

COCAINE, THE MILITARY AND SHINING PATH, 1980-1995

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Cocaine, the Military and Shining Path 1980-1995: ¹

Introduction:

The “Communist Party of Peru by the Shining Path of José Carlos Mariátegui” (Shining Path) was founded in 1970 by Abimael Guzmán, at the time professor of philosophy at the University of Ayacucho, as a result of several breakdowns and splits of the Peruvian Communist Party in the mid 1960s. Shining Path is the result of the subsequent schism of the Maoist faction of the Peruvian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Bandera Roja-Red Flag). Between 1970 and 1980 Guzmán organized the structure of his party and realized the task of ideological propaganda and recruitment among his students and colleagues.

The Shining Path armed action began in 1980 in the Andean departments of Ayacucho and Apurímac. A counterinsurgency campaign in 1983 prevented the creation of a permanent territorial base there but led to expansion of insurgent operations northward in the Andes. In the mid-1980s the guerrillas advanced into the altiplano in the Southern Andes and the Upper Huallaga Valley, the foremost coca producing region in the world and the core of the cocaine industry in Peru.

The study will concentrate on the Upper Huallaga Valley (UHV), where Shining Path managed to stronghold and establish a secure base of support. The region is particularly interesting because drug trafficking² in the area generated a particular pattern of group interaction that allowed Shining Path to obtain economic resources and finance its revolution in the rest of the country.

This paper has two goals. The first one is to show how a weak state like Peru could effectively deal with a strong insurgent group such as the Shining Path. The paper will show how the Peruvian army identified the interest of the coca growing peasants and turned it against the insurgents.³ The second goal is to show how the involvement of the military in counter drug activities after the defeat of Shining Path led to a worsening the problem because of the spread of drug trafficking related corruption⁴ among Armed forces ranks.

This paper will be centered on the explanation of the interaction between six groups⁵:

- 1- the Peruvian Armed forces,
- 2-the police (Unidades Móviles de Patrullaje Rural-UMOPAR- and the counterinsurgency battalion "Sinchis"),
- 3- the civilian coca-eradication teams (CORAH),
- 4-the Peruvian drug trafficking organizations;
- 5-Shining Path,
- 6- the coca growing peasants.

This study will be centered on Shining Path rather than the other insurgent movement active in Peru the “Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru”, although mention will be made to this movement because of its interaction with Shining Path in the Huallaga Valley. The reasons this movement is not directly analyzed in this paper are its relative military weakness and low territorial expansion compared to Shining Path and its different pattern of interaction with the traffickers and coca-growing peasants in the Huallaga Valley.

This work suggests that the presence of the state in the Upper Huallaga Valley was weak and that the support of the peasants to the guerrillas was strong in terms of the percentage of the population in the area. Nevertheless one governmental group,⁶ the army

could overcome this weakness by attracting the peasants to its side thus depriving the guerrillas of the support of the peasants. However, the later involvement of the military in counter-drug activities in the UHV created a new problem: the spread of corruption in the Armed forces and the collusion between drug traffickers and military commanders in coca producing areas.

1- Peru as a Weak State:

a) The Nature of the State and National Security:

‘National security’ is a state of freedom from harmful threats in which a given state finds itself. This includes freedom from military attack or coercion, from internal subversion, and freedom from the erosion of the political, economic, and social values that are essential to the quality of life⁷.

The term “national security” means the security of the state (nation-state) as the main political actor in world politics. A threat to national security means then a threat to the main attributes of states⁸:

- * A permanent population.
- * A defined territory.
- * A government capable of maintaining effective control over its territory and of conducting international relations with other states.
- * Sovereignty in terms of “self-government [and] denial of any higher political authority, and the claim by the state of supreme decision-making authority both within its territory and over its citizens...”⁹

A matter of national security implies then a threat to any of these state attributes.

Barry Buzan¹⁰ represents these attributes as the interaction of three main component parts of a state:

- * The idea of the state or the degree of recognition and identification of the population with their state¹¹.
- * The physical base of the state (population and the territory)
- * The institutional expression of the state (government¹²)

These elements can be discussed as objects of security per se, (they can be threatened individually), and at the same time, the interaction between them determines the national security problematique. For example, a state with strong (meaning by this legitimate and accepted) institutions but a weak identification of the population with the idea of the state, will be weaker and less secure than a state where there is strong identification and unity among the population, and vice-versa. The same can be said for the physical base; a state with lack of control over its territory or a badly distributed population over its territory will be vulnerable, no matter how strong its institutions are.

The security problematique of states comprises two dimensions.

The “hardware side”¹³ which comprises traditional security concerns such as the security dilemma in terms of the military balance of power and the economic capabilities of the state to build and keep a military structure. And a “software”¹⁴ side in terms the following characteristics: sociopolitical cohesion (legitimacy and integration¹⁵), the policy capacity of the institutional part of the state, as well as a sufficient degree of socioeconomic

development and institutional and physical penetration of the state in the whole of the national territory (territorial centrality). All these are indicators of the weak or strong nature of the state that will determine in the end how vulnerable to threats can be a state.

Sociopolitical cohesion will be defined in two dimensions:

* The legitimacy¹⁶ of the idea of the state in terms of the identification of the population with the central state and the idea of the nation state, as well as the legitimacy of the institutional expression of the state (government and political regime).

* Integration in terms of the fragmented/unified character of society along ethnic, social or political cleavages.

“domestic class structure, particularly the extent and intensity of disaffection between élites and masses, is an obvious factor in assessing the strength or weakness of a state. When added to the nationality factor [and ethnic one], class divisions suggest the kind of political, threats whether domestically or externally mounted, to which specified states will be particularly sensitive”.¹⁷

Policy Capacity refers to the effective capability of the state to implement policies and extract resources from society (i.e. taxation) in accordance with this goal.

This variable is of course strongly linked to the degree of legitimacy of the state and the obedience of the population to the established government.

Capacity in the context of this paper will be defined in the same way that Michael Mann defines infrastructural power of the state (as an institution) as opposed to the dominative or coercive power of the state.

“Infrastructural power [is] the capacity of the [institutional basis] of the state to penetrate civil society, and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm”¹⁸

Socioeconomic development is defined in terms of the living standards of the population, the capacity of insertion of the economy in the international market as well as the characteristics of the productive sectors of the country. A weak socioeconomic development will be associated with both the concepts of underdevelopment and dependence.

“The concept of underdevelopment, as it is usually employed, refers to a type of economic system with a predominant primary sector, a high concentration of income, little diversification in its production system and above all an external market far outweighing the internal...”¹⁹

"From the economic point of view a system is dependent when the accumulation and expansion of capital cannot find its essential dynamic inside the system."²⁰

Weak socioeconomic development will strongly condition the policy capacity of a state in terms of the range of choices available to solve problems that may cause strong social divisions and political violence.

“The political process is thus heavily influenced by basic resource constraints that

narrow the range of choice, no matter what the intention or the ideology”²¹

“Weak states may find themselves trapped by historical patterns of economic development and political power which leave them underdeveloped and politically penetrated, and therefore unable to muster the economic and political resources necessary to build a stronger state”²²

Territorial Centrality makes reference to the degree of monopoly of the armed force over the whole national territory as well as its physical and institutional presence and control over the entire territory and population without being matched by non-state actors.

“Centrality, in the sense that political relations radiate outwards from a center to cover a territorially demarcated area, over which it exercises a monopoly of authoritative binding rule-making, backed up by a monopoly of the means of physical violence”.²³

b) Weak states:

A weak state will be defined in terms of low sociopolitical cohesion, a low policy capacity, a low Territorial centralization and low socioeconomic development.

These factors can be combined in order to form a cumulative index. For instance states that are weak in the four variables will be weaker than states that have only a low economic development but a high Territorial centralization and a high level of sociopolitical cohesion.

At the same time there are several ways in which these variables can be combined. For example a state can be fragmented along ethnic cleavages or social cleavages. Sometimes these two factors coincide. The poorest and more oppressed sectors of society are also part of a separated and dominated ethnic group. In that sense, a state divided along both ethnic and social cleavages will be weaker than a state divided along strong social differences, or one without strong social fragmentation and so on.

In a weak state, the negative effects of the elements of the software component of security are mutually reinforcing (a dependent and underdeveloped state will have, for example, fewer choices available in terms of policy capacity). The vulnerabilities of the state increase and also the variety and number of internal and external threats to the state.

Of course, an accurate measurement of these indicators for these variables is very difficult, if not impossible. For the purpose, of this paper, I will only combine several indicators in order to elaborate two polar types (the weak state and the strong state). Case studies (states of South America in this particular case) may be closer to one or another pole depending on the number of indicators they accumulate.

While the hardware side refers to the military and economic capabilities of the state as powerful actor in an anarchic context, the software side refers to the weak/strong nature of the state in dealing with domestic matters and non-state actors.

Strong powers that are simultaneously strong states will care less about non-military threats than weak states. The later will have a far more complicated security problem in dealing simultaneously with traditional and non-traditional threats. Barry Buzan ²⁴correctly

states several; powers in the hardware sense of security can be at the same time weak states in terms of the software side of security. It is not necessary to look only at the developing world to corroborate this fact; take for instance the case of Russia or Italy, with their fragmented societies in ethnic and social terms, and the presence of strong organized criminal groups and armed bands in their territories.

While the term "power" (weak or strong) will refer to the military and economic capabilities relevant for a military buildup, the term "state" (weak or strong) is used in terms of the characteristics of the attributes of the state mentioned above.

Nature of the State: Polar Types

CRITERIA	WEAK STATE²⁵	STRONG STATE
Sociopolitical Cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Fragile Political Legitimacy * Fragmented Societies * Incomplete Nation Building * "Weblike" societies (autonomous communal groups) * Strong loyalties to communal, ethnic and religious groups. * Major recent changes in the structure of political institutions * Major political conflict over what ideology will be used to organize the state * Lack or coherent national identity, or the presence of contending national identities within the state 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Strong Political Legitimacy * Unified Societies * Complete Nation Building * Pyramidal societies (recognized central authority) * Common shared loyalty to the nation-state. * Stable and long lasting political institutions * Absence of ideological polarization and major political conflict * Coherent national identity and absence of contending national identities within the state
Policy capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Rigid Policy Capacity * Inefficient state apparatus * High level of political corruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Flexible Policy Capacity * Efficient state apparatus * Low level of political corruption
Socioeconomic Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Low level of industrialization * Low level of per capita income * Low level of productivity * No access to major markets * Dependence on foreign capital flows * Dependence on export earnings * Unequal distribution of incomes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * High level of industrialization * High level of per capita income * High level of productivity * Access to major markets * Local conditions for the reproduction of capital * Large domestic markets * Equality in the distribution of incomes
Territorial Centrality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Weak presence of the state in frontier zones and areas outside the major cities. * Strong non-state organized armed groups challenging the power of the state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Strong presence of the state in the borders and areas outside major cities. * Absence of strong non state organized armed groups

The states could be placed on a continuum that ranges from strong to weak states. The indicators listed above could be used as a cumulative index. The more conditions of weakness a state accumulates, the closer it will be to the weak pole. This continuum would not be static, states can move along it depending on the increase/decrease in their vulnerabilities. In the case of Peru for example, the capacity of the state has been improved in the last eight years by the privatization of inefficient state-owned enterprises and a reform of the tax system and a reorganization of the bureaucracy entrusted with tax collection.

