ayacucho was the most affected with 96 cases, followed by Junín with 40, Lima with 39, Huancavelica with 26 and Ancash with 24.

#### *Economical cost:*

In order to achieve their goals, Shining Path as well as Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement try to break the economical infrastructure of the country as part of the propitious collapse in a national and international level. For such a goal, they guide their sabotage actions against buildings, art works, communication ways, high voltage towers, farms and other places that signify means of development and progress. The amount of economical loss is over US\$ 26,000 which is equivalent to the external peruvian debt. If these high amounts of the social and economical cost are added to the costs which demand to the government and to the families the educational formation to forge a professional in Peru, these would be doubled pecuniary and would multiply by five the hurt in the familiar refuge morally, all of this is digging under the social, political and economical foundations in which the peruvian state is based.

It is calculated as a consequence of the terrorist violence, the voluntary movement of talents outside the country, this has caused that an average of 59,000 technicians and professionals have “escaped” who were dread and who abandoned the country because of the lack of guarantees and opportunities leaving everything.

Another consequence of the terrorism was the internal migration, the scope to save their lives leaving their relatives, land and possessions. According to the Poblational Promotion and Development Center, it is calculated that between 600,000 and a million

people abandoned the highlands to take refuge in the cities of the department where they belonged or in others, as it is the case of Lima, where it is calculated that between 200,000 and 300,000 people from the Andes would have arrived to.

## **Part II – Shining Path: The insuperable obstacle.**

Which is the most evident fact in the first years of the government of Alejandro Toledo is the apparent flexibility and inoperance of the government when facing Shining Path's actions, as we see after the fall of Mr. Fugimori's regime and the closing of the National Intelligence Service, Peru became rapidly in a country "without eyes and ears" to face this enemy.

So Alberto Bolivar<sup>17</sup> in his article 'Has Shining Path returned?' says that Shining Path has not returned because it never disappeared, on the contrary it was always with us, nabbed, licking its wounds, analyzing its errors and waiting for a niche of opportunity. And what is happening is that the committed errors after the capture of Abimael Guzman and the actions of the actual government of Alejandro Toledo are accelerating the political and strategically moment for its reappearance, as we see in the last terrorist actions with which Shining Path is showing us that it is: 1. Solving its dilemma of leadership permanently; 2. Replanting its strategy totally; 3. Rebuilding a secure and efficient power chain; and, 4. Retaking the strategic offensive.<sup>18</sup>

In order to do that, Shining Path is about to introduce to unsuspecting levels of the national bureaucracy, non-government organizations, syndicates, political parties,<sup>19</sup> means of communication, army forces and police forces. Organizations that are being used as a mean to the organization of effective communication channels between its commands and prisoner leaders because of terrorism in order to execute the actions in favor of the named "Peace offering of the Armed Fight". In this actions, the called "relatives of the

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<sup>17</sup> Bolivar Alberto. "Has Shining Path returned?". Lima 2001

<sup>18</sup> Bailetti Mac-Kee, "Subversion and Counter-Subversion: Shining Path". Quoted by Masterson, Daniel. In: "Army Force and Society in the Modern Peru". Institute of Political and Strategical Studies. Lima 2001. pp. 430

<sup>19</sup> What calls the attention from the last regional elections which took place on November 17, 2002 is the victory of 8 independent parties from the 25 regional governments, where Jehude Simons Munaro is distinguished ("Joseph comrade") in La Libertad region, who was a member of the political system of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, specifically of

political prisoners” would be participating too, these have the mission of developing marches and mobilizations in different parts of the city with the purpose of attracting the means of communication and make people know about their democratic fight.

While this is perceived in the city, in far places such as Ayacucho and Junin, we see the presence of the militar commands whose presence is known by the allusive paintings to the “popular war” and the calling to the popular fight . So we can mention the actions that were performed some days before the regional elections of 2002, where the crimes in several towns are evident and the ambushade to a police patrol, whose action caused the death of a police officer.

### **3. The Regrowing: The new strategy**

After the capture of Abimael Guzmán in September 1992. Soon, Shining Path started to fall and in 1995 there was a notorious reduction in the actioning of this subversive group in the high Huallaga, where the headquarters of Shining Path are located, which did not act during a long time until November 2000 their members decided to act to show their capacity and presence with some actions which showed that they were no “dead” and that they were rearming silently to retake their activity.

What Shining Path show us with its last actions, is that after the capture of its principal leaders, this situation made it enter to a strategic reorganization phase, directed to restructure its organization and above all the improval of the selection of its groups, commands and inspectors. Considering the errors from the past for this and what is more accomplishing completely its given order by its leader when presented in the news media: “....some people think that this is a big defeat, they dream of it!, we tell them to continue dreaming, this is simply a turning, nothing else!, a turning on the way!. It is a long way and we will reach it, and we will get the victory!. You will see”<sup>20</sup> Speech where it is evident the calling to its members of the Communist Party of Peru with its popular war.

In such a sense, analyzing the problem of the subversion in Peru in the last years, we will see that the terrorism of Shining Path has called the attention again it is not a secret for anybody the returning of the path actions to the national and international stage as

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the Central Committee. This terrorist was given amnesty by the transitory government of Valentín Paniagua due to the recommendation of his Justice Ministry.

<sup>20</sup> Guzman, Abimael. “Gonzalo President Speech”. Lima. September 24 , 1992

the statistical data show referred to the terrorist actions. So, according to the Report about the Human Rights of the State Department of the United States, during 2001 the terrorist of Shining Path killed 31 people in 130 actions of violence<sup>21</sup>, number that shows that the subversion has been widely reduced in the militar aspect in comparison with the shown information in the 80s, where 157 terrorist actions were a monthly average evidence. However, a simple correlation among quantity, frequency and place of the subversive activity in the last years configures a precise contour, which makes us conclude that the terrorism is not in a terminal phase and that on the contrary it is in a reorganization phase engaged in developing activities of ideological and political kind in a hidden way and guerrillery in an open way.

Analyzing this and other quantitative indicators of the militar actions of Shining Path. From a point of view of frequency and magnitude, we also notice that the terrorists have the capacity to organize a isolated militar campaign of low importance, that would have a duration of 5 or 6 months approximately during a year, differing from the 80s when it could spread out two or three campaigns in only one year. Referring to the geographical location of these militar actions, the cocaine cord of the High Huallaga region becomes evident fundamentally and other places in the jungle as the province of Satipo where armed confrontations are produced and where the last remains of the militar commands of Shining Path are located. Lima Metropolitan and other regions to the south, Cusco and Puno concretely, show on the other hand a proclivity towards the actions of agitation and propaganda.

