



ELN Logo. 1 on Photo/Chart References.



Shining Path Poster: 2 on Photo/Chart References.



FARC Logo: 3 on Photo/Chart References

SOUTH/LATIN AMERICAN COMPARATIVE TERROR GROUPS OUTCOMES

The Rise, Reign & Outcomes of the ELN, FARC & Shining Path

The goals and purpose of this research are to compare three (3) similar yet different political terrorist organizations in South America. The ELN, FARC & Shining Path all developed around the same time and had stints of violent terrorist acts and attacks on people. This will examine different methods of dealing with these organizations while attempting and hoping to explain why the Shining Path was beaten with force, why the ELN is still at large and what led to negotiations/peace deals between the FARC & Columbian Government. Based off the results, it is the hope of the author to do a follow up report on other groups in South America and then take those results to compare in a third paper about strategy for dealing with terrorist groups in the Middle East. In doing so this paper dives deep into ideology, motivation, conditions and what stability in a Region has to be in order to bring groups like the FARC back into the mainstream community OR determine if that was a fluke. In addition proposals for peace with the ELN will also be made along with lessons learned from the Shining Path.

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Under the Direction of Dr. Cruise PhD.



FARC Fighters: 4 on Photo/Chart References



Shining Path Rebels: 5 on Photos/Chart References



ELN Fighters: 6 on Photos/Chart References

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Research Question: How do terrorist groups in Latin America, rise and fall/shift overtime?

Reason for Research: In today's world terrorism is more publicized than it once was while being able to create hiccups and instability in the economic World. It poses great risk and leaves debates among governments, peoples, victims and human rights activist on what to do. This question will specifically look at the History of the ELN, FARC and Shining Path by examining their formation, rise, dominance and funding activities. It hopes to explain why three similar groups, starting at around the same time while embracing similar yet different ideologies, can have three different outcomes from peace deals with the government, still be on going and basically reduced to nothing. If the cause can be isolated to what leads to the different ends, hopefully the findings can be used in policy choices to combat terrorism in Latin/South America. In addition if those techniques are effective, hopefully they can then be applied to the Middle East problem in a future paper and explored further at that time.

Abstract: What it comes down to for the rise and fall of terrorist organizations is their popularity, strength/stability of the nation state, their use of force and money supply network of funding. In addition strategic areas and attacks via group operations compared to the cultural elements of the land can make all the difference in winning public support/fear or being reduced to angry yellors and obliterated. At the same time their technological capabilities have to be examined also. The goals and purpose of this research are to compare and contrast the ELN, FARC & Shining Path. The areas compared will be their histories, funding, operational activities, the violence they committed and their present day outcomes. In doing so it hopes to get to the heart of the ideology of the three (3) groups in question and look at their motivation for their violent acts committed. Based off these findings, it hopes to identify similarities and differences before coming up with a strategy to successfully combat terrorism.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Below are the key takeaways summaries about the ELN, FARC and Shining Path in addition to the findings plus proposal.

ELN: The ELN was founded July 4th, 1964 and by January 7th, 1965 they had already seized their first town of Simacota. Their ideology are Marist-Leninist founded by Cuban educated Catholic priests wanting popular democracy. Most of their funding comes from ransom kidnappings while operating in the northeastern region of Colombia. Compared to the FARC & Shining Path they are the least violent but have the potential to increase in violence over the upcoming years.

FARC: From 43 guerrilla fighters in the Cauca Mountains during 1964 came the FARC in the aftermath of Violencia. Their primary sources of funding come from drug smuggling. Most of their profits then went to money being laundered in the Tri Border Area (TBA). Compared to the ELN and Shining Path, the FARC are the most violent group resulting in 220,000 deaths and displaced over seven (7) million Colombians from their homes. They have recently negotiated a peace deal with the Colombian government and violence has dropped tremendously.

SHINING PATH: Unlike the ELN and the FARC, the Shining Path were slow when starting their rise. Professor Guzman started recruiting in the 1960's and didn't officially form his group until the 1970's. From the 1980's to the early 2000's they were active in attacks and terrorist activities. In total the Shining Path was responsible for 36,000 of the 77,552 deaths during the violence of the time. Their primary sources of funding were ransom kidnappings, drug smuggling, ransom payments and sell of agricultural crops. By 2004 they were thought to have

been obliterated. Recently a small group of 400 fighters have remerged and get their funding from both ransom kidnappings and drug sells, particularly of coca.

FINDINGS: The findings for the rise are that instability exist in a developing country with disgruntled people from a government that either ignores certain areas or has an elitist connection system. Violent acts then happened which creates a common cause and viewpoint. From there people get together venting their frustrations and group together. From the bond before and echo chamber received of wrongs done to them, extremist views form and then the violence begins. Once the acts take place, they can't go back and the monster of such groups of the ELN, FARC and Shining Path form while being ignored until they create big standoffs and its too late to crush the group out of existence leading to many different confrontations to come.