²⁶The Peruvian state has also recently managed to weaken the main guerrilla groups in the country and to affirm its presence in areas previously controlled by these groups. However, Peru can be defined as a weak state relative to the rest of the South American states (to different extents Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Suriname would be close to Peru in a strong-weak state spectrum but this comparative aspect will not be analyzed in this paper).

c) Application in the case of Peru:

For the following reasons, Peru can be considered as a weak state and therefore more vulnerable to threats posed by non-state actors such as drug traffickers or guerrilla groups:

* Peru has never finished the process of consolidation of its nation-state. The country can be considered virtually separated into three regions: the coast, the mountains (la sierra) and the jungle (Amazon forest). In the two last regions, the presence of the State is almost non-existent (in the sense of its physical presence through the Army for example or the institutional presence through the existence of broadly recognized and legitimate institutions). The communal and tribal identities among the Indian population are stronger than the national identity or “the idea of the state”. As the Peruvian author José Matos Mar²⁷ says it is possible to talk about two parallel “Perus”. In one side the official Peru with state institutions, political parties, banks and companies, trade unions and Armed forces. In the other side, the marginal Peru, of multiple Indian ethnic groups governed by traditional institutions, and community “self-defense” groups. Among the Indian population, traditional communities as the ayllu (communities formed by a common relationship with a common ancestor) and traditional authorities as the varayoc (religious leader that plays the role of mayor in the Indian villages of the highlands) have more legitimacy than the institutions of the Peruvian state.

* The government of Peru has never exercised full control over its national territory. Vast sections of eastern and southeastern Peru (as the Huallaga Valley and the Amazon Departments) have always been a political no-man’s land. Moreover there are two insurgent movements operating in the country Shining Path and the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA).²⁸ In the case of Shining Path we can say that the Peruvian state is facing a strong insurgent movement that proposes a radical change of political regime and type of society.

Shining Path can be defined as an insurgent group because its political program and means of action involve a conscious effort to supplant one political structure with another by the use of violence. “Insurgency is guerrilla warfare in support, strategically, of a political goal, operationally, of a political infrastructure, and tactically, of local political domination.

Such a definition recognizes both the political nature of the insurgent campaign and its symbiotic relationship with force. An insurgency, then, is a political campaign backed by threatened or actual violence”²⁹. For the scope of this paper, insurgent group and guerrilla group will be used as synonymous since Shining Path uses guerrilla warfare as part of its strategy.³⁰

The strength of the movement will be measured in terms of the extent of its territorial control and the support of the population. In this way a guerrilla movement will be strong depending on the amount of population and territory under its control. The larger is this control the lower will be the monopoly of authoritative binding rule-making, backed up by a monopoly of the means of physical violence of the state. This means that in the areas controlled by the guerrilla movement this monopoly will be disputed to the state.

Between 1980 and 1992, Shining Path expanded its activities from the department of Ayacucho to the departments of Junín, Puno, Apurímac, Arequipa, Huancavelica, Cuzco, the shanty towns of Lima and the Upper Huallaga Valley (departments of San Martín and Huánuco) and was capable of successfully resist the armed forces.³¹

The control of the Upper Huallaga Valley, the area under study in this work, has been the more successful attempt at establishing a long lasting support base with control (and support) of a large part of the population.³² This will be analyzed later in this paper in relation to the strategy and goals of Shining Path.

* The political history of Peru is characterized by civil war, authoritarian regimes and political instability (with a short period of stable restricted democracy from 1895 to 1914) throughout all the 19th and 20th centuries. Transition to democracy started in 1980 after a long “national populist” dictatorship known as the “docenio” from 1968 to 1980. The process of democratization is far from being completed as demonstrated by Fujimori's “autogolpe” in April 1992. Moreover, the prerogatives of the Peruvian Armed forces and its institutional power were enormously increased after the authoritarian Fujimori's self imposed coup d’etat (autogolpe) of president. For instance the military have the total political control in zones declared under the state of emergency with the purposes of combating insurgency. In a way Peru has a collection of internal military governments.³³

*In terms of socio-economic development, although a process of import substitution industrialization process took place in Peru in the early 1970s, the manufacturing companies which were established were subsidiaries of foreign companies and relied heavily on imported raw materials, inputs and machinery in order to produce. The amount of value-added generated in Peru is small.³⁴ Peru never developed a sustainable model of accumulation to help finance the accelerated pace of development. By the period under study, Peru remained one of the Latin American countries with the most unequal patterns of income distribution. As an example in 1986, 57 per cent of households were below the poverty line and 32 percent below the extreme poverty line, as defined by the income needed to acquire a minimal basket of goods and services.³⁵ In 1994 these figures were 48.7 percent for critical poverty and 17.1% for extreme poverty.³⁶

But the most serious problem that also affects the sociopolitical cohesion of the country is the difference in welfare between the different ethnic groups in the country (white, mestizo, “cholo” and Indian). Ethnicity coincides with the difference in wealth between the regions of the country.

“A study conducted by the central bank in the early 1980s illustrates very clearly the sharp differences between GDP per cápita in the coastal departments (especially Lima) and those of the sierra. It shows how low GDP per capita correlated almost exactly with areas with the highest levels of illiteracy, with the highest levels of infant mortality and with the lowest rates of life expectancy. By almost all the key indicators the poorest part of Peru continued to be what used to be referred as the *mancha india*, the departments of Ayacucho, Apurímac, Huancavelica, Cuzco and Puno. [...] The agrarian reform did not boost the poorest, least competitive or least capital intensive types of agriculture, and the poorer [Indian] peasants were not among its chief beneficiaries...”³⁷

*A combination of hyperinflation, severe economic recession and a huge (24\$ million) foreign debt led Peru to a crisis of ungovernability that materialized in the mid 1980s.

“[t]he formal institutional framework of Peruvian society has been incapable of accommodating the accelerated process of social change that has taken place during the last four decades. The explosion of social demands—a consequence of rapid population growth and or the increasing unwillingness to tolerate social injustice—overran the capacity of government organizations [...] As a result, the ways in which power and authority have been exercised in the conduct of economic and social affairs have broken down, and Peru faces a fundamental crisis of governance.”³⁸

The state infrastructure and capacity of extraction of resources is too weak to promote the policies necessary to develop, for example, coca growing areas, linking them to the internal and international markets.

Corruption in the public administration, including the armed forces and the police, is also an endemic and serious problem. This problem leads to a mismanagement of resources and to a reduction of the efficiency of state agencies. As will be shown later, this weakness has been reinforced by the corrupting effect of drug trafficking.

Because the Peruvian state is weak it is more susceptible to being threatened by non-state actors as drug traffickers and insurgent groups. At the same time, the interaction of these groups reinforces a vicious circle, creating more vulnerabilities and reducing state capacity, centralization, and sociopolitical cohesion. This paper will show how a particular strategy of the government in a particular area of the country (the Upper Huallaga Valley) could contribute to restore the loyalty of a large population alienated from the Peruvian state. The presence of the Peruvian state over a large part of the territory was also affirmed.

2-The international setting:

Within the United States the growing consumption of cocaine and drug related violence in the early 1980s were defined as a threat to national security . As this nation is the hegemonic³⁹ power in the Western Hemisphere this perception had important consequences for the definition of drug control policies of the drug producer countries. All the South American countries are strongly tied to the United States in terms of investment , trade,

national foreign debt and military supplies. This implies that these nations are vulnerable to North American economic and political pressure.

There is a long tradition in the American Drug Control bureaucracies of seeing the problem of drugs traffic and consumption as a wicked phenomenon that is imposed from outside and therefore as a problem that can be eliminated at the source of production. In February 1982 in the middle of the rising cocaine epidemics in the United States, President Ronald Reagan declared his war on drugs that contemplated the elimination of cocaine production at the source by the utilization of the local armed forces.

The Reagan and Bush administration approaches (the current Democrat administration did not change the pattern of cooperation with the South American countries) for the first time defined drugs as a national security problem and the armed forces were formally authorized to participate in counter-narcotic operations. Both administrations promoted radical programs of coca eradication and repression of traffickers through the utilization of the armed forces in the Andean Countries (Bolivia, Colombia and Peru). This militarization of the supply approach to the war on drugs was enhanced during the Bush administration.

President Bush presented in 1989 his Andean Strategy. It contemplated military and economic aid to reduce the supply of cocaine from the Andean countries. In fact the bulk of this aid would be military aid for the Andean Armed forces and police (equipment, construction of "Vietnam Style bases" in the Peruvian jungle, military advisors, satellite information, etc.).⁴⁰

A whole program of training of South American armed forces in drug interdiction operations and participation of US Army advisors was developed under the responsibility of the Southern Command based in Panama. The plan was called the Andean Initiative but was enlarged to the neighboring countries as well (Venezuela, Ecuador, Argentina and Brazil).

The Andean governments gradually started to give up in the demand for the utilization of their armed forces because of the policy of carrots and sticks implemented by the United States since the enactment of the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988. These acts established a mechanism to impose sanctions on countries that play major roles in the production or transshipment of illicit drugs and are uncooperative in the effort control⁴¹.

This pattern of international relations between drug producer countries in South America and the United States prevailed in the period under study concerning the drug issue. This paper will not go in further details on the pattern of interaction between the Peruvian government and the United States government during the period under study. This work will rather concentrate on the decisions made by the groups that were applying this kind of policies in the Upper Huallaga Valley.

2-The stage:

The Upper Huallaga Valley is located on the eastern slopes of the northeastern Peruvian Andes or "Selva Alta" at altitudes ranging approximately between 1,500 and 6,000 feet over the sea level. The Huallaga river (1100 km) crosses from South to North the Peruvian departments of Huánuco and San Martín⁴². It forms a valley that is a long strip of tropical jungle and savannas divided in three parts: the Upper Huallaga Valley approximately from the city of Tingo María to the town of Campanilla; the Central

Huallaga Valley from the city of Tarapoto to the department of Loreto; and the Lower Huallaga valley in the Amazon rainforest in the Department of Loreto.

The importance of this area, as next sections of this paper will show, is that Shining Path can obtain enormous sources of revenue from its interaction with the peasants and drug traffickers. Resources that are used for the purchase of weapons and financing the revolution in the rest of the country.

Coca and cocaine production and Shining Path activity are spread unevenly across the departments of Huánuco(35, 315 sq. Km) and San Martín (53, 064 sq. Km). For this reason, the Upper Huallaga Valley and the total surface of both departments will be treated as synonyms. The Upper Huallaga Valley was basically unpopulated and isolated from the rest of the country until the late 1940s, when the first real roads were completed and the area started to be colonized. It was not until the 1960s that the state began to play a significant role in colonizing the valley. Under President Fernando Belaúnde (1963-1968), the region was viewed anew as a source of rich natural resources and a possible solution to Peru's greatest demographic problem: the urban migration flooding the country's major cities. The state began to organize settlement projects, promoting the region as a land of plenty that promised wealth for all Peruvian citizens. In the early 1960s, the government began the construction of the "Marginal Highway", meant to start the process of developing the largely untouched South American interior. Thousands of impoverished city dwellers and highland peasants set off on the exodus towards Peru's new promised land. Settlers brought the tradition of *chaccheo*, or coca chewing, which farm workers in particular found useful for reducing sensations of thirst, hunger, and fatigue and coca began to be produced in a reduced amounts for local consumption. Belaúnde's plans for colonization were abandoned once he was ousted by general Juan Velasco Alvarado (1969-1975). The new administration concentrated all its major efforts on import-substitution, industrialization, confiscation and collectivization of land in the Sierra and Coast Regions; the promises of infrastructure building and development for the settlers were unfulfilled.

At the end of the 1970s, and under the combined effects of the rise in cocaine consumption in the United States and of the debt crisis in Peru, this suitable region for the culture of coca was to become the first coca-producing region in the world. A new wave of new settlers began to arrive, attracted by the coca-boom or "green gold fever".

According to Peruvian estimates, illicit coca cultivation has expanded from less than 10,000 hectares in the early 1970s to about 65,000 hectares in 1979 to 280,000 in the late 1980s.⁴³

4- The actors and their script (1980-1990) :

- A- Governmental Groups:**
- a) CORAH eradication teams:**

Under strong pressure by the Reagan administration, the Peruvian Government created in 1981 the Special Project for the Control and Eradication of Coca in the Upper Huallaga. The mission of this project was to eradicate (manually at the beginning, and later with the help of chemical herbicides) illegal coca plantations in the Upper Huallaga. A team of 480 workers was assigned to the task.