From these new tactical actions, we can infer that we are rather facing a problem with two sides: firstly, the probable exhausting of the policy of the antsubversive fight, whose main axes do not seem to be effective anymore above the new planning that they call “strategic turn for the popular war” and secondly, as a co-story about it, Shining Path has gotten certain organizative articulation of its ideological and political commands as it is shown in the letters that Abimael Guzmán and Elena Iparraguirre would have made to circulate on May 17 -2002, calling upon their militants “to change the fights of a war type with weapons for a political fight without weapons”.<sup>22</sup> Even so, in the aspect of the process of ideological and political reorganization, Shining Path do

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<sup>21</sup> State Department. “Report about Human Rights Practice”. Democracy Office, Human Rights and Work. The United States Embassy, March 8, 2002.

not show the same advances in comparison with the reorganization of its military commands, where it is known the limited possibility of reaching the military potentiality of the “strategic balance” as to be able to impose a kind of presence in the national life, due to the lack of combative efficiency of its military commands, and the lack of fire potency to face the order forces units. They also do not have the resources and logistics of former years.

The new strategy that is being developed by Shining Path is characterized by the existence of two bands inside this organization, with peculiar characteristics each:

1. The military faction which is clandestinely directed by Filomeno Cerdón Cardoso, under the alias of "Artemio comrade" and composed basically by groups which act in the cocaine production valleys of the departments of Ayacucho, San Martín and Junín. There are few who come from the historical trunk and its forces have been fed with farmers who have seen their poverty becoming worse because of the persisting economic crisis that affects the country and in particular the rural zones. In other words, they are senderists less ideologized and dedicated to the narcotraffic protection during the last years. And,
2. The political faction that is agglutinated around the figure of “Gonzalo President”, it is the faction with a firm ideological formation about the Maoist principles which are practicing a new political tactic. From this way as it is operating this political faction- under the control of Abimael Guzmán- we can notice that these terrorists have changed of tactic due to that nobody is pleading for the Peace Agreement but for “political solution of the problems derived from the war”. It says, through a sustained legal, psychological and propagandistic campaign, Shining Path is discrediting the antiterrorist laws and as a consequence of this it is looking for the approval of a general amnesty for its leader Abimael Guzmán and the rest of prisoners, processed, expatriated and requisitioned subversives.

As it is shown by the different sources of the Peruvian intelligence, the majority of the terrorists are working based on this last tactic and are trying to set the basis of the ideological unit to reconstruct the Communist Party of Peru. Besides there

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<sup>22</sup> Document that was circulated by the prisoners for terrorism and whose author was said to be Abimael Guzman.

is information that in the Alto Huallaga zone, in Aucayacu, between October 26 and 27 it is said that it happened the first national convention for the missing people due to the political violence where “Artemio Comrade” would have participated, the most responsible for the called Huallaga Regional Committee and leader of the radical terrorist faction that would have also been gained for the cause of “Doctor Abimael Guzmán Reynoso”.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, to make this political tactic legal, the lawyers of the senderists are working on a series of Corpus Habeas for condemned terrorists, the same that the Constitutional Court and the peruvian courts have declared them founded with according to law and not to any subversive entity as a sample of the fragility of the peruvian legal system in terrorism cases. In some cases, they are going to international organizations like the Interamerican Court for Human Rights, convinced that the legal senderist fight “it is not going to fall neither because of pression nor coactions nor because of any other reason”.

With respect to the factions it is precise to mention that many people have speculated about the possibility of the fight of these factions inside Shining may debilitate it until the limit of disappearing it. However, this is a possibility among others, but we should not forget that as part of the development of the Armed Fight, what Abimael Guzmán searched for was just the dialectic contradiction inside his organization as a way of jelling it.

It may also happen hypothetically that in a short term we will not have one but two paths, both with emphasis on the armed fight, even though one will think that now is the moment and the other that it is better to keep the strength for the violence of tomorrow.

In favor of this last speculation is the obvious fact that none of these two factions have the enough strength to act in a position that may consider the whole national territory. This can also produce a “regional specialization” in these groups, as it is shown.

In this perspective it is not difficult to understand the motivations and objectives of “Artemio” that can not be other than of the Path in the 80s. But it does not happen the same with the “Gonzalo President”. Knowing what this person wants means knowing what he understands for “political solution of the problems derived from the war”. It is

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<sup>23</sup> Notice that they do not call him "Gonzalo President".

not only certain to be a submission but also the beginning of an “armed peace” period that will save his organization from a total disarticulation, from the moment when his national direction was captured.

The objective of Abimael Guzmán, clearly remarked in the famous documents which he sent to his militants in 1994, was to maintain a “minimum of the party”, with the hope of making it subsist until the conditions are presented propitiously for the production of a new swell of violence.

The worries of the “Gonzalo President” in this sense make us ask about the human resources he has to save the critical conjuncture where he is immerse. According to some estimations, that do not establish a necessary distinction between the two senderist currents, the terrorist organization –considered as a whole- should count on the militancy that represents the eighth part of the members he had in his most corrosive moments. Those estimations are based on the number of attacks that are happening during the last years.

However, a detailed reading can let us establish, due to the recent events, that the direct association between the amount of violent actions and senderist militants is, at least, wrong. Let’s remember that the attacks are reduced sensibly in 1994, so as the same year when Abimael Guzman ordered his pursuers to respect the well-known “peace agreement” this situation takes us to the successful pacification to explain this event, it is just a partial answer. It would remains to know if the Path “pro-Gonzalo”, accomplishing an order from his boss, has stopped committing violent attacks, but keeping an organized and active force that is privileging the “political work” in the social environment without being in evidence.

Following this thinking, it is logical to suppose that the militarist option of “Artemio” shows much more to his militants because of the nature of his actions. So, it is probable that the estimations that are done about the terrorist in activity at present, are really about- above all, although not necessarily in an exclusive way- the ones who follow this guerrilla thinking, cantoned in the High Huallaga Valley. This is an important aspect because it has to do not only with the capacity of the state to capture the terrorists or to make an effective persecution of the ones who were liberated, but also with the capacity of the terrorist to recruit new elements, especially –but not solely- the ones who followed the “Gonzalo President” thinking.

#### **4. The Objective: Interpreting its Actioning**

On March 21, 2002 just few days before the visit of the American president George Bush, two bomb cars exploded near the embassy of the United States in the “El Polo” shopping center in Lima. As a result of this attack, 9 people died and other 30 were hurt.

The first information showed that because of the type of action used in this attack, it was a work of the subversive members of the “Going on” faction, the radical side that is opposed to the “political solution of the problems derived from the war” presented by leaders of Shining Path who are fulfilling a perpetual sentence for terrorism crime in the Naval Base of Callao from 1992.