CONCLUSION: The conclusions to this paper are that the Colombian government could have been more proactive after Violencia on rebuilding the whole country as the Germans did with East Germany after conflict under the same principle concept. Instead isolation and elitism grew up in its place which allowed rebel fighters and Cuban brothers to band together. In that same spirit of ignoring until its too late, the Peruvian government did the same thing as the Shining Path slowly took over the country side, kidnapped people for ransom and grew in arms with grievances that went unanswered and met for the longest time.

PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE RESEARCH: From the findings and conclusion of this paper, it is proposed that a 2nd paper be done examining 3 terrorist organizations in the Middle East. From the findings of the 2nd paper, do a third paper comparing and contrasting before looking at methods to see if there are key solid consistent ways and patterns to beating terrorist groups/organizations of different types OR if each has to be taken on a case by case basis.

TERRORIST REFORM OR REGRESSION IN SOUTH AMERICAN JUNGLES?

In the land of Muisca, Inca, Spanish Conquest, vast forest and jungles poised with economic opportunities and at times plagued with large amount of violence with rich cultures and traditions in conflict, three terrorist organizations rose up in the 1960's. These three terrorist organizations would remain active for the rest of the 20th Century. From small beginnings with low numbers to surges in popularity and public hate over the years, viewpoints so similar couldn't have played further apart in outcomes shaping the present day groups. From the academic start gone violent by the Shining Path, disgruntled Catholic Priests with religious roots for the ELN and political aims taken to new levels mixed with bad company by the FARC, the management and decisions made by leadership led the way thru the jungle and into occasional clearings. The brightest outlook ending came from the FARC while the ELN is still writing their story to decide if they go the way of the Shining Path OR come out into the light like the FARC.

While violence clearly did take place, questions arise on if the ultimate motivation was ideology, money or fear of getting caught after initial acts. In addition arguments can and are raised on if the rise of the ELN, FARC and Shining Path could have been avoided with simple government policies to help develop areas, if more could have been done for involvement in the political process or if they were bound to happen anyway. From hostile land takeovers and town seizures, to local alliances fueled by Marxist-Leninist ideology and alleged Cuban funding ties, questions arise on how these groups were able to financially sustain their own operations let alone prosper like the FARC from their large accumulation of wealth during their operation years. This paper will attempt to explain these reasons, outcome and more of the 3 in question.

HISTORY

ELN: The ELN was founded on July 4th, 1964 by Fabio Vasquez with Cuban support¹.

There first major action took place on January 7th, 1965 when they seized the town of Simacota.²

The ideology of the group is Marxist-Leninist with membership around 2,000 fighters controlling rural/mountainous regions of Colombia in the north, northeast and southwestern parts of the country.³ What led to the ELN founding was the vision of brothers Fabio and Manuel Vásquez Castaño wanting what they viewed as a popular democracy in Columbia. Both were part of the Cuban scholarship program Brigada Pro Liberación Nacional. They felt the Colombian majority was excluded by the “elitist oppressions” state and wanted to replace it with one that was more representative of the Colombian people they envisioned.

With much inequality throughout Colombia and Catholic roots, Fabio Vasquez was inspired by part of a Dec 23rd, 1962 address made by Pope John XXIII during his annual Christmas greeting to the Diplomatic Core.⁴ In that speech, the Pope stated two lines that resonated with Fabio: **“The sublime prayer which establishes the true hierarchy of values: first, God’s name, His kingdom, His will; then, each day’s bread and other necessities.....it is clearly essential that international law, founded upon natural law, be respected at all times by everyone. Whoever fosters respect for law in international disputes works for the true welfare of mankind.”** (Pope John XXIII: Dec 23rd, 1962) Vasquez viewed this as the Colombian government being secular serving the will of the elite instead of God and the

¹ Colombia Reports: Jan 14th, 2018: Profiles: ELN <https://colombiareports.com/eln/> Accessed: May 9th, 2018

² Stanford University: Mapping Militant Organizations: This source gives a brief description on the history and rise of the ELN. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/87> Accessed: Jan 31st, 2018

³ Sullivan Mark & Beittel June: Latin America: Terrorism Issues: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf> Page 8/26. Accessed Jan 31st, 2018

⁴ Pope John XXIII Christmas Address to Diplomatic Core: https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/speeches/1962/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19621223_corpo-diplomatico.html Accessed: May 9th, 2018

common man. In addition poverty and suffering was wide spread in his mind with certain areas being ignored, therefore the ELN had to be founded to reform the institutions as was natural law for the rise and fall of time. By his mind and standards he was doing God's work for the people which justified the actions he and his group were taking.

After seizing Simacota in 1965 in response to oligarch establishment rule, Catholic Priest Camilo Torres was fed up with the corruption of the establishment and blind eye to what he saw as the suffering of the Colombian people and fellow Christians in society that he resigned in protest.⁵ After resigning Torres joined the ELN and died in his first battle during 1966. With his death he became a martyr and rallying cry for the ELN throughout Colombia. Things would remain relatively stable for the ELN until 1973 when the Colombian Government launched Operation Anori in which it killed 135 of the 200 ELN members. Of the 65 members that remained, they managed to escape and started engaging in ransom kidnappings of oil company employees, bombing pipelines and drug trades.