The eradication effort was complemented by the PEAH (1982) (Upper Huallaga

Area Development Project), and an AID -financed program for the development of legitimate agricultural production and employment opportunities . The missions of PEAH were to advise and finance the replacement of coca by other crops once coca plantations ones forced eradication had been completed in an area.

b) The police:

In order to protect the CORAH and PEAH teams from guerrillas, traffickers and peasants a special unit of the Peruvian Guardia Civil (police) called UMOPAR (unidad móvil de patrullaje rural) was created in 1981 and deployed in the valley between 1982 and 1987 . The mission of UMOPAR was also interdiction (repression against the traffickers and coca paste production). This was a force of 500 men financed by the U.S. government and supported logistically by DEA agents on the field. The force was dismantled by President García in 1987 because of its ineffectiveness, its unpopularity among the local population as well as charges of corruption and human rights violations.

UMOPAR was replaced by the counterinsurgent “Sinchi” battalion of the Guardia Civil (Policía General since 1989) which was before operating in the Andean department of Ayacucho. Like UMOPAR the Sinchis made airborne interdiction missions from the Vietnam-style base of Santa Lucía in the Huánuco department. The mission of the police is limited to counterdrug activities, while the Army concentrated on counterinsurgency operations.

c) The Armed Forces :

The Armed forces, particularly the Army, carried out a full intervention in the area in 1984 and from 1989 on. The official position and strategy of the Army was not to get involved in counter-narcotic operations until Shining Path was completely defeated. Their strategy was to concentrate first in Shining Path as an immediate threat and then cope with drug trafficking once the guerrillas are defeated. The Army was assigned the political and military control of the Upper Huallaga Valley in 1984 and 1989 and concentrated its efforts only on counterinsurgency operations without any involvement in coca eradication and interdiction. Only after 1991 under pressure by the US government did the air force participate in interception and destruction of traffickers’ airplanes and coca-paste production sites.⁴⁴

The military perceived Shining Path as a more imminent national security threat than the drug traffickers. Their goal (and mission) was to prevent Shining Path from establishing a permanent base in the Upper Huallaga Valley and to establish the authority of the state in the area. By doing this they hoped to reduce the vulnerability of the state and reduce the threat posed by Shining Path.

As it will be fully explained later after Fujimori's autogolpe in April 5, 1992 all the armed forces started to become more and more involved in interdiction activities.

B- Non governmental groups :

a) Shining Path:

This paper will not concentrate on the type of organization and structure, historical background, or ideology of Shining Path⁴⁵. The analysis will be focused on the type of strategy⁴⁶ and the goals of the movement in order to grasp the importance of occupying the Upper Huallaga Valley, and of mobilizing the peasants for the achievement of these goals. As shown later in the paper, in the specific case of the Upper Huallaga Valley the mobilization of peasants was based above all on the interest of the peasants in terms of the profit generated by coca production.

The strategy of Shining Path was to carry out a protracted guerrilla revolutionary warfare with the aim of overthrowing the government, taking over power, radically changing the political regime, and changing the social and economic system.

Abimael Guzmán the leader and founder of the movement was a puritanical disciple of Mao Zedong and based his strategy on the Doctrine of Protracted War, which Mao expounded in the 1930s⁴⁷. That is carrying out guerrilla war in the country side; promoting the creation of liberated zones or support bases; gradually increasing the support of the rural population in order to “strangle” the cities from supplies and finally taking the cities by assault once popular urban uprisings occur.

In the 1980s Guzmán saw things in broad historical terms. He envisaged that the revolution in Peru would take about fifty years in five phases: ⁴⁸

1. Agitation and propaganda. The purpose of this stage is to rise class-consciousness and agitate the population, exacerbating existing class conflicts and calling attention to income inequalities and the “corrupt” system.
2. Sabotage and military action. This stage involves increased military action, directed for the most part against property belonging to the state and large companies. Shining Path hopes this action will further weaken an already trembling economy, leading more people to become frustrated with the difficult living conditions and turn to the insurgents as an answer.
3. Generalized violence and guerrilla warfare. In this stage, support for the Shining Path movement spreads throughout the country. Increased violence further shakes the existing economic structure and widespread violence erupts.
4. Conquest and expansion of support bases. As more and more people and territory fall under Shining Path control, they are converted into “support bases”, from which additional Shining Path conquest are initiated. Shining Path claims to have secured support bases in the Andean Highlands, the Huallaga Valley, and principal coastal cities.
5. The fall of the cities and total collapse of the state. Shining Path plans to strangle successive cities into submission and the rural populace unifies in its support of the insurgency. Supply routes into cities would be cut off and guarded until the urban areas have little choice but surrender to Shining Path control. Ten years were spent on Phase 1 (1970-1980). In 1970 Guzmán created his formal party structure, tentatively at first, and in 1982, he moved into Phase 2 with the systematic terrorization and murder of local government officials and their

collaborators. By 1984, he had moved into Phase 3 and in 1987 he extended the support bases into coca-growing areas in the Upper Huallaga Valley. The guerrillas were interested in controlling the UHV area because of the possibility of establishing a support base where they could extract resources stemming from their interaction with coca growing peasants and traffickers. These resources financed Popular War at the national level.

“By protecting the coca-growing peasants there from joint Peruvian-U.S. government efforts to combat the drug trade, Shining Path believes it can gain additional support bases for its proposed New Democracy in Peru. And by controlling as many as of the estimated 120 landing strips in the Huallaga as possible, Shining Path is able to collect the sums (estimated at anywhere from \$6,000 to 15,000 per flight) paid by traffickers, mostly Colombians, to protect their cocaine paste pick-up operations”⁴⁹

“Estimates of Shining Path’s annual revenue range from \$20 million to \$100 million a year. It comes primarily from “revolutionary taxes” and control of scores of clandestine air strips used to transport coca paste to Colombia for manufacturing cocaine”⁵⁰

In 1988 Guzmán announced through *El Diario*, a Lima newspaper acting as a mouthpiece for the SL, that his original estimate of 50 years had been pessimistic and that it was already time to carry the war into the cities, Lima in particular.⁵¹ He had by then moved with his Central Committee into Lima to initiate agitation in the surrounding Shanty Towns of Lima and a campaign of Urban Terrorism supported with the funds obtained in the Huallaga Valley.⁵²

The goal of the movement as stated by Guzmán is bringing Peru into the “New Democratic Republic”. After the revolution Peru would have a social and political regime characterized by a primitive collectivist agricultural system inspired by the economic and political institutions of the Inca Empire combined with the state structure conceived by Mao for China in 1940. Peru would be ruled by a joint dictatorship of workers, peasants and petite bourgeoisie, all directed by the Communist Party of Peru of the Shining Path of José Mariatégui (Shining Path).⁵³

The table below gives the evolution of the (estimated) amount of armed cadres of Shining Path from 1986 to 1997:

1986	2,000
1987	2,000
1988	2,000
1989	4,000-5,000
1990	4,000-5,000
1991	4,000-5,000
1992	5,000-8,000
1993	5,000-8,000

1994	3,000
1996	3,000
1997	1,500

Source: The Military Balance, figures for June 1, each year.

By mid-1992, for example, it was believed that Shining Path had between 3,000 and 4,000 armed cadres and 50,000 supporters in various civilian support groups and political cadres (this only includes the members of the support organizations of the party it does not include the mobilized population in favor of Shining Path, like the coca-growing peasants).⁵⁴

It is also estimated that the number of full-time fighters in the Shining Path columns in the Huallaga Valley fell from 1,000 to 250 in the 12 months from January 1993 to January 1994.⁵⁵

This paper only analyzes the interaction of Shining Path with governmental and non-governmental groups in the Upper Huallaga Valley. My work is not concerned with an analysis of the other guerrilla group active in Peru and present in the region, the Guevarist Revolutionary Movement Tupac Amaru (MRTA). An explanation of the differences between the two movements surpasses the goals of this paper. What is important to say here is that MRTA was competing for a short time for the control of the Upper Huallaga Valley, but was rapidly defeated and isolated in a small section of the north of the valley near the border with the department of Loreto (Lower Huallaga Valley). The reasons for MRTA's defeat were its inferiority in members (MRTA have never had more than 1,500 members⁵⁶) vis à vis Shining Path and several tactical mistakes that turned both the peasants and the traffickers against the movement. This will be the object of my discussion later in this paper.

b) Drug trafficking organizations:

Drug trafficking organizations refer to the criminal groups that participate in the production and transportation of cocaine (excluding coca production). These groups are criminal because the production of cocaine is illegal and are organizations because they have a formal distribution of tasks and responsibilities to produce and transport an illicit drug.⁵⁷ They have a leadership, a division of labor, traditions, social norms, rewards and sanctions and can establish alliances and understandings with other non-governmental groups and criminal organizations, at the national level or across borders. These organizations are composed of , “bosses” (directors), armed protection groups, pilots, “chemists” (operators of cocaine laboratories), legal advisors and money launders⁵⁸

Peruvian drug trafficking organizations ,commonly called “las firmas” (firms)⁵⁹ are , when compared to the Colombian criminal coalitions like the Medellín and Cali cartels, weak in terms of internal organization, paramilitary power and capacity to form coalitions and political agreements with rival organizations. They are vertically integrated and subordinated in the process of cocaine production to the Colombian organizations. Their role consists on transforming coca leaves into coca paste and cocaine base (the first two stages in cocaine production) and managing transportation to Colombia where coca paste is transformed into cocaine base, and then into cocaine hydrochloride (HCL), the (marketable product). After the demise of the disruption of the Cali Cartel in 1995 the Peruvian traffickers are

increasingly managing to produce and sell their own limited cocaine production to Mexican cartels for it transport towards the United States.⁶⁰

The fact that they have weak paramilitary forces is important since this factor caused them to accept the racketeering of the Shining Path in exchange for protection from the police. They are strong enough to extort from the peasants lower coca prices, and to brutalize them when the latter do not respect their contracts for specific amounts of coca but they are not capable of successfully confront the police or the army.

Their weakness and lack of coordination might be due to strong Colombian domination in the area⁶¹, and the absence of the same social and historical patterns that conditioned the rise of a powerful narco-bourgeoisie in Colombia⁶². Their efforts are more difficult to coordinate due to their larger number vis-à-vis Colombian organizations and the absence of a strong group that could coordinate their activities as happened with the Medellín and Cali organizations. It may be very possible that the Colombians played a policy of divide and rule among them given that they depend on Colombian technical expertise and armed protection.

“More so than their Colombian counterparts, Peruvian traffickers- many still “petty” but clearly upwardly mobile in a growing industry are driven by a desperate generalized poverty fueled by Peru’s economic crisis and internal political disarray. Both the social psychology and perhaps even the social origins and background of Peruvian traffickers are likely, therefore, to be quite different from those of Cali Colombians”.⁶³

They share a common interest in corrupting governmental officials, defending themselves against the police and guerrillas and coercing the peasants with the purpose of by lowering the price of coca leaves. All this in order to protect their maximization of profit derived from their participation in the cocaine industry. Nevertheless they did not develop the capacity of creating an efficient organization to achieve these goals.

In the period under study the number of firms that are in control of about a total of 100 small subgroups, was estimated of eight⁶⁴. The bigger firms were ran by bosses such as Reynaldo Reynoso (arrested in 1985), Catalino Escalante “Vampiro”, Guillermo Cárdenas “Mosca Loca” (killed in 1984) and his son Jorge “Mosquito Loco” (arrested in 1997), Demetrio Chavez known as “el Vaticano” (arrested in 1994 in Colombia), Elías Chavez, known as “Lan Chile”, the Colombian Waldo Vargas Arias (arrested in 1997 in Colombia), the Cachique Rivera Brothers (Abelardo, the leader was arrested in Colombia in 1995) and the López Paredes brothers or “Los Norteños”⁶⁵.

c) The peasants (coca-growing peasants):

As it will be shown in the next section the peasants are the more important group here because they are a potential source of support for either the Shining Path or the army. Peasant support is the key of victory in the valley.