This attack was a public proof that Shining Path is in a reorganization process in order to become again a stronger organization than it was in the past. That is why it has a solid military presence in the jungle region at present, place where it has been performing some ambushes against the order forces and proselytism propaganda under the direction of the comrade “Artemio”

On the other hand, this last attack – of major importance-shows that Shining Path has succeeded in structuring its Metropolitan Regional Committee due to the easiness this action was committed with and it is very probable that some urban cells are already infiltrated in Lima waiting for executing new actions. Other worrying event is the information about the possible approaching between the FARC members and some members of Shining Path. Nevertheless, this hypothesis has not been confirmed with reliable information, there are “rumours” of this approaching inside the community of the Peruvian intelligence. It is also certain that it can not be dismissed because it is evident that the insurgent movements have always dreamt of the unity and a higher coordination to create a common opposition in all South America.

Shining Path is showing that it has taken a new impulse and that at the moment this terrorist organization pretends to maintain a presence to a national and international level as a political objective in a short term

The next step of Shining would be to break “Gonzalo President” and comrade “Miriam” isolation, in order to do that, the senderists are trying in this moment to make the Peruvian laws flexible to let Abimael Guzmán agree with other members of the party to



make a public pronouncement, and in this way “it may assume the responsibility with the society for all the committed attacks during its terrorist actions”.

In such a sense, the new Path’s strategy would be developing in three areas: 1. From a political view, it would be oriented to look for the public pronouncement of Abimael Guzmán; 2. From the legal side, its efforts would be centered in the appeal on international courts, to get the general amnesty to the prisoners for terrorism; and, 3. From the military side, to center the attention of the means of communication and the public opinion in isolated acts of sabotage and selective murders in the High Huallaga Zone and the jungle of the department of Junín and Ayacucho.

Of course, all the defendants of the terrorists mostly agree with the idea of amnesty. As it is shown in the declarations of the lawyer Manuel Fajardo, "it should be given a general amnesty as wide as possible, according to the conventions of Ginebra",<sup>24</sup> because he says that "95% of the crimes in this process of internal war was committed by the state.

## **5. The State Answer**

The capture of the terrorist leaders and their judgment with deficient legal instruments never meant the final of the revolutionary war. This continues changing its strategies and tactics, as well as using the means and people from the national and international organizations, where it is preparing, training and “planting” its militants, to reach the “strategic balance” that now is more evident in the political aspect.

It is certain that Shining Path militarily is not able to achieve its expected strategic balance. On the contrary in the social aspect and state structure, it is being possible for it to achieve the “strategic balance”, due to a series of “hollows” among them we can mention the lack of sovereign and appropriate legislation in the Judicial Power to face the non-conventional war; moreover of being blackmailed by the fear and the corruption. Also, the Legislative Power do not legislate properly against the terrorism and the massive parliamentary opposition when approving an specific law against the money washing of the narcotraffic; adding the lack of consensuated agreements in this kind of matters, make us feel the presence of Path, in advantage over the constituted government.

The lethargy on the state side is worrying in the sense that it seems that Alejandro Toledo's government is not considering that the war against Shining Path does not have the same characteristics as the one in the 80s or 90s. Nowadays Path is using more sophisticated tactics of the asymmetric war with the purpose of deny the advantages and explore the vulnerabilities for which it is using physical and legal in ways that are atypical and presumably not anticipated by the state structures. So we should consider that in the asymmetric war that practices are who disguises. Who directs this type of war is sometimes obligated according to the circumstances to eliminate part of its own people with the purpose of gaining a group of leaders who support the cause.<sup>25</sup> So as we see today that well-known leaders are not only making a common cause with the prisoned terrorists but also forcing to the laxitude of the legal system instead of improving it to face these situations. On the other hand, there is a government policy – initiated in the transitory government of Valentín Paniagua- which has removed the “eyes and ears” from the security system with the closing of the System of National Intelligence (SNI) without considering the years of investment in the training and formation of analysts and specialized personnel in the topic of the fight against the terrorism; and, the creation of its substitute National Council of Intelligence (CNI) with “new blood”; New blood that up to day has not achieved to be nor establish itself as it is shown through the permanent changes in its direction- four directors in two years- and in the inefficacy of its personnel in terms of intelligence.

On the other hand, I should not forget to mention the reinforcement of the Direction Against the Terrorism (DIRCOTE) belonging to the National Police and the reinstallation of some bases against subversives located in the High Huallaga Valley and Ayacucho, similar to the military actions put into practice during the time of pacification where it was necessary to reduce the effects highly harmful that showed the political violence. But this reaction from the government should not suppose that the

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<sup>24</sup> Sifuentes, Marco. “The new objective of Shining Path”. In: <http://www.agenciaperu.com>. January 26, 2003.

<sup>25</sup> This is shown in the following paragraph: “if a member do not accomplish his/her role as a real revolutionary then, he/she should be criticized immediately, unmasked and accused by the respective means in order to let the party take the appropriate decisions. So we will have a better control above and under and also what is more important to plot these problems we should firstly, in our organizations of the party, of the Popular Liberation Army, of the New State Front and the people in general reinforce the study of our policy, of our Base of Unity Follower and secondly eliminate those miserable and criminal betrayers” In: Communist Party of Peru- Huallaga Base. “Errors and Injustice”. Red Flag Editions. May 1999. In <http://www.solrojo.org>

guarantee over the possibilities of social and generalized conflicts is a permanent state of seat due to two reasons: first, this type of actions provoke the military institutions' denaturalization and impede the spreading of the state organizations and of the civil society to act as a contention element and canalization of the violence; and, second: in many opportunities the military actions during the antsubversive fight surpassed and made an excess when killing and disappearing innocent civil people.

In this sense, on the basis of the political and military actions from the way how the government is replying, I think that it is the moment to take a serious and objective look at the causes and the new tactics of this phenomenon in order to plan again the type of replies that today are being implemented; because of it, the experience shows that there is no effective reaction against the terrorism and that it fits with the logics of the conventional war. With this type of actioning, certain leaders and organizations will be eliminated, but this actioning does not understand the fundamental causes from where this phenomenon emerges.<sup>26</sup> Remember always that the military action of Shining Path responded to a determined political objective which at the same time, is determined by a sociopolitical environment that has not changed a lot in the whole republican history of Peru.

### **Part III – Organizational Dynamics and Leadership**

An organization that thinks of survive, should respond to the changes in its environment. Because finally the failure suffered by the Communist Party of Peru in the decade of the 90s, was really caused by what its leaders did or did not do. For that reason, I consider necessary to mark the organizational variables that compose its organizational culture.