The departments of Huánuco and San Martín were subject to a first wave of immigration from the rest of Peru during Belaúnde’s development politics in the 1960s and to a second wave during the coca boom in the late 1970s. The Upper Huallaga Valley’s

population increased at an average annual rate of 6 percent between 1965 and 1988⁶⁶. The population of Huánuco and San Martín was growing at an average annual rate of 2.6 percent (Huánuco) and 4.5 percent (San Martín) between the national census of 1981 and of 1993.⁶⁷

Departments of Huánuco and San Martín. Population and Average Growth Rate, 1980-91 (thousands)

	Year: Average Annual Growth Rate (%):						
	1980	1985	1990	1991	1980-85	1985-90	1990-95
Total (Peru)	17,295.3	19,417.2	21,550.3	22,006.0	2.34	2.11	2.05
Huánuco	469.4	510.3	554.6	564.6	1.68	1.68	1.80
San Martín	319.0	380.0	443.9	457.6	3.56	3.16	2.98

Source: Perú en números 1992, Anuario Estadístico, Cuánto S.A., Lima, May, 1992

The settlers are peasants from the poorest departments of the central and southern highlands (sierra) and shanty towns surrounding Lima who have emigrated to the Upper Huallaga Valley in search of improvement in their situation by growing coca the “green gold”.

These settlers are small producers (there is an average of 0,5 hectares of coca per settler in the Huallaga⁶⁸) and generally the entire family of the settler participate in the production of coca (rural families in Peru have an average size of 4.9 persons).⁶⁹

Coca growing peasants of the Upper Huallaga valley are disorganized and isolated. They do not form part of corporate peasant communities as they did in their regions of origin or as in the traditional coca cultivation zones such as La Convención and Lares.⁷⁰ They are separated from the traditional peasant communities (ayllus) of their territories of origin. With a low degree of organization, it is then easier to mobilize them through either selective or negative incentives. Moreover there are no strong and organized confederations of coca grower trade unions in Peru (as it is the case of Bolivia),⁷¹ capable of defending the interests of the Upper Huallaga peasants against the coca eradication campaigns.⁷² Shining Path will occupy the place of these non-existent strong and unified trade unions.

There are different estimates about the number of coca growers in the Upper Huallaga Valley. The most common figures are between 60,000-100,000 families⁷³, 300,000 farmers⁷⁴ and 250,000 farmers (one author consider that the figure of a million people should be considered if the families of these 250,000 peasants are taken in account).⁷⁵

For these farmers, the production of coca is not only the source of their survival, but also is far more profitable than the production of any legal crop. Buyers (traffickers) usually pay for the crop in cash right at the farm or nearby (without any kind of bureaucratic procedures and taxes over prices as it is the case for legal crops). The UHV has a climate and soils almost ideally suited for the growing of the two varieties of coca plants highest in alkaloid content for the process of cocaine. Coca prices range anywhere from 4 to 34 times higher than leading alternative crops -cacao and corn respectively-. Moreover transporting other products to markets outside the UHV was increasingly problematical due to the dramatic deterioration of the single access highway. Peasants, simply grew what would

bring the highest return at the least risk.⁷⁶

Their interest is identified in the need of protection for themselves, their families and the protection of coca as their main source of revenue.

The families growing coca had incomes ranging from \$8,000 to \$50,000 per year⁷⁷ in the mid-1980s in a country where the GDP per capita was \$920⁷⁸

Between 1987 and 1989 Shining Path controlled almost the totality of the departments of San Martín and Huánuco. The movement had the support of the coca growers that represented 80 % of the population of both departments in 1989⁷⁹(the year Shining Path begun consolidated its position in the Valley). The coca-growing peasants acted as the logistical support; intelligence service and recruiting base for Shining Path⁸⁰.

6-The play:

“Judo: system of unarmed combat, now primarily a sport [...]Techniques are generally intended to turn an opponent’s force to one’s own advantage rather than to oppose it directly.”⁸¹

“You’ll have imperialists cutting down coca trees in front of a crying peasant woman. Mao could not have thought of anything better”⁸²

Two factors facilitated the control of the UHV by Shining Path:

*The Peruvian government was incapable of providing the coca growing peasants with basic services in terms of development and economic opportunities and to guarantee of security for them and their families.

*The presence of the government in the UHV was weak and it only manifested in order to destroy the source of survival of the peasants (coca production).

My claim is that Shining Path took advantage of this situation by offering protection⁸³ against the traffickers and the police in exchange for support from the peasants against the state. All this was done with the goal of mobilizing the peasants as part of their revolutionary strategy.

It will be illustrated later how a governmental group, the army, started to compete with Shining Path for the support of the peasants, this time, to expel Shining Path from the valley and affirm the presence of the state in the area.

One important factor to be analyzed here is the number of people mobilized in the Upper Huallaga as a percentage of the total population of the region and not the number of armed cadres deployed by the Shining Path or troops deployed by the government in the UHV.

In terms of guerrilla warfare, and above all in terms of the type of guerrilla warfare proposed by Mao (the model taken by Shining Path), the number of troops is not important since we are not referring here to a conventional combat. In guerrilla warfare victory does not stem from direct confrontation with the main enemy force but from a constant attack of the enemy’s rears.

“ what is basic guerrilla strategy? Guerrilla strategy must be based primarily on alertness, mobility, and attack. It must be adjusted to the enemy situation, the terrain, the existing lines of communication, the relative strength, the weather, and the

situation of the people [...]

When guerrillas engage a stronger enemy, they withdraw when he advances; harass him when he stops; strike him when he is weary; pursue him when he withdraws. In guerrilla strategy, the enemy's rear, flanks and other vulnerable spots are his vital points”⁸⁴

For this to be possible the guerrilla group has to rely on the population. It has to have the support of the population and the capacity to hide within the population in order to avoid a direct confrontation with a superior military force.

“ The former [the guerrillas] may be likened to water the latter to the fish who inhabit it. How may it be said that these two cannot exist together? It is only undisciplined troops who make the people their enemies and who, like the fish out of its native element, cannot live”⁸⁵

In the case of the Upper Huallaga Valley the extent of people mobilized by the guerrillas is important because the peasants will provide the support necessary to attack and then disappear without being detected by the army. They will also provide the necessary intelligence to know the localization of the army.

The term “support” refers to the intelligence provided by the peasants, logistical help such as food supplies, and the recruitment base. The number is also important because the greater the number of the people the less sensitive is the substance of the population to the reprisals of the regular army and the bigger will be the stock of potential supporters.

A big population is important also in terms of gathering information for the guerrillas about the position of regular troops and confusing the enemy about the position and movements of the guerrillas.⁸⁶

As we will see Shining Path had all these factors (including the proportion of population) in their favor. What this paper will show is how the Army turned all these advantages against Shining Path by presenting themselves as a more suitable option for the peasants.

a) First Act, 1984. The police vs. the peasants and the traffickers: Shining Path arrives on town.

Shining Path arrived in the Upper Huallaga Valley in late 1983 in search of a new support base when the movement began to lose control of the Ayacucho department due to harsh military repression and the lack of peasant cooperation in the department of Ayacucho.

When the guerrillas arrived, the coca growing peasants were in a crossfire situation between the traffickers and the UMOPAR force. On one side the traffickers brutalized them and dictated the coca prices arbitrarily. Not being able to submit the requested amount of coca was punished with certain death.

On the other side, the CORAH teams, escorted by the UMOPAR men eradicated the coca fields and the farmer were harassed and brutalized by the police. The trafficker's hit men and the police basically terrorized the population. As soon as Shining Path arrived in the Valley their cadres proceeded to the systematic murder of the representatives of the weak

coca grower trade unions, then they easily overwhelmed thugs at the service of the traffickers.⁸⁷ As it was explained before, the Peruvian traffickers do not have the capacity to coordinate common actions against the guerrilla. From now on, Shining Path was the only intermediate between the traffickers and the peasants. They became also the only source of protection for both groups against the police.

The movement started attacking the detachment of CORAH and UMOPAR with serious losses in the government side. It became more and more difficult for the eradicators to work in security. At the same time they organized delegations (Delegaciones) of peasants headed by a member of Shining Path in order to fix the coca prices in favor of the peasants. In this manner they regulated the coca market in the Valley in favor of the peasants.

Shining Path also started to extract enormous amounts of resources in order to finance the revolution in other parts of the country. These resources stemmed basically from extortion. The movement fixed taxes of about \$10,000 to \$15,000 for each plane that leaves the Valley with coca paste and base to Colombia. They also imposed a revolutionary tax on the peasants who had to pay a fifth (la quinta) of their coca production either in cash or in coca leaves.

The movement also established order in a region where brutality and arbitrariness always prevailed. They established a very strict set of moral rules where by several acts or conditions such as adultery, and drug consumption were punished with summary execution. Prostitutes and homosexuals were obliged to leave the area under threat of death. Shining Path did not terrorize the population in the way they terrorized the peasants in the Andean department of Ayacucho for example. In this case the movement clearly identified the interest that peasants had in defending their security and the source of their revenue.

“In order to control the area Shining Path did not use the brutal methods it had been known to practice elsewhere. The support it received in the UHV was based more on SL proselytizing of selected individuals than on its efforts to gain the ideological allegiance of the masses. This made it strong but also fragile. Its support among the general population was based more on local concern for protecting and expanding coca crop and coca paste production than on the political cause of orthodox Maoism that Shining Path Offered”⁸⁸

The preferred option of the peasants, when choosing between the state of violence in the valley and seeking the protection of Shining Path (even under their rules) was to side with Shining Path and support the movement. The peasants provided a recruiting base, an intelligence service, logistical support and the “water where Shining Path could move as a fish in a populated sea”. Moreover the peasants helped Shining Path in sabotage of bridges, blockades of routes and the destruction of the Marginal Jungle Highway, the only that links the region with the rest of Peru.

b) Second Act, 1984-1985, The Army takes over: General Carbajal

When the government noticed that Shining Path was consolidating a liberated zone in the Upper Huallaga, and since the coca eradication programs did not yield results (due to

the continuous attacks of Shining Path, the Valley was declared Emergency Zone⁸⁹ and was put under military command in July 1984.

More than 2,000 army and marine troops were deployed in the area under the command of General Julio Carbajal, who assumed de facto political control in the Valley.⁹⁰ He soon noticed that the population was entirely supporting Shining Path in terms of information concerning the movements of his troops and military and location of his bases. He also noticed how important was the problematique of coca eradication in view of gaining the support of the peasants in his campaign to affirm the presence of the Peruvian state. As stated before, the first priority for the Peruvian armed forces was fighting Shining Path; drug trafficking was perceived as a problem they could cope with once the insurgent threat was eliminated.

In order to defeat Shining Path, the General realized that he had to “dry the water” of Shining Path that is, turning the support of the peasants on his side. Fortunately for him the problematique of coca production existed in the area. Thus the use of repression and terror against the peasants in order to preventing them from supporting Shining Path as in Ayacucho and Apurimac was obviated. He soon noticed the importance of the coca eradication problematique for the purposes of wining peasants support.

Carbajal opened two fronts: a political one against the police and the CORAH teams and UMOPAR and the other against Shining Path.

UMOPAR men were confined to their barracks and were not allowed to enter the Valley while the military did not provide of protection to CORAH teams. The result was that both Shining Path and the traffickers massacred the eradication teams; and the eradication operations ended.

This move quickly turned the support of the peasants (and paradoxically of the traffickers) in favor of the army. Between the option of siding with an illegal group such as Shining Path, which imposed a harsh moral regime and demanded a tax of coca production and the Army, the peasants chose the Army (which allowed them to produce coca without interference of the police and eradication teams). At the same time they counted on the protection of the Army against UMOPAR and CORAH.

Within six months, the support of the peasants (in terms of information and lack of cooperation with Shining Path) enabled the Army to carry out successful military operations and Shining Path was practically ousted form the valley. The Army stopped coca eradication and protected the peasants in order to win their support.

The negative aspect is that drug trafficking flourished in the region and the traffickers had the opportunity to improve the structure of their business.

c) Third Act, 1985-1987. Guerrillas vs. Guerrillas:

The situation changed in 1985 when President Alan García won the presidential elections. His interpretation of Shining Path problem (at the national level) was that the guerrilla problem stemmed from socio-economic problems, therefore programs of social assistance and economic development in poor rural areas should be privileged over repression. Moreover he sought to reduce the high degree of autonomy that the armed forces had in managing the repression of Shining Path in the areas declared under state of

emergency. As part of this policy the state of emergency was lifted and the army was ordered to retreat from the Upper Huallaga Valley.⁹¹

The position of García in terms of drug trafficking control was completely different. Repression had to be enhanced and drug trafficking eradicated before it could become a larger part of the economy of the country, before it could corrupt the political system.⁹² Therefore, the eradication programs continued and more emphasis was placed on interdiction operations against the traffickers.

In this situation Shining Path began to regain support and presence in the Huallaga Valley, but when the senderistas came back to the Valley they found that they had the competition of another guerrilla group, the MRTA, which had begun to operate in the department of San Martín.

The MRTA was founded in 1983 and started its armed operations as an urban group in 1984. By this time, they also sought for a rural base in the Upper Huallaga Valley that with its Indian base and unpopular foreign presence (the DEA and American advisor teams) was a fertile ground for recruitment. The MRTA disputed the control of the UHV until 1987. While Shining Path controlled many towns in the southern part of the Valley up to Tocache, the MRTA dominated the area to the north of Tocache. The competition between the two groups for peasant support was violent. The more important battle was for the city of Tocache (the more important coca producing area in the Valley) in March 1987 after Shining Path emerged victorious and MRTA confined its operations only in the north of the department of San Martín.⁹³

There are several reasons for MRTA's defeat:

- * Shining Path was able to convince some growers that the MRTA had betrayed peasant interests by agreeing with traffickers on coca prices.
- * Shining Path had superior military equipment and training. At least in some areas, the MRTA members became "ducks out of water" (wearing heavy masks, uniforms and boots in tropical heat; they were readily identified by the police).
- * Shining Path's intimidating tactics also may have inspired greater fear among the population.
- * The traffickers chose to support Shining Path because MRTA was supported by Colombia's M-19 movement which was in constant fight against Colombia traffickers, the 'bosses' of their Peruvian counterparts.
- * The traffickers assessed Shining Path as the more effective group to oppose antidrug personnel.⁹⁴

Another fatal strategic mistake of MRTA was to adopt a "moral" approach concerning coca. MRTA members refused to play the role of defending coca cultivation and encouraged the peasants progressively to adopt legal alternative crops.⁹⁵ The situation presented to the peasants concerning MRTA was the following: the group was abhorred by the traffickers and combated by the army and Shining Path. Siding with them would imply the possibility of being brutalized and persecuted by these three groups. There was not any kind of advantage of supporting this group because MRTA adopted an "anti-coca" position and because they were in a weaker force position. Faced with this situation the peasants logically sided with Shining Path and preferred their harsher rules and discipline and the revolutionary tax in exchange for protection of their life and their means of survival: coca.

MRTA would change this wrong pattern of strategic interaction in the 1990s but it

will never recover a position equilibrium or superiority with Shining Path. The movement remained basically as an urban group.

d) Fourth Act, 1987-1989. Let's play in the forest while the wolf is gone: the Upper Huallaga Valley becomes a "liberated zone":

By 1987 it was clear that Shining Path was assuming the control of the Valley again. One signal was the successful attack of Shining Path to the police station of the town of Uchiza in the state of San Martín, and the subsequent occupation of the town on May 31, 1987. President García reestablished the state of emergency in the department of San Martín. Because of inter-bureaucratic fights between the police and the army in terms of their missions, and the priority that the García administration has given to the repression against drug trafficking, in this area the control of operations was given to the police (the "Sinchis" this time). This was decided in order to prevent further interference of the army in the operations against drug trafficking.

The emphasis was put this time on interdiction (destruction of laboratories, airstrips and arrest of traffickers).⁹⁶ There was a series of very successful interdiction operations (Condor Operations) but the result was that the price of coca went down. This reinforced the animosity of the peasants against the government and the power of Shining Path to press the traffickers for better prices, increasing therefore their popularity among the peasants. The situation became worse when in 1988 García decided to authorize the aerial spray of an herbicide (known as Spike⁹⁷) for the eradication. Shining Path used this as a strong political tool. They showed it as an imperialist attack on the population, claiming that the goal was to eliminate both coca trees and the peasants with the herbicide. A message that had a strong effect among the farmers.

By 1988 the Upper Huallaga Valley was a "state within the state" controlled by Shining Path.

"With the slogan 'Against genocide and eradication', suggesting how much the crop eradication program had alienated UHV residents, the guerrillas began to control entire towns, including Uchiza and Tocache, the largest in the valley after Tingo María. In those communities, the guerrilla organized the inhabitants for various activities, including teams to keep the town cleaned up; everyone participated, including bank officials! Shining Path soon concluded that it had done well; it noted in July 1988 that the valley a key area for the "vigorous development of the popular war", "open work with the masses" and the "peasant war"[...] To apply its rules, Shining Path formed Popular Committees, elected in every community and made up of a delegate and a subdelegate. The guerrillas also established Popular Bases, party organs consisting of a political, a military, and a logistical officer. The committees supervised community activities, from celebration of weddings to supervision of local production, to control of sexual mores (prohibiting infidelity, prostitution, and homosexuality), and even determining on which days drinking would be permitted. The bases applied penalties, organized popular Schools and political rallies, enlisted youth in the guerrillas's Popular Army, gave military instruction, provided economic

and military support to Shining Path's party structure, and controlled military operations..."⁹⁸

By the time Shining Path had consolidated a liberated zone with the support of almost the entire population and with the possibility of extracting resources from taxes imposed on traffickers and peasants in order to finance the revolution. Moreover Shining Path had the possibility of initiating a campaign of recruiting in the UHV.

Nevertheless a year later the situation would radically change because of a strategy of the Army that would turn the peasants against Shining Path. What we have here then is two groups, the Army and Shining Path, competing for the support of a third one: the peasants.

a) 1989- 1990: The wolf is back

"...because they [coca growing peasants] were considered criminals, the only way they had to defend themselves was to be a part of Sendero. And this does not mean that they were ideologically converted, it means that they were socially coerced and that they looked to take care of themselves no matter how. This time was Sendero, but it could have also been "perico de los palotes" [no matter whom]; they would accept him in order to survive in the existent situation..."⁹⁹

"We are very disappointed, because we thought we had governmental and military support, but now we are thinking it was only Arciniega who understood us and had the courage to live among us"¹⁰⁰

Under this situation of complete lack of control of the state over the Upper Huallaga, García decreed an emergency zone in early 1989 that included the departments of San Martín, Huánuco and Ucayali. This means that the military became the administrative directors of this increasingly conflict-ridden region rather than civilian authorities with the support of the police. The Government concern had shifted from the drug war to guerrilla war.

The situation would radically change when Peruvian Army Brigadier General Alberto Arciniega assumed control over this emergency zone in April 1989. He commanded a force of 4,000 troops backed by Soviet made Mi-25 helicopter gunships.¹⁰¹ As Carbajal did in 1984 he rapidly realized that the peasants were the power base of Shining Path and its main logistical tool. He also realized that their interest was centered basically on protection of their lives and their source of revenue: coca. Arciniega adopted since the very beginning a broad strategy of carrots and sticks towards the peasants in order to win their support.

In one side, his first act was entering in Uchiza and giving the inhabitants the option between destroy the village if they remained loyal to Shining Path, or protecting them against Shining Path if they respected the state's institutions and authorities. As a matter of fact, even repressing the peasants was not the main component of Arciniega's strategy, it appears that the number of cases of 'disappearances' in the UHV increased during Arciniega's command with some fifty reported in the UHV during 1989".¹⁰² He carried out an aggressive military action without particular regard for potential human rights implications.

In the other side, as Carbajal, he forbade any activity of the police and CORAH in the Valley wining in that way the support of the peasants. But he went one step further by declaring himself a partisan of alternative development policies in the valley and by organizing the construction of rural infrastructure through the utilization of a regional cooperative, the Upper Huallaga Agrarian Cooperative.¹⁰³

Arciniega became the referee who dealt directly with conflicts among growers, traffickers, and the police and gradually made it possible to build up support among the population. By applying this type of policy Arciniega displaced the guerrillas as the preferred option of the peasants.

The option of the peasants was this time:

*Siding with Shining Path and support their harsh rules and taking the risk of being repressed by the Army (sticks),

* Side with the Army that offered protection against, Shining Path reprisals, police abuses, traffickers' abuses and the eradication of coca and promoted programs of rural development.

The preferred option for the peasants was supporting the Army and they stopped giving intelligence and logistical support to Shining Path.

“By a way of illustration, in his last public appearance , General Arciniega was greeted by some thirty thousand peasants who gathered in Uchiza to celebrate Armed Forces Day and cheer his assertion that the fight against was Shining Path, not the growing of coca”¹⁰⁴

Backed by air support, the Army rapidly defeated militarily a Shining Path that had been deprived of its recruitment base, logistical support and intelligence service.

“During Arciniega’s seven-month command, the army claims to have carried out 320 aerial support operations, 44 clashes with Shining Path columns and inflicted, according to the general himself, 1,100 casualties among the guerrillas”¹⁰⁵

In December 1989 General Arciniega left his post as political-military chief of the Upper Huallaga Valley as part of the normal rotation in command positions of the Peruvian Army¹⁰⁶. It is also true that Arciniega has been accused by North American officials of being corrupted by the traffickers and that Peruvian Government and received strong pressures for his dismissal. Arciniega vehemently denied the accusations and he was only reassigned to Lima. These accusations have been never proved.¹⁰⁷

7- 1990-1995, New stage, new script, same actors and...same play?:

“ In no way are we opposed to an effective program to eradicate illegal coca crops... But we wish to address repression in a larger context.... An effective program of repression that leaves the peasants without other alternatives would sharply increase the number of those in extreme poverty and could unchain a civil war of unsuspected proportions.... We will not repeat the errors of President Ngo Dinh Diem of Vietnam who, during the 1950s, pitted himself against the informal, common law of

the peasants.... We will not push peasants and their families into the arms of terrorists and drug traffickers...”

President Alberto Fujimori¹⁰⁸

a)New stage:

After July 1990, when president Fujimori inaugurated his first presidential term, several factors and policies contributed to overturn Shining Path’s supremacy in the UHV.

First, President Fujimori (1990-1995 and 1995-) radically changed his policy towards drug control. His new approach called the “Fujimori Doctrine”¹⁰⁹, considers that the coca-growing peasant is **not** part of the criminal chain of drug trafficking, talking after Fernando De Soto (his main advisor on drug control policy at the beginning of his administration and the inspirer of this policy). For him as far as coca production is concerned, efforts should be geared towards the integral economic development of the Upper Huallaga Valley in order to give alternatives to coca growing peasants and access to the internal and international market. Subsequently the April 1991 new Penal Code eliminated the grower as an integral part of the drug trafficking chain¹¹⁰. The forced eradication of mature coca bush plantations stopped in 1989.¹¹¹

This played a key role in the decrease of peasant support to Shining Path in the area. Moreover, the Fujimori administration encouraged and legalized the formation of “Civil Defense Committees” or self-defense groups (commonly called ‘rondas’) in the Upper Huallaga, a strategy that has given good results in non-coca producing regions where Shining Path operated in the 1980s. The rondas are groups of peasants armed by the government for the purpose of defending themselves against Shining Path and the traffickers.¹¹² This policy is maintained despite American pressures to reestablish coca eradication. As Peru has a bigger and more diversified economy and is less dependent on foreign aid than Bolivia, the other big coca producer country in the region, Peru has a bigger margin of decision in drug control policies.¹¹³

Repression is concentrated on interdiction activities: these include the continued harassment of the traffickers, and the shutdown of trafficker planes by the Peruvian air force.