#### **6. Sociodemography of Shining Path**

Shining Path began its armed fight with the purpose of getting the sensibilization and the attraction of farmers in favor of its fight. However, the low presence among the farmers during all these years of terror is due to three factors: 1. The series of failures that this party suffered in the decade of 1970 because of the lack of consensus for the conception

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<sup>26</sup> Paredes, Orlando. "The Just War and the Universal Enemy". REDES 2002. Brazil. August 2002

of a unique doctrine on its leaders side; 2. The permanent confiscations, sacks and abuses against this population and which are going to cause the refusal of these population, making possible the organization of the Rural and Urban Rounds which resulted to be the best solution for the confrontation against Shining Path. 3. The emphasis on the ideological formation of groups in university centers, groups mainly constituted by students and professors from provinces –who were imbued by the ideology of the Russian socialism, which was deeply considered by the different centers of formation during the decade of 1970, and who were concentrated on the study of the marxism to elaborate a very orthodox line with which they will create a little party but ideologically and organically very compact. This event constitutes the starting point of the leadership of Abimael Guzmán of an agrupation called Revolutionary Student Front (FER) whose development pole is at San Cristobal of Huamanga National University, Ayacucho.

With this background, Shining Path will become a classical totalitarian and chief party constructed from the ideology to the organization and from the top to the basis. So, as it was continuing with the elaboration of its project of fight against the peruvian state, the action in favor of the social movement and the action of “going to the masses” formed by farmers and workers were not important for them. What they prioritized were the denominated “generated organisms” by the party, which constitutes the nexus between this and the “mass”. They were becoming from a social movement to a social antimovement, to end becoming each time an organization with an elite group made up of leaders of high educative and ideological formation and another in charge of generating terror. We find in this organizative conception for the war a difference with the maoist proposal, then while in Mao Tse Tung the vision of the organization for a war is clearly militar, in Abimael Guzmán the political component is of major importance, so that the strategy of senderist war relies on the ideological and political action more than on the militar action.<sup>27</sup>

Analyzing the social characteristics of its militants, we will be able to notice that Shining Path was mainly constituted by young people from provinces with high education above the average as it is shown in the investigation made by Chavez de

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<sup>27</sup> Hidalgo Morey, Teodoro. “Path...” pp. 23

Paz,<sup>28</sup> who found that 57.4% of the condemned because of terrorism crimes were young people from 18 to 25 years and that 76.5% were from provinces. From them, 55.7% had born in capital cities in provinces and the 20.8% in small towns where we could locate rural young people. On the other hand, from the total of people from provinces, what calls our attention is that 87% of this population came from the provinces that the Map of Poverty of Peru show as the poorest, which coincide nearly totally with the departments of Ayacucho and Huancavelica which possess an infant mortality rate of 84.8% and 106.6% respectively.

With respect to the gender, 16.4% of the condemned for terrorism were women, it is certain that this indicator is low in comparison with the men's, but it is precise to mention that the majority of the terrorist cells was leading by women, who generally were in charge of "giving the shot of grace" to their victims. It is also shown that 70.5% of the sentenced for terrorism were single, the same that can be a consequence of the living style that "the revolution" make them assume, mostly characterized for a working mystic in favor of their ideals and for the permanent moving to different places of Peru. Finally, about the level of education, 63.4% of the sentenced for terrorism have completed high school or have different levels of high education (including professional title and/or post-graduate studies: 4.9%).

From the qualitative point of view it is important to say that the indicator "provincial" have a big importance in a racist country with accentuated characters of a country that does not overcome its "conquered trauma". Trauma that has been an evasive psychic archetype of the liberty what do not let the peruvians direct our efforts to a certain objective. We can observe the most emphasizing characteristics of this situation in the compulsive tendency of the peruvians towards the submission and domination. The submitted people as the case of the population from provinces, if it is certain that they are conscious of this situation and consciously complain about suffering it and say that they want to get free, however exists some unconscious power that is in the same psyche and what makes them feel inferior or insignificant. Taking them in the majority of the cases to join the practiced domination by a very little group of political, economical or military which along the history has always searched for the submission to the exercise of an unlimited and absolute way of power that reduced this population

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<sup>28</sup> Chavez de Paz, D., "Youth and Terrorism. Social characteristics of the condemned for terrorism and other crimes". IEP, Lima. 1989

to mere instruments to satisfy the partidary and personal appetites of different leaders, such as the case of Shining Path. The same Abimael Guzmán conceives: "...we have to teach the masses with forceful events, to remark them the ideas with it.... the masses in the country need the direction of a Communist Party, we expect that, with more theory and revolutionary practice, with more power, reach the heart of the class and of the town and really get it. What for? To serve it, that is what we want".<sup>29</sup>

As we see, the language is of impressing sadism against the "mass", that in the same paragraph it is said to love and serve. It is about an ambivalent relationship –instead of saying schizophrenic –where the tortuous love feelings appear- hate from the superior to the inferior. Feelings that can be kept unconsciously, since we should not forget that the appetite for power does not possess any demonic character but it is a consequence perfectly rational of the human desire for pleasure and security; what is, the desire of dominating as a logical result of the fight for the most capable survival-fight which is conditioned biologically.<sup>30</sup>

From this it is important to point at the indicator from province as the breaking point of the tensions that affect the peruvian population and the propensity to accept a speech as the terrorist's. An aptitude that does not do nothing more than show the very marked dependency with respect to powers that are not exterior towards other people, institutions or towards the nature itself,<sup>31</sup> since the basis for this potential transformation are however from the beginning in the ideology and the social composition of Shining Path whose vertebral column was constituted by professors and university students as well as rural teachers brought up in the extreme poverty of Peru but differing from what happens among the majority of peruvians of that and other status from the arrival of the spaniards five centuries ago, we do not succeed in breaking significantly with the authoritarian "political culture". On the contrary, the relationship that Shining Path proposes to establish between the party and the "mass" is similar to the one which existed in the past centuries between conquerors and indians –sadic and masochistic-, because according to Shining Path "the party decides everything". As the conquerors did before.

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<sup>29</sup> Guzman, Abimael. "Fundamental Documents". Red Flag Editions. May 1988. In <http://www.solrojo.org>

<sup>30</sup> Hobbes. "Leviathan". London. 1651. pp. 47

<sup>31</sup> From, Erich. "The Fear to the Liberty". Paidos. Spain. 1987. pp. 146

## **7. The organic structure of Shining Path**

The ideological and political conception, besides the past experience of the capture of its main leaders, make Path be reorganizing today as clandestinely as possible through a scrupulous selection to take care of its militants and above all to maintain its groups in the anonymity, which are known just because of their pseudonym. So Shining Path has not changed its characteristic of disciplined and clandestine movement, that can be hardly infiltrated and that is searching in essence two things to an organizational level: first, to improve the capacity of its organization to adapt to the changes in the national and international environment; second, it is trying to change the behavior of its members, by means of extended periods of organization, instruction and move in different zones of Peru.