The second aspect is that coca-growing peasants are massively migrating to other regions as the department of Cuzco and Apurímac as a result of the fall in coca prices (caused by reductions in demand by the traffickers due to the increasing interdiction activities). Coca production (and peasant migration) is shifting South now to the departments of Madre de Dios, Puno and Apurímac.¹¹⁴

Thirdly, is the arrest of Abimael Guzmán and part of the Central Committee (la cúpula) of the Shining Path in September 1992 by the special antiterrorist police (DINCOTE)¹¹⁵. This event profoundly disorganized the movement, which was based on a deep personality cult and strongly centralized in terms of political and military planning in the high ranks of the party (la cúpula).¹¹⁶ These arrests would have provoked an interruption of the flow of information and money going from the revolutionary cells of the UHV to the Shining Path cells in the rest of the country.¹¹⁷

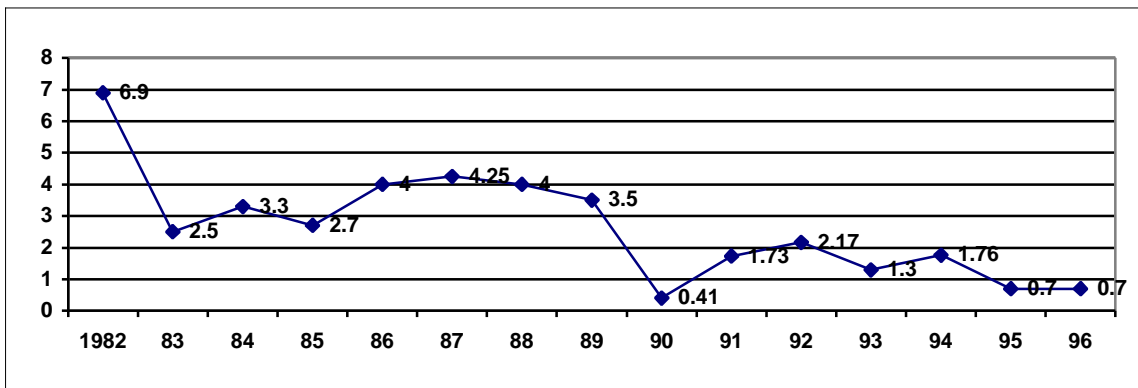
After the capture of Guzmán, thanks to the combination of a new repentance law (1992) which offers leniency for cooperation, and repression of the movement started losing active militants. Moreover the movement split in 1993 after a series of letters to the

government (published by the press) and declarations on TV where Guzmán praised the political measures taken by president Fujimori (in reference to the autogolpe). He also called for an end to the armed action and the opening of negotiations with the government. The movement split in two factions, the “Black Sendero” which would be willing to participate in negotiations and “Red Sendero” which continued the armed operations in the North of the Upper Huallaga Valley.¹¹⁸

The fourth factor is that since 1989 (the first effects were to be noticed in 1991) a very destructive fungus, the (ever present in the region) *fusarium oxisporum* has slowly, but in geometrical progression, destroyed the coca bushes from south to north along the Huallaga river.

“The fungus first appeared in 1987-1988 and now causes 40 to 60 percent crop loss. Fusarium spreads through soil-borne spores that are specifically adapted to a particular plant species. Monoculture creates excellent conditions for this fungus to get established and then spread. At least two genotypes have become specific to coca, although the mayor of Uchiza (the worst hit) area says that since 1991, the fungus also has affected legal crops (to a lesser extent than coca). Fusarium is particularly difficult to eradicate; it can be expected to remain in the area for years. The spread of this fungus, which was particularly rapid in the early 1990s, has been an important reason for the population movements out of the valley”¹¹⁹

Coca Leaf in the UHV Nominal Price 1982-1996 (\$/Kg. June each year):



Source: Hanson, Stephen Frederick, Coca Market Dynamics: Significant Events Affecting Peru's Upper Huallaga Valley, appendix 1.

b) New script:

Up to 1992, with the exception of the air force, the armed forces did not participate in counter-drug activities. After Fujimori's self-coup in April 1992 this situation radically changed as the president announced in April 15, 1992 that the Armed forces would be fully involved in interdiction activities. This means that Army and Marines troops deployed in the area would participate in interdiction activities, that is, in the repression of drug traffickers. Also in 1992 a new air force Region (air Force Region VI) was created in the UHV with the

purpose of controlling airstrips and intercepting illegal flights. Air bases in the area were equipped with T-32 Tucano and A-37 Dragonfly planes.

The armed forces were formally authorized to participate in interdiction activities by Law No 26.247 passed on November 25, 1993. This law allowed military forces to pursue and detain those implicated in illegal drug trafficking in areas lacking a "national police presence" which is the case not only in many of the provinces of the Huallaga Valley departments but also in most of the Peruvian Amazon.

Several reasons could have motivated this move:

First, in the mid-1980s Alan García put an emphasis on drug interdiction to avoid alienating completely Peru's relationships with the United States because of its anti American stand. In 1992 Fujimori might have fully involved the armed forces in counter drug activities in order to mitigate possible U.S. sanctions because of the democratic breakdown.

Second, a more effective fight against drug trafficking was one of the justifications of the autogolpe, mobilizing the armed forces against drug traffickers was probably one more way of justifying the coup.

Third, particularly after the capture of Guzman in December 1992 and the subsequent weakening of Shining Path, the armed forces may have accepted involvement in drug interdiction activities after Shining Path diminished as a threat in their eyes.

Fourth, the fulfillment of the commitments acquired by Peru in a bilateral treaty signed with the United States in July 1992. In fact during a multilateral anti-drug summit in San Antonio, Texas on February 1992, president Bush was able to persuade his counterparts from Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico, Ecuador and Venezuela to reaffirm their commitments in counter-drug efforts. However, even Peru agreed to strengthen interdiction efforts, president Fujimori adopted a firm stand in the matter of no-resumption of coca eradication activities.

Now 4,000 marines and army troops plus the air force detachments would be in charge of policing an business that generates about 900 million dollars a year.¹²⁰

As illustrated in below there were cases of corruption before 1993 because of the simple fact that the military was operating in a drug producer area. Basically junior officers would be paid off for protection against the police.

From 1993 on, the problem of corruption escalated because of the fact that military officers earning \$283 (division general) to \$213 (second lieutenant) a month would have to face the task of arresting criminals that could offer them the possibility of earning up to 70,000\$ a year.¹²¹

Some cases of corruption linked to drug trafficking involving military officers :

1987 *Former Political Military Commander (1984) of the UHV General Carbajal, and 32 of his officers were placed under court-martial arrest by the Ministry of Defense for allegedly taking bribes and having links to the drug traffickers. (Gonzalez 1992, footnote 6)

1990 *The Peruvian Army sends four Army officers into retirement and turns them over the police for their alleged involvement in drug trafficking activities in the UHV. (FBIS-LAT-90-049, 13 March 1990)

*Peruvian military personnel open fire at DEA helicopter that had disrupted

- an attempted landing and pickup of coca from a contingent of Army personnel. (Menzel 1996p, 155)
- 1991 *A report of the Army Intelligence Service indicated that there was complicity between the head of the Ortorongo military base and drug trafficker Demertrio Chavez "Vaticano". The network was the product of a financial agreement between \$3,000 to \$4,000 per flight. (Drug Trafficking Update, February 1994, p.5)

c) Same play?:

As it is possible to see below since 1992 cases of corruption involving the protection of drug traffickers by armed forces officers has been a common fact. Moreover this type of corruption has reached generals in the army and allegedly at least three commanders of internal military fronts.¹²²

Some cases of corruption linked to drug trafficking involving military officers:

- 1992 *The Peruvian media published copies of the actual aerial surveillance photos which showed twin engine drug trafficker aircraft landing at Aguaytia just several miles away from a Marine Corps outpost. Another photo depicted a narco-aircraft landing in the vicinity of Sapasosa three miles from an army garrison. (Menzel, 1996, p.185)
- 1993 *Defense Minister Victor Malca Villanueva informed the congressional drugs commission that 74 soldiers are being tried for drug trafficking charges (FBIS-LAT-93-048, 15 March 1993)
- *Army Commander, General Hermoza admitted that in 1993, 32 members of the army were expelled due to drug trafficking. (Drug Trafficking Update, February 1994,p4)
- *Former Military Commander of the Huallaga front (1991) General Ríos Araico is tried for allegedly protecting drug trafficker Demetrio Chavez aka "Vaticano" during his command.(FBIS-LAT-96-015)
- * air Force majors Alfredo Ruiz and Enrique Paiva were indicted for protecting drug trafficker operations in Tocache and Saposoa. (OGD, 1994, p.184)
- *Army colonel Eduardo Alvarado and commander Walter Castillo are tried for stilling 114kg of coca paste during a counter drug operation in the UHV in December 1992. (OGD, 1994, p.185)
- 1994 *The Peruvian congress implicated 100 officers from the army, navy and air force as involved in drug trafficking in one form or another (Menzel, 1996, p.196)
- *General Hermoza president of the Armed Forces Joint command reported that over 100 members of the army had received sentences for their linkage to drug trafficking.(Menzel, 1996, p.196)

- 1995 *A group of some forty army officials including two generals (former commanders of the Mantaro Front south of the UHV) were charged with having protected aerial trafficking for the Cachique Rivera brothers. In return they would have received up to \$7,500 to \$25,000 for each flight. (Menzel, 1996, p.200)
- 1996 * 170kilos of cocaine are found in an air force transport plane (OGD 1997)
 * 45 kilos of cocaine are found in a Peruvian Navy Ship anchored in Vancouver. Two days later 17 more kilos are found in another navy ship anchored in El Callao. Two navy intelligence captains are arrested for their participation in the drug trafficking organization of trafficker "Mosquito Loco".
 *The cocaine godfather Demetrio Chávez alias "Vaticano", arrested in January 1994 told judges at his trial – although he later retracted –that during 1992 he personally paid *Vladimiro Montesinos, President Alberto Fujimori's closest adviser, \$50,000 a month for tip-offs about all planned operations, especially by the DEA, against his headquarters at Campanilla, in the Huallaga Valley. Montesinos, a former army captain, is a close advisor to the national intelligence service (SNI) and in the past he has been the lawyer of important drug traffickers. (OGD, 1997)

It is also a common fact that officers compete for obtaining positions in the UHV because of the high economic profits that they can obtain from bribes offered by drug traffickers.¹²³ The fact that commanding officers are rotated in a yearly based has also helped to spread corruption in the military ranks. The more likely relationship between the armed forces and the drug lords inaction or protection from the police in exchange of payoffs. The UHV is not witnessing an unholy alliance between drug lords and drug traffickers but a replacement of Shining Path by the Army as racketeers in the area. One actor lives the scene but another occupies the role in order to play the same play.