For doing such a thing it continues using the situation of political, economical and social instability, whose actions are centered in the valuation of those subjects excluded from the peruvian society –people with necessities and feelings- Shining Path is constituting a new unconscious collective sustained in: the motivation, personal history of its members and the way they think and act. To these new members it continues calling them “mass” and it is formed mainly by natives and settlers- farmers without land- as well as by children called “pioneers”, who were all of them born in zones governed by the subversion to whom has been imposed a social communist organization. Its main activity is based on the production, for which activity the subversives use to the “mass” to get food by means of the cultivation what let them move safely around the jungle without the fear of the lack of provisions. The cultivation is itinerant but with established zones of production. After the sowing, the terrorists move the “mass” to another place of the jungle where they come back to establish themselves and sow again. In times of harvest they return.

Shining Path has organized the “mass” in colonies to what it calls Open Popular Committees, the same that are in charge of a leader who hugs the communist cause and to whom it calls “command”. The members of these Open Popular Committees live errant inside a limited zone although of considerable extension settled in the peruvian jungle to what the terrorists name “positions of domain”. The Open Popular Committees are at a time part of the Regional Committees, emphasizing on the two regional committees existing in the actual zones of ideological and the guerrilla’s influence, the

one of Ayacucho called Principal Regional Committee and the Center Regional Committee in Junín, whose fusion with the other Regional Committees gives as a result the Party and the Guerrilla's Popular Army –Popular Liberation Army. Inside the organizational structure of the party we find two clearly identified sectors. The military command directed by the comrade “Artemio” who is in the High Huallaga sector at the moment and whose militants are frequently organizing armed actions and centering their strategy on the ideological propaganda, by means of paintings, written publicity and flying flags, with the purpose of getting new members among whom we can mention the producers of cocaine, and young people from the bordering towns who mostly possess low educative levels –all opposite to Path from the 80s when was constituted by militants of high educative level- and do not find any sense to their life, nor hope for a better future coming from the central government.

Even so, inside the same military field, the generated systems are also acting in isolated actions in the city, where are being so important and are generating the proper space to make the terrorists take part mainly in popular manifestations against the government, as well as making easier the infiltration of some of its militants in the national bureaucracy. One of these generated organisms, “Popular Help” and “Prosecute” seems this time it is assuming the responsibility of the terrorist attacks in Lima, as it is shown in the following saying “A luminous example is the magnificent action that a Special Department of the Popular Liberation Army (EPL), directed omnipotently by the party, in March executed against the Embassy of the Yankee imperialism in Lima and the complementary actions that were performed during the visit of the genocidious Bush in the city”.<sup>32</sup>

In the ideological and political aspect, the clandestine work of this subversive group which has been developing includes an intense labor of instruction at popular schools and the organization of a partidarian structure that responds to the traditional communist rank through cells of little magnitude, of five members, whose bosses do not know more than three of the same rank and where the communication with other columns is only performed by means of one member of the command in order to prevent and maintain their internal security.<sup>33</sup> This procedure is proving to be highly effective to prevent the

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<sup>32</sup> Publicity shown in its Web site: <http://www.solrojo.org>

<sup>33</sup> Masterson, Daniel. “Army Force and Society in the Modern Peru”. Institute of Political and Strategical Studies. Lima 2001. pp. 393.



infiltration as well as impeding them to perform operations on a large scale due to a deficient communication channel with the direction of the organization. About its organizational structure, Shining Path has not suffered a significant variation in consideration with the doctrine of Mao Tse Tung during the decades of 1980 and 1990, the same that responded to the necessities that were given by the ways of fight.<sup>34</sup> Shining was organized in four elements: the Party, the Popular Guerrilla's Army (EGP), the Revolutionary Front of the People Defense (FRDP) and the generated organisms for the different fronts of work.

The Party, is the directing instrument inside the subversive organization, in charge of marking and tracing the way to follow; it produces doctrines and makes programs, plans and campaigns. The whole strategy goes around this group and it is composed by the Central and Political Committee.<sup>35</sup> In the composition of the leadership of the Party, Shining Path is not an organization of masses, but is elitist and adds highly reliable people to its rows. A particular aspect of Shining Path is that it posses characteristics of an "military ideologised" organization due to this type of columns of Path constitutes an integrated command by an ideologist, a political and a military command, a first platoon with two elements: propaganda and security; a second platoon to accomplish missions typically military and a third platoon who is responsible for the destructions. The major virtue of this type of columns is that it can act in any situation and can assimilate the readjustments and the reorganizations that may be necessary. In the practice this type of organization can also adapt to the performing of terrorist actions. Besides, its cohesion from the party is based on three elements: 1. the ideology, the marxism-leninism, Maoism and Gonzalo thinking; 2. the program; and, 3. the general political line with its center, the military line.

With reference to the Popular Guerrilla's Army, its organization is composed by a main force, a local force and a force of basis. This organization of maoist principle as it said in its motto "The Party directs the gun and we will never let the gun directs the Party", is more theoretical than real, since it is of a guerrilla's type, without any similar

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<sup>34</sup> In 1986, in the booklet "Developing the popular war serving to the world revolution", it is classified the ways of terrorist fight, around four groups: war of guerrillas, sabotage, selective destruction, propaganda and agitation. The systematic destruction is the most important as a way of propaganda and armed agitation.

<sup>35</sup> The problem which is at present facing the Order Forces, is that it can not detect the members of these organisms.

organization to a regular army, even though it is being reorganized slowly, because Path does not have enough resources to do it, although during this time it seems to be changing thanks to the help of the narcotraffic. It is an army of a new type that performs the political duties of the revolution established by the Party. It performs three duties: 1. Fight which is the principal as it belongs to the main way of organization; 2. Move, which is very important and by which the work of the party masses is done; politicize, move, organize and arm the masses; and, 3. Produce, applying the self-sustenance, trying not to be a loading for the “mass”. Fundamentally, it is a farming army directed absolutely by the Party.<sup>36</sup> What it is evident in the organization of this military force, is that it does not consider ranks of military character nor remember its militants. So as we can notice that after the fights, it takes its dead and hurt members as a showing of loyalty and that the Party never abandons them.

The Revolutionary Party of the People Defense constitutes the called New Power in zones where Path have an important presence or have a domain, it is formed like this: in the basis are the local committees, some of the local committees of an area form a supporting basis, and the sum of these, the Republic of New Democracy in formation. On the other hand, the military schools of Path are designated to the training in: explosive preparation, demolition techniques, ambush preparation, combination of weapons to a tactical level, gun handling and aiming, silenced weapons, techniques of clandestine communications, vigilance and against-vigilance. During the first half of the content of a training program they put more emphasis on the ideological aspects, expecting to get well motivated combatants. Referring to the generated organisms for the different working fronts, Path has had an undoubted success and has achieved to form an extensive and efficient organization, particularly in the areas of legal defense of its leaders and prisoned militants, among which is important to mention the Peru Popular Movement, generated organism of the Communist Party of Peru for the work of the Party abroad and mainly for the “defense of President Gonzalo’s Life, the defense of the political and war prisoners, so as to develop the international work of support to the popular wars of Peru”.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Communist Party of Peru. “Construction Line of the three Instruments of the Revolution”. Red Flag Editions. May 1999. In <http://www.solrojo.org>

<sup>37</sup> Paper of the “1st intervention of the Popular Movement of Peru with the help of the Turkish Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) [TCP (ML)]”, April 20, 2002

These generated organisms are the fundamental pieces of the called “political solution” where the terrorists’ relatives were grouped in two associations: the Association of Relatives and Victims of the Genocide (ARVOG) and the Association of Disappeared Relatives and Political Prisoners of Peru (ADRAPP).<sup>38</sup> They are working intensively with known non-government organizations for Human Rights and with the support of the Truth Commission; their speech takes us to the 80s.

As we can see the organization of Shining Path at present is not oriented to develop actions of military type but their strategical actions are oriented to actions of political type as it is being noticed in its national direction. In opposition to the thesis of the international communism, this says that the fight of the people can not be crushed when it is directed by a militarized Communist-marxist-leninist-maoist Party.

### **8. Its Leadership**

What is remarkable of this terrorist organization is that it insists on having more leaders in comparison with other organizations. Those leaders are characterizing for having more advance skills the same that are being reinforced with permanent training work and perfection with emphasis on the ideological content which has a major importance over the personal needs of its militants, due to that they believe that methodologically much of their learning should condense in a long period of instruction, for which efficacy they consider crucial the acceptance of a new system and authority.

The objective of these training processes is directed to make its militants have a decided aptitude to the achievement of its objectives performing the plans, but at the same time, and this the most important, to be able to sacrifice their own life in each action they start. Definitively, it is oriented to reach a high level of fanaticism in every and each one of the terrorists, for which they established rituals nearly religious to get high doses of personal sacrifice, not only giving the life in favor of the revolution cause in Peru, but also in favor of the cause of the world communist revolution.<sup>39</sup>

The success of this leadership activity, is based on its ideology what makes the terrorists feel brave and gives them value, since they assume “nobody was born brave”, in other words, no one was born being a leader, is the society, the fight of classes which

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<sup>38</sup> Sifuentes, Marco. “The new...”. In: <http://www.agenciaperu.com>. January 26 , 2003

<sup>39</sup> Hidalgo Morey, Teodoro. “Path...” pp. 59

make the men leaders.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, from this paradigm, we assume that the leadership in Shining Path is being learned and should be learned with programs designed for the formation of behavioral models in the individual, in opposition to the theory of the features which says that we were born basically with the leadership.<sup>41</sup>

The leadership that is appearing from the inside of Shining Path has nothing to do with the typical leadership of telling its militants what they have to do or showing them the objectives in a military peruvian way; due to that it is not a usual organization supported by a structural system based on the position; but on the contrary this terrorist organization is being designed as an energy field, where the leaders act as nodes of energy with a determined activity around them and that they even know they are only the mortar and, together with other mortars, are helping to put the basis to “the communism shines one day and illumine the whole earth”.<sup>42</sup> These leaders are generally self-selected,<sup>43</sup> and they characterize for being able to discover perceptions and essential values of Peru of yesterday, as the ones who identify sutile laces that would permit take the best benefit from a disintegrated society, highly fragmented and heterogeneous in benefit of its cause.

So, Shining Path is evidencing today a “blander” leadership and more diffuse, characteristics that most of the time are giving the impression that the organization is lacking of leaders and as a result of this the direction of the Party apparently is not under the leadership of a leader who is giving the guide lines of its armed fight, but they are giving the impression that many of their leaders of “medium rank” are the ones directing the new strategy given from the prisons. One of the best illustrations of the new style of leadership in Shining Path, is related to the strict reaction of the terrorists to the ideological positions to achieve the “strategic balance” in the political aspect, many times characterized for the informal practice of leadership; it means, for the ability to influence from the outside of the formal structure of the terrorist organization. Their followers do not choose these leaders, but from a certain view, this leadership derives from a kind of dictatorship whose power comes from the ideological force.

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<sup>40</sup> Arce Borja, Luis. “Interview...”. The Diary. July 1988. Peru

<sup>41</sup> Robbins, Stephen. “Organizational Behavior”. Prentice Hall. México. 1996. pp.414 - 415

<sup>42</sup> Communist Party of Peru. “Fundamental Documents”. Lima. 1988

<sup>43</sup> Bridges, William. “The leadership of the organization without job positions”. In: Peter Drucker Foundation, “The leader of the Future”. Deusto. Argentina. 1997. pp. 45

What we see now in Shining Path is nothing more than a revolution in a way that its leaders perceive the links among the ideology, the organization and the personal necessities of its militants. So as the way how it is conceptualizing the external variables of the organization, such as the policies of fight against the terrorism on the side of the peruvian state, the anti-terrorist legislation, the narcotraffic situation, the corruption and the weak government institutions. Because of this, it is precise to mention that in function to these variables, this organization is having a leadership “according to the situation” which in some cases is neither of the typical physiological model –where the leader acts as the head and the organization as the body-, nor of the antiquated type of “Follow me” except of the distributive type.

On the other side, the personality feature are not key factors to the practice of the leadership inside this organization, as we notice that the terrorists have feature that in some cases are in favor of them and others that are an obstacle for them. However, what we are going to find is a series of variables in common, among which the values and beliefs are important. Variables that have a relevant importance inside Shining Path because of the high number of atheist leaders and members in it, since they consider that “the religion is the opium of the people”,<sup>44</sup> and that this is a social phenomenon, product of the exploitation which is extinguishing unless the exploitation is being eliminated and a new society will emerge. This event takes them to conceptualize that life ends some day and farther more the fear to death, what should be important for a terrorist is his/her optimism, with the conviction that the labor to what they serve, other have to continue and take it to the accomplishment of their definite duties, the communism –its organizational vision-.