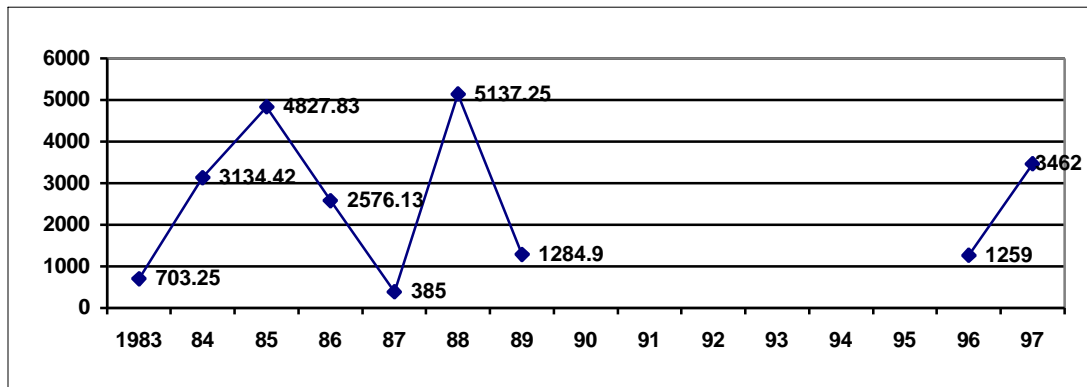
8- Conclusion:

Up to 1992 Shining Path was certainly a threat to the institutional component and the territorial centrality of the Peruvian state. The indirect or direct involvement of the armed forces in drug trafficking activities could certainly represent a threat to a successful democratization of the political regime. The cases mentioned above show that drug trafficking linked corruption has reached the high ranks of the three Armed forces. Fujimori's autogolpe and his current authoritarian experiment have shown that democracy in Peru is far from being consolidated. Moreover there are precedents in Latin America of governments that have been overthrown by military officers in collusion with drug traffickers. The "narcocracy" of García Meza (1980-81) in Bolivia is the more representative of these cases. For a year a group of military officers controlled the government backed by the Bolivian drug traffickers. In the case of Peru such a coup with the backing of the traffickers could occur against a president resolved to eradicate corruption from the armed forces. The

fact that Fujimori relies in the military backing specially of the president of the Armed Forces Joint Command, Army general Nicolás Hermoza to stay in power would prevent the president from carrying out investigations involving key loyal officers.¹²⁴ Under these circumstances the threat of Shining Path has been replaced by a potential "narco-praetorianism"¹²⁵ over Peruvian political institutions. This situation would be characterized by a corrupted military high command with an enormous autonomy and territorial control over emergency zones and the power to dictate the reach of not only drug trafficking control policies but also policies concerning the respect of human rights and the counterinsurgency strategy.¹²⁶

In December 1995 president Fujimori announced the retreat of the armed forces from counter drug operations. One of the alleged reasons was that keeping the military out of the repression of drug trafficking would make them "less vulnerable to manipulations".¹²⁷ This decision was formally implemented by legislative decree 824 in April 1996. This attributes all counter-drug responsibilities to the Peruvian National Police. The armed forces only keep the responsibility of flight interceptions (air force) and sea and rivers patrolling (navy). The circle is closed, but as far as military corruption concerns, is probably too late. In 1996 the Peruvian government reinitiated forced eradication of mature coca.¹²⁸ The development component of the Fujimori initiative never materialized.¹²⁹ The UHV may become a civil war theatre for the peasants are now well armed and organized in rondas and they may resist the eradication efforts by themselves. If this occurs military corruption might be worsened by massive and flagrant violations of human rights in the UHV. The only beneficiaries of such a scenario would be the traffickers and Shining Path that may find an opportunity to recover peasant support.

Eradication of mature coca in Peru 1983-1996 (hectares):



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, Perú Estadísticas de Producción, Tráfico y Consumo de Drogas, 1994-96 and U.S. State Department, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report 1998.

Notes:

- ¹ I presented some of the concepts developed in this paper at the Political Science colloquium of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, (April 22, 1997); at the 1998 Graduate Student Conference on Latin American Social and Public Policy, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, (February 12, 1998) and at a Ridgway Center (University of Pittsburgh) sponsored lecture in April 24, 1998. I received very useful critiques and comments from the faculty and students.
- ² For the scope of this paper I will define drug trafficking as all the stages in the production of an illicit drug (including coca cultivation for illicit purposes in the case of cocaine) its transportation and the generation of profits from this activity (money laundering).
- ³ Interests will refer to the “shared advantages or disadvantages likely to accrue to the population [group] in question as a consequence of various possible interactions with other populations [groups]”, Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*. p54
- ⁴ For the purposes of this paper corruption will be defined as a “behavior which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence”, Nye, J.S., *Corruption and Political Development .ACost-Benefit Analysis*, p.966
- ⁵ For the scope of the paper I will define group as “a number of individuals with a common interest”, [and I should add for the scope of this paper, common goals and missions], Olson, Mancur, *The Logic of collective action*, p. 8.
I will assume in this paper that groups behave as actors, that is as entities with the capacity of influencing other entities or creating outcomes from their interaction with other entities. I will avoid the term “organization” in this paper, this does not prevent the fact that some of the analyzed groups here compete to organize the provision of collective goods to the peasants in order to gain their support and mobilize them for the achievement of a goal.
- ⁶ For the scope of this paper I will refer to state actor when the actor is a state. Non-state actor means that actor is not a state as it will be defined in this paper. Governmental means, that a group or actor forms part or represents of what I call the “institutional expression of the state” that is, the government. Non-governmental actor means an actor that does not form part of a government or does not represent a government.
- ⁷ Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, p.17
- ⁸ “national security means the security of a whole sociopolitical entity. It is about countries as well as about states”, Buzan, *People States and Fear: The National Security Problem in the Third World*, p16
- ⁹ Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, p 67
- ¹⁰ See Buzan, *People, State and Fear*, chapter 2
- ¹¹ “...there must be some idea of the state which establishes its authority in the minds of its people...”
Buzan, *People, State and Fear* .p. 66
- ¹² “...The institutions of the state comprise machinery or government, including its executive, legislative, administrative and judicial bodies, and the laws, procedures and norms by which they operate...” Buzan, *People, State and Fear* .p82
- ¹³ “The hardware side of security management involves physical capabilities (e.g. military and economic power) and tangible policy infrastructure comprising strategic choice and so on”, Azar and In Moon, *The ‘Software’ Side of Security of Third World Security* p 77.
- ¹⁴ Azar and in Moon, *op. cit.* p 78
- ¹⁵ “The failure to integrate diverse social groups into a unified political force” Azar and in Moon, *op.cit.*p79
- ¹⁶ Legitimacy defined here in the Weberian sense of the existence of a legitimate order when the ruled believe that the rulers have the right to rule.
“Action, especially social action which involves social relationship, may be oriented by the actors to a belief (Vorstellung) in the existence of a ‘legitimate order’, Weber, *The theory of social and economic organization*,p124
- ¹⁷ Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, p 241
- ¹⁸ Mann, *The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins Mechanisms and Results*, p113.
- ¹⁹ Cardoso and Faletto, “Dependency and Development in Latin America”, p 17

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- 20 *ibid.*, p.xx
- 21 Rothstein, *The Weak in the World of the Strong*, p.187
- 22 Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, p.99
- 23 Mann, *The Autonomous Power of the state*, p. 112
- 24 Buzan, *People, States and Fear*.
- 25 The closest image of the weak pole of the nature of the state could be identified with what has been recently denominated as “failed states” or “collapsed states”. See: Helman, Gerald and Ratner, Steven, *Saving Failed States*, *Foreign Policy*, No89, Winter 1992-93 and Zartman, William, *Posing the Problem of State Collapse*, in Zartman, William (ed.), *Collapsed States, The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, London, Lynne Rienner, 1995.
- 26 See, Kay, Bruce, “Fujipopulism” and the Liberal State in Peru, 1990-1995, pp.61-74
- 27 Matos Mar, *Desborde Popular y Crisis del Estado. El Nuevo Rostro del Perú en la Década de 1980*, p.99
- 28 MRTA only strongholds in the north of the Department of San Martín (Lower Huallaga Valley) and is basically a urban group acting in Lima, the movement never had more than 1,500 members.
- 29 Marks, Tom, *Making Revolution with Shining Path*, in Scott Palmer, *The Shining Path of Peru*, p.192
- 30 Guerrilla means a type of warfare driven by irregulars against the rear of an enemy regular army. The objective of this combat are not military but political ones, the destruction of the existing institutions by provoking social and radical changes. See Laqueur, Walter, *Guerrilla. A Historical and Critical Study*, p. vi and Gandolfi, *Les luttes armées en Amérique Latine*, p. 46
- 31 Kent, Robert, *Geographical Dimensions of the Shining Path Insurgency in Peru*, pp.441-453
- 32 Kent, *op.cit.*, p. 453
- 33 Obando, *The Power of Peru’s Armed Forces*, p.118
- 34 Crabtree, *Peru Under García*, p5.
- 35 Crabtree, *Peru Under García*, p.10
- 36 Fukusaki Yamada, Gustavo and Pérez Ruiz, José Luis, *Pobreza y Reformas Estructurales, Perú 1991-1994*, p.41
- 37 Crabtree, *Peru Under García*, p.10
- 38 Sagasti and Hernández, *The Crisis of Governance*, p.25
- 39 By hegemonic I understand the capacity of a state to impose a set of institutions, rules and ideas broadly accepted for the rest of the states it does not imply the mere military presence. After the Second World War the United States has been able to impose a regional organization (the Organization of American States), a regime of regional security (the Treaty of Inter American reciprocal Assistance) and a doctrine oriented against communism broadly accepted by the civilian and military elites during the 60s and 70s until the early 80s: the Doctrine of National Security.
- 40 See: W.O.L.A., *Clear and Present Dangers. The U.S. Military and the War on Drugs in the Andes*, chapter 1 part II and chapter 4.
- 41 “The Anti-Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 link the cooperation of source countries (drug-producing and/or -transiting countries) with the United States in controlling this traffic to the eligibility of those countries for US Foreign aid, and under certain circumstances for US trade benefits. This process, commonly referred to as “certification”, requires the president at the start of each fiscal year (1 October) to withhold 50% of US foreign assistance designated for the given country, pending a determination of certification on, or after, the first of March [...]Mandatory Sanctions Include: * 50% suspension of all US assistance for the current fiscal year, * 100% suspension of US assistance for subsequent years, * Voting against loans to a country in the multilateral development banks [...] Discretionary sanctions include: *Denial of preferential tariff treatment of a country’s exports under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) [...],*Duty increases of up to 50% of value on a country’s exports to the United States. * Curtailment of air transportation and traffic between the US and the non-certified country” Perl, *The US Congress, International Drug Policy and the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988*, p 26
- 42 Main political division in Peru. Each department is at the same time divided into provinces. In 1989 the department were grouped into 12 political regions. The department of San Martín became a region itself and Huanuco was included into the Andres A. Caceres political region.
- 43 McClintock: *The War on Drugs*, p129
- 44 Obando, *El Narcotráfico en el Perú, una aproximación histórica*, p, 88

- ⁴⁵ For this information the reader can refer to Tarazona-Sevillano, Gabriela, Sendero Luminoso and the threat of Narcoterrorism, New York, Center for Strategic and International Studies/ Praeger, 1990, Tarazona Sevillano, The Organization Shining Path, in Scott Palmer, David, The Shining Path of Peru, London, Hurst, 1992, Degregori, Carlos, Iván, The Origins of Shining Path: Two Views, Return to the Past, in Scott Palmer, David, op.cit., Labrousse Alain, Le Sentier Lumineux du Perou.: un nouvel integrisme dans le tiers monde, Paris, La Découverte, 1989.
- ⁴⁶ In the scope of this work strategy will mean a comprehensive political plan to achieve a goal.
- ⁴⁷ See Mao Tse-Tung, On the Protracted War, Foreign Languages Press Peking, 1954, pp. 43-58 and See also Strategic Considerations of the Revolutionary War in China for an exposition of this doctrine.
- ⁴⁸ Tarazona Sevillano, Sendero Luminoso the Threat of Narcoterrorism, p30.
- ⁴⁹ Scott Palmer, Peru, drugs and Shining Path p 182
- ⁵⁰ Gonzalez, Guerrillas and Coca..., p.121
- ⁵¹ Clutterbuck, op. cit. p, 26
- ⁵² One hypothesis for this "acceleration" of the revolutionary strategy is that Guzmán realized the importance of concentrating the activities in the shanty towns of Lima because of the great change that Peru suffered in the through the 1970s and early 1980s in terms of the passage from a country with a majority of rural population to a strong concentration of the population around big cities. (See Tarazona Sevillano, op.cit.,p50). As an example by 1985 the percentage of urban population was 65% (and 30% of the total population concentrated around Lima) while in 1961 it was a 47 %. (See Matos Mar, El Nuevo Rostro del Perú, p.47) Another wave of urban migration began in 1980 and accelerated over the next eight years by 1989 for example the percent of urban population was 69.9% (See, Federal Research Division, Peru , a country study,p.324.
- ⁵³ Guzmán was in that aspect inspired by the proposals of José Mariatégui (1985-1929) the founder of the Socialist Party of Peru, who proposed a revolutionary change for the restoration of Inca primitive communist system of production as a solution to the (at the time) situation of class oligarchic domination and feudal type relationships between the landowners and the Indian peasants. See Tarazona Sevillano, for a good description of Guzmán and Mariategui's thought.
- ⁵⁴ Scott Palmer, David, National Security, in Peru, a Country Study,p. 306. Another estimated is 25.000 supporters, Mondes Rebelles, p.128
For a detailed description of the structure of the movement see Tarazona Sevillano, The Organization of Shining Path.
- ⁵⁵ Clutterbuck, op.cit., p.37
- ⁵⁶ Mondes Rebelles, p.132
- ⁵⁷ See, Martin and Romano, Multinational Systemic Crime, p.51
- ⁵⁸ See, Lee III, The White Labyrinth, chapter 3, specially page 105
- ⁵⁹ A very appropriate name if we consider that drug trafficking is an illicit industry, but an industry in the end. For the purposes of this paper the concept drug trafficking organizations and traffickers will be used as synonyms.
- ⁶⁰ See Drug Enforcement Administration, The South American Cocaine Trade: An "Industry " in transition, www.usdoj.gov/deapubs/intel_cocaine.html# and FBIS-TDD-97-239, Peruvian Drug Trafficking Group Contacts Mexican Cartels.
- ⁶¹ Clawson and Lee III, The Andean Cocaine Industry, p.181
- ⁶² For supporters of this explanation see, Kaplan, Marcos, Análisis socio político del Narcotráfico and Arrieta Gustavo, Narcotráfico en Colombia.
- ⁶³ Tullis, LaMond, Unintended Consequences, Illegal Drugs and Drug Policies in Nine Countries, p.72
- ⁶⁴ See, The Drug Lords, Drug Trafficking Update, March 1994, p,7 and Lee III, The White Labyrinth, p109
- ⁶⁵ *ibid.* p 7
- ⁶⁶ Riley Kevin, Snow Job? The War Against International Cocaine Trafficking, p108
- ⁶⁷ Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática, Peru: Primeros Resultados del censo de la población, Dirección Nacional de Censos y Encuestas, Lima, September,1993.
- ⁶⁸ Gros, Christian, op. cit., p.826, See also , Labrousse, Coca-Coke, p 117
- ⁶⁹ Doughty, Paul, The Society and its Environment, in Peru, a Country Study, p.110