They are ideologically dogmatic and practice a political sectarianism close of radical type of ultra left, considering themselves as the only ones and members of the real communist party in the world; the rest are revisionists for them. This egocentrism characteristic of the terrorists leaders is associated to their optimism, as Abimael Guzmán says, “this optimism is almost organic, that makes them move more into comprehension and will problems rather than into feelings problems”. Becoming in this way in proactive subjects, because they know they are responsible for their own life and that their behavior is a function of their decisions and not of the conditions,<sup>45</sup> so that in

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<sup>44</sup> Arce Borja, Luis. “Interview...”. The Diary. July 1988. Peru

<sup>45</sup> Covey, Stephen. “The 7 Habits of the Highly Effective People”. Paidos. México. 1996. pp. 90

difficult moments they are always looking for something positive or the little an opportunity may have to develop because they are conscious that “never everything may be black, nor everything may be red”.<sup>46</sup> Besides, they are also prepared for the possible troubles they may have when developing their popular war, since they assume that if it happened a failure once more as the one in 1992 with the capture of their principal leaders, they refer that situations like these always have a good side; the problem is in getting out the lesson and continue working on the good side. This characteristic of its leadership is assumed as a learning based on the values of the communism, as they believe that this ideology “joins people and who practices it will always find someone’s support, someone who gives them intense warmth and help in the combat”.

***Two ideological principles, three models:***

As it is shown, we can notice that the philosophy and methodology of the leadership in Shining Path and the civil and military leadership in Peru –occidental model -, are not so different between them as it is their conception of their economical model: the economy of free market from occident and the economy of planification and state management of the communist model.

It is certain that both the occidental economical philosophy and its leadership philosophy are based on two common principles. They are: 1. The principle of the highest possible liberty, and 2. The principle of the interest for the citizen.<sup>47</sup> It is also certain that Shining Path is forming its groups considering some aspects of these principles with the firm conviction of impulsing a maximum will of fulfillment in its militants and guerrilla’s members. For which it is giving to its ideological leaders the highest liberty of possible action, in order to get the recognition of the others. Because the terrorists are convinced –as many politicians and peruvian military officers- that is easy to attract with themselves to the majority of peruvian citizens, who characterize for being distrustful, lethargic, lazy and looking for the easiest way to solve their problems.

In the peruvian military environment things are different, since many officials achieve the recognition from the others by means of the delegated authority according to the military rank they have, characterizing their labor in the exercise of an imposed

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<sup>46</sup> Arce Borja, Luis. “Interview...”. The Diary. July 1988. Peru

<sup>47</sup> Schultze-Rhonhof, Gerd. “The Leadership Culture in a Modern Occidental Armed Force”. University of Lima. Peru. 2000. pp. 16

authority.<sup>48</sup> Characteristics that do not give the officials more liberty of possible action and that do not let them use all of their intelligence, creativity and effort for the effective and efficient achievement of their goals; reinforced by a methodology of memoristic and repetitive training which do not permit the officials a participative and critical action on positive and negative situations as it is evident in the happened events in the practice inside the Army Force. These variables show a collective scale of values defections for the leadership from the stage of military formation and the primacy of absurd values such as the fallacy that “in the practice nothing is created all is already written” or we should be “obedient and well educated” when in Shining Path the values are oriented to form “self-sufficient and responsible” militants. In few words, while in the civil and military environment- and in general in the peruvian population- we give value to the dependence, in Shining Path they are giving importance to the initiative. On the other hand, in general in the practice of the military leadership, it is important the concept “obedience” associated to the accomplishment of the “orders”, which prescribes to the subordinates not only the expected result of the action, but also the way in which such a result will be reached. In opposition to the terrorist model, which only shows the objective of the Party and no the action itself, since the way of executing these actions is on its leaders’ hands. With any doubt this last model is the one that fits better to the cultural diversity, to the places where the action is developed and to the level of training the militants may have; because the stage where these leaders act evolutionates suddenly many times in an unexpected way, due to that Peru is a country with a cultural heterogeneity widely different between the country and the city. Reason for what Shining Path is not making the same mistake of past years when said to its militants how to fight a battle.

On the other side, in the political aspect it is evident a limited engagement of the leaders with the peruvian population because of the political leaders’ personal interests and false promises from where is created the manipulation of the population to its leaders and from the leaders to the population. A typical example is shown during the election processes where the population asks for “something” in change of its vote. In other words, the leadership culture is based on the complaint more than on realities. Therefore, it is presumed that the best leader is who knows how to interpreted the demands better, although he was a rogue who would not get a buyer for his used car and

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<sup>48</sup> Notice that it is not leadership for being such it should have its followers’ recognition.

whom nobody wanted as a spiritual companion. Or an incompetent unable to organize well a game in the parish. There is also an excessive nostalgia for the past. We discuss about what it was, not with respect to what it can be. However, there is an expectation for having “miracles”. Therefore, it is referred to the fantasious manufacturer of illusions over the efficient administrator of realities. And, finally, when the miracles do not become real at last, the society becomes frustrated and full of pessimism.

Finally, on the basis of the analysis of the leadership models and the principles of the economical models described above-market model and communist model- we can say that inside Shining Path it is being cultivated a model of military nobility similar to the feudal’s where the intrinsic motivations with a solid ideological basis are important. While that inside the civil and military culture the capitalist interrogant What is there for me? is the most important.

## **9. The Typologies**

Organizations as the Communist Party of Peru are organizations because they are constituted by several individuals, who joined in search of a common objective and where the individual values of its members act as well as their personality characteristics, beliefs, prejudices and resistances. For what we have to recognize to these violentist groups an organizational culture, with own values.

This organizational culture in Shining Path is a consequence of the communist ideology and of its leader’s thinking Abimael Guzmán, who is the model in the formation of the future leaders. So, if it is certain that inside of Shining Path we notice a leadership style for an organization without working positions; we also notice a series of models or typologies as the way that is being practiced the leadership inside this organization according to the coyunture. We can differentiate these styles on the basis of two variables: the power and the authority.

Firstly, the word power has a double sense. The first is about the possession of the power on someone, to the capacity of dominating him: the other meaning is about the power of doing something, of being potent. This last sense has nothing to do with the fact of the domination; it expresses domain in the sense of capacity. When we refer to impotence we refer to this meaning; we do not want to point at the one who can not dominate the others but the person who is impotent to do what he wants. So the term



“power” can mean two things: domination or potence.<sup>49</sup> The power evidenced as domination will be consequence of the sadic impulse to the domination, while the power as potence, implies the knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses, and from it, the capacity of actualize his potentialities on the basis of the liberty and the integrity of the “I”, he does not need to dominate and is excedted of power.