- 70 These zones are located south of the Huallaga Valley in the department of Cuzco. In this areas the government legally recognized the production of coca and the production is destined traditional uses and the national state coca company (ENACO) purchases the production. In this zones the peasants have traditionally grown coca for centuries and they are not new settled areas there are strong peasant communities and fully developed coca production trade unions, peasants are better organized to establish community self-defense organizations (“rondas”) and resist the extortion’s of traffickers and guerrillas that is why the traffickers and guerrillas chose the Upper Huallaga Valley as their preferred option. See Gros, Christian, op.cit. p. 820.
- 71 See, Lee III, *The White Labyrinth*,p.78
- 72 aside from La Convención and Lares the production of coca in other areas has been declared illegal in 1978 under American pressure by the last years military regime 1968-1980
- 73 MacClintock, *The War on drugs: the Peruvian Case*, p129
- 74 Scott, Palmer, *Peru Drugs and Shining Path*, p.181 from data given in the *International Narcotics Matters Strategy Report*,1993.
- 75 Obando, Enrique, *El Narcotráfico en el Perú*, p.p.84
- 76 Scott Palmer, *Peru, Drugs, and Shining, Path*,p.181
- 77 McClintock, *The War on Drugs : The Peruvian Case*,p.129
- 78 Peru, a Country Study,p.xvii
- 79 González, *Las Armas de un General*, p.39, Interview between González and General Alberto Arciniega (political-military chief of the Emergency Zone of the Upper Huallaga Valley since April 1989 to December 1989)
- 80 There are several speculations about the total of fighting cadres of Sendero in the Upper Huallaga. Numbers go from 1000 (Clutterbuck, op.cit,p. 36) to 1,500 (*Latin American Weekly Report*, 27 July 1985). One author estimates that Sendero concentrated the bulk of its fighting cadres (a force that ranged from 2,000 to an estimated of 8, 000 in 1993) in the Upper Huallaga Valley (Marks, *Making Revolution with Shining Path*, p.200).
- 81 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, p.652
- 82 Alan Riding, “Rebels Disrupting Coca Eradication in Peru”, *New York Times*, January 26, 1989, p. 6Y, Quoted in Tarazona Sevillano, *Sendero Luminoso and the Threat of Narcoterrorism*,p.111
- 83 By protection I mean here the insurance of personal security that is the absence of physical threats (pain, injury, death, economic threats, seizure or destruction of property, denial of access to work or resources), threats to rights (imprisonment denial of normal civil liberties) and threats to position or status (demotion, public humiliation). See, Buzan, *People, States and Fear*, p.37
- 84 Mao Zedong, *Guerrilla Warfare*, p.34
- 85 Mao Zedong, op.cit., p67
- 86 This definitions are inspired in the principles of guerrilla warfare elaborated by Albert Stahel in *Dynamic Models of Guerrilla Warfare*, p. 354 and 355.
- 87 See, Gonzalez, *Guerrillas and Coca in the Upper Huallaga Valley*, p.107
- 88 Gonzalez, op.cit.,p 111
- 89 An emergency zone is one in which certain constitutional rights, such as freedom of assembly and movement, residence inviolability, and detention with a court order, are temporarily suspended for sixty days, a period that may be, and often is extended. According to the 1980 Peruvian Constitution, the zones under a state of emergency are placed under the political-military control of the armed forces. Gonzalez, op.cit. p.124
- 90 Head, Linda and Rosenau, William, *Coca and the Shining Path in Peru's Upper Huallaga Valley: Two Presidents Approaches*,p11.
- 91 Crabtree, *Peru Under García*, p.110
- 92 There are several speculations on the degree of high commitment of the García administration with the repression of drug trafficking and with the American proposals in that sense. One is that the structure of the his party the APRA was becoming more and more corrupted by the “narco-business” the other mentioned above is that as far as the business was confined to the Huallaga Valley it was the time to act before it could expand to other areas and gain more political influences. Another one is that is commitment with the American guidelines were a way of avoiding being completely alienated from the

- United States because of heterodox nationalist economic policies which included a cease in the payments of the foreign debt, a reduction of payments to 10% of exports per year and several attempts at nationalizing the foreign private bank, and his (verbal) support to Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. See, McClintock, *The War on Drugs: The Case of Peru*, p.135
- ⁹³ McClintock: *The War on Drugs : The Peruvian case*, p.138
- ⁹⁴ For these reasons see, McClintock, *op. cit.* pp.138-139
- ⁹⁵ Gros, Christian, *Les paysans des cordillères andines face aux mouvements de guérillas et à la drogue: victimes ou acteurs?*, p824
- ⁹⁶ McClintock, *op.cit.*,p.131
- ⁹⁷ The company Elly Lilly responsible for the construction of the herbicide suspended later the contract under the claim that the herbicide could be dangerous for human and animal life in the area.
- ⁹⁸ Gonzalez, *Guerrillas and Coca in the Upper Huallaga Valley*, p. 110
- ⁹⁹ Raúl González, *La batalla por el Huallaga: Las armas de un General*, p.42
- ¹⁰⁰ Interview to a coca grower in the UHV after the dismissal of General Arciniega from his command, in Gonzalez, *Guerrillas and Coca in the Upper Huallaga Valley*, p.136
- ¹⁰¹ Head, Linda and Roseanau, William, *Arciniega's War in the Upper Huallaga Valle*, p.3
- ¹⁰² Gonzalez, *Guerrillas and Coca in the Upper Huallaga Valley*, p.134
- ¹⁰³ Labrousse, Alain, *La drogue, l'argent et les armes*, p. 355
- ¹⁰⁴ Gonzalez, *Guerrillas and Coca*,p.134
- ¹⁰⁵ Gonzalez, *Guerrillas and ...*, p116
- ¹⁰⁶ Obando, *El Narcotráfico en el Perú: una aproximación histórica*, p.87
- ¹⁰⁷ See González, *Guerrillas and Coca in the Upper Huallaga Valley*, p. 117 and Obando, *op.cit.*,p.100.
- ¹⁰⁸ The Fujimori Initiative: A Policy for the Control of Drugs and Alternative Development, speech given October 1990, quoted in Claslow and Lee III, *The Andean Cocaine Industry*,p.218
- ¹⁰⁹ Obando, *El Narcotráfico en el Perú*, p.89 and Clawson and Lee III, *op.cit.*, p218
- ¹¹⁰ *Drug Trafficking Update*, May 1994, p.3
- ¹¹¹ Clawson and Lee III,*op.cit.* p218
- ¹¹² See, Degregori, Carlos Iván, *Shining Path and Counterinsurgency Strategy Since the Arrest of Abimael Guzmán*,p.89 and Obando, *El Narcotráfico en el Perú: una aproximación histórica*, p. 92.
 "It is estimated that in the whole territory of Peru there are more than 4,000 committees with approximately 300,000 ronderos. Of these, approximately 10, 000 probably had rifles" Degregori, p.89
- ¹¹³ See Painter, *Bolivia & Coca. A Study in Dependency*, p.43 See also, Alvarez, *Development and Drugs in Bolivia and Peru*, p.143
- ¹¹⁴ Obando, *op.cit.* p.94 and Clawson and Lee III, *The Andean Cocaine Industry*, p.94
- ¹¹⁵ In the months following the capture of Guzmán 19 members of the Central Committee (over a total of 22) were arrested. De Gregori, *Pérou, l'effondrement surprenant du Sentier Lumineux*,p.4
- ¹¹⁶ Obando Arbulú, *La Subversión: Situación Interna y Consecuencias Interanacionales*, p. 45
- ¹¹⁷ Obando Arbulu, *op.cit.*,p.53 and same author, *El Narcotráfico en el Perú una aproximación histórica*, p.95
- ¹¹⁸ "By August 1993, 400 terrorist had surrendered under the Repentance Law and the numbers escalated fast. The number of full-time terrorists in the SL columns in the Huallaga Valley fell from 1000 to 250 in the 12 months from January 1993 to January 1994, it was announced on June 1994 tat 3095 SL terrorist had surrendered in the previous two years. The annual number of people killed in the war fell from 3101 in 1992 to 1692 in 1993 and about 500 in 1994" , Clutterbuck, *Drugs, Crime and Corruption*, p.36
 See also, *Mondes Rebelles*, p.122
- ¹¹⁹ Clawson and Lee, *op.cit.*, p. 154
- ¹²⁰ *Corruption in the Huallaga, Drug Trafficking Update*, November 1992, p.4
- ¹²¹ See, Obando , Enrique, *Fujimori and the Military. A marriage of Convenience*, p.33 and Menzel,*Fire in the Andes*, p.155
- ¹²² In the first semester of 1990 five internal military fronts or conterisurgent commands (Huallaga, Huamanga, Mantaro, Inca and Ucayali) were created. This commands overlap with the emergency zones. See, Tapia, Carlos, *Las Fuerzas Armadas y Sendero Luminoso*. p. 58

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- ¹²³ Menzel, op.cit,p.197
- ¹²⁴ In fact an underground organization of dissident military officials (COMACA, "Comanders, Majors and Captains") denounced that only those military officials who were not part of General Hermoza's inner circle were targets of investigation. See, Obando, Enrique, Fujimori and the Military. A marriage of convenience, p.35
- ¹²⁵ "A modern praetorian government may develop when civilian institutions become dysfunctional and lose legitimacy and the military institution steps into the void to play a direct or indirect role in the political process" Manwaring, Guerrillas, Narcotics and Terrorism, p.53
- ¹²⁶ As a matter of fact in April 1993, General Hermoza lead a battery of tanks in Lima in April 1993 in order to intimidate Congress in to backing down from a probe into military involvement in disappearances in La Canuta University in May, 1991. See, Obando, Enrique, Fujimori and the Military. A marriage of Convenience,p.34
- ¹²⁷ FBIS-TDD-96-003-L,Daily Views Removal of Military From Drug Enforcement Plan
- ¹²⁸ U. S. Department of State, International Narcotics Control Strategy Report 1997, www.state.gov/www/global/narcotics_law/1996_narc_report/Samer96.html
- ¹²⁹ OGD, Report 1997, www.ogd.org/rapport/RP12_2_PEROU.html

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