Secondly, the authority refers to an interpersonal relationship in which a person possesses an inherent right of a considerate position as superior over the other.<sup>50</sup> And in the conscious exercise and exalted principle of authority.<sup>51</sup> From this point of view, we are talking about external authority, the same that is delegated by an external agent, by means of the democratic participation of the people or the hierarchical responsibility that an organization delegates. This type of authority is in most of the time assumed with certain facility by many leaders accustomed to make promises for everything without giving anything or assuming a position as a political favor. The other type of authority is referred to the authority principle, as a consequence of the historical learning of our ancestors and guided by the super “I” – using the same term of Freud- so we can say that the authority is not necessarily a person or an institution which order this or permit that; but also a phenomenon that is personally joined to the history of life of the individuals.

According to the defined variables, the types of situational leadership that are being practiced depending on the coyunture in different civil and military organizations, especially in Shining Path, imply an action supported on the power and the authority, which give us as a result the following typologies (see appendix):

1. Directive Leadership is the result of the interaction between much authority and much power. It characterizes for centralizing the taking of decisions and giving little liberty of action to its subordinates. Most of the time this type of leadership is shown with authoritarian characteristics, due to that it is important the combination of the desire of domination –sadic impulse to the domination- with an external authority, where it is necessary to mention the arrogance, the egocentrism, the prejuice and the “hard hand” as it is happening with frequency in

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<sup>49</sup> From, Erich. “The Fear...”. Paidos. Spain. 1987. pp. 163

<sup>50</sup> Stoner, James and others. “Administration”. Prentice Hall. Sixth edition. México. 1996. pp. 555

Peru. As an example I can mention the military dictatorships, the alliances between civilians and military officers and the terrorist organizations which have manipulated frequently to a population “in need” that in most cases is disposed to accept an authoritarian regime if this helps to solve the economical problems. From this thesis, we can see that in most cases the authoritarian and dictators from a psychological point of view have joined neurotically with subordinates “Yes Sir” because this type of leaders have problems with their internal authority. In such a sense, the authoritarian leadership is a consequence of problems with the self-esteem of the leader, who does not feel to be competent and insignificant. That is why they need to command, feel to be powerful, to have the last word to demonstrate themselves that they are able to do it. If any subordinate gives a different idea from his, this type of leader considers it as a threat because he is afraid of being incompetent. Then with authoritarian and aggressive attitudes subordinates are being formed, and that are only limited to say “Yes”. The “Yes Sir” subordinate has also problems with his self-esteem. He does not feel to be competent; that is why he accepts the indications without questioning them. Besides, it is very easy, since the fact that it is done what the leader wants implies that if it is a failure, the responsibility is not for the subordinate but for the leader.<sup>52</sup>

From this point of view and having been given this type of leadership every ten years cyclically. We can show that in most of the organizations of the Peruvian bureaucracy, mainly the military organizations where this typology of leadership is more evident we find that the management works are disastrous because of the losing of important information for the taking of decisions due to the communication difficulties; the personnel worked without motivation and many times performed the work with fear, without believing in them; it was clear a reduction in the velocity of answer, since the subordinate most of the times should ask about everything before acting. With these situations a culture of fear was created: the subordinates did not say all what they thought in an open way

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<sup>51</sup> Waelder, Robert. “The Alive Thinking of Freud”. Losada Editorial. Buenos Aires. 1939. pp. 159

<sup>52</sup> Fischman, David. “The Leader’s Path”. Applied Sciences University. Lima. 2000. pp. 145

but it was noticed a constant destructive critics secretly. Creating a inadequate social environment, of insecurity and full of gossips and rumors.<sup>53</sup>

An important factor that supports this leadership model in Peru is the traditional educative model which is oriented to the formation of “well educated and obedient” people. In other words: dependants.

2. Consultive Leadership is the result of the interaction of much authority and less power. This is the typical leader nominated by the group, but does not have enough power to differentiate from the subordinates, since he is obligated to consult frequently with his subordinates.

This type of leadership is characterized for having less ascendancy over its subordinates, due to that this leader most of the time is “imposed” considering external factors for the effective practice of the leadership. These factors are generally the military rank or the hierarchical level associated to the functional responsibility that a position requires. In such a sense, in this typology the relationship leader-subordinate, in many opportunities is not of the most effective nor of the most efficient, since the group has not been able to create its reason of being based on the search of common objectives as personal as organizational. So we can see the fight for the little power.

3. Negotiator Leadership, which is a consequence of the interaction of much power and less authority. This style is the typical leader who meets his followers continuously to analyze a problem. This type of leader generally listens to his subordinates because he is not sure of his representation.

When a leader possess much power and less authority, it will be necessary to resort to other means that make the practice of the leadership easy. In this case, the most appropriate alternative is the negotiation with their subordinates unless they do not have the authority to take decisions, practically this take away all means of influence to act over a determined group. Although the negotiator term implies the agreement between two parts to perform a determined action, really I think that this type of leadership is not effective at all to use it in determined places as in the peruvian case; as it was described above, the peruvian population

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<sup>53</sup> It was possible for me to collect these characteristics in *situ* during my work in a military

is used to manipulating its leaders according to the coyunture. So, we can notice for example the leadership of the actual president Alejandro Toledo who has a high power but a low moral authority for the practice of his functions, due to that constantly the population is not giving him the authority at all to execute his functions as it is shown in the rises and falls in the surveys of approval and disapproval to his presidential management. This type of leadership generally is a waste of time and resources in his attempt to get his subordinates appreciation.

4. Participative Leadership, which is consequence of the little authority and the little power. This typology is being given predominantly in Shining Path. It characterizes for no having an established leader in the organization. Its militants are acting as an example of a river oar, where each member plays a leadership role according to the situation. In the running, the person who is in at the bottom of the boat, the one who does not know how to row is the responsible. He is the leader of the duties. Out of the river, the leader is the captain of the boat. He is the responsible for choosing the crew , the discipline, the courage disposition and the motivation of the team; but in the river the captain is simply a member of the crew. Finally, is the leadership of the trainer who is responsible for the training and perfecting.<sup>54</sup>

In Latin America, Shining Path would be one of the few organizations that would be putting into practice a real program for the exercise of this type of leadership, more for external pression than for organizational initiative directed to distribute the taking of decisions and answer to the situational changes with high velocity. Since the point of view of the authority delegation and power management of the information, Shining Path suffers from these factors.

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organization.

<sup>54</sup> Handy, Charles. "The new language of the organization labour and its consequences for the leaders". In: Peter Drucker. "The Leader of the Future". Deusto. Buenos Aires. 1997. pp. 36

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## APPENDIX

*Leadership typologies according to the coyunture*