Since Anori came to power in 1973, the ELN rose to 5,000 soldiers in the 1990's before kidnapping 186 Colombians from a Church in Cali followed by hijacking Avianca Flight 9463 which included the kidnapping of 43 passengers⁶. In the early 2000's peace talks were attempted between the ELN and Colombian government to only fail. Violence continued in the region until June 10th, 2014 when the two released a joint statement to resume talks.⁷

⁵ Torres & Idania Camilo Torres: <http://www3.uakron.edu/worldciv/pascher/torres-idania.html> Accessed: Monday May 9th, 2018

⁶ April 27th, 1999: The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/1999/apr/28/features11.g23> Accessed: Monday May 9th, 2018

⁷ Official Colombian President Website:   Comunicado Conjunto Gobierno-ELN http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co/Prensa/2014/Junio/Paginas/20140610_01-Comunicado-Gobierno-ELN.aspx Accessed: Monday May 9th, 2018

COMUNICADO CONJUNTO #1
10 de Junio de 2014

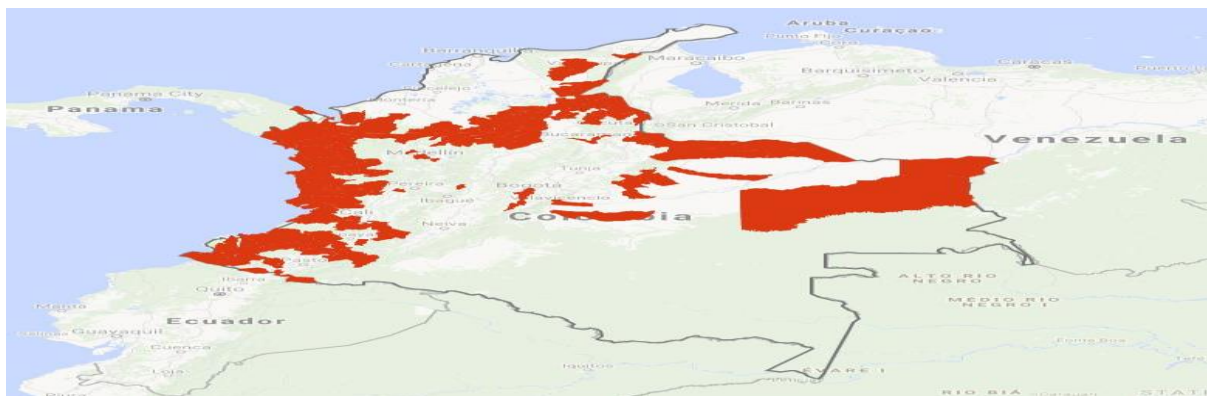
Las Delegaciones del Gobierno Nacional y del Ejército de Liberación Nacional – ELN informan que:

1. El Gobierno Nacional y el ELN han iniciado una fase exploratoria de conversaciones el pasado enero de 2014, luego de una serie de contactos y reuniones que tuvieron lugar desde el año 2013. El objetivo de esta fase exploratoria es acordar una agenda y el diseño del proceso que haga viable el fin del conflicto, y la construcción de la paz estable y duradera para Colombia.
2. Las Delegaciones acordaron que la agenda de conversaciones incluirá los puntos de víctimas y participación de la sociedad. Los demás temas están por acordar.
3. Expresan a Colombia y la comunidad internacional, la voluntad recíproca de continuar con la fase exploratoria que permita acordar una agenda y establecer una mesa de conversaciones para llegar a la firma de un acuerdo final.
4. Las Delegaciones darán a conocer periódicamente y de común acuerdo los avances y resultado de esta fase exploratoria.
5. Las Delegaciones agradecen a los gobiernos de la República Federativa de Brasil, la República de Chile, la República de Cuba, la República de Ecuador, el Reino de Noruega y la República Bolivariana de Venezuela, la buena voluntad y el compromiso que han expresado en el acompañamiento y garantías de este proceso.
6. Las Delegaciones hacen un llamado al pueblo colombiano para que se una al propósito común de lograr el fin del conflicto y construir un país en paz y equidad.

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Despite agreeing to the talks, they didn't actually take place until March 30th, 2016 when Venezuela finally agreed to host them. By September a 100 day cease fire was announced, but the violence resumed on January 10th, 2018. Below is a map to show the present controlled territory of the ELN.



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⁸ Copy of Joint Statement Released between the ELN & Colombian Government:

http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co/Prensa/2014/Junio/Paginas/20140610_01-Comunicado-Gobierno-ELN.aspx

⁹ Colombia Reports: Feb 18th, 2018: Colombia's Illegal Armed Groups' Areas of Influence:

<https://colombiareports.com/mapping-colombias-illegal-armed-groups/#eln> Accessed: May 9th, 2018

FARC: Within the mountains of Cauca during 1964, 43 guerilla fighters took refuge and founded the FARC.¹⁰ The founding preceded a long history dating back to “Violencia” (1948-1958 Columbian Civil War) in which members were involved over land disputes. Over the years, support for the FARC would increase and rise eventually becoming the largest guerilla group in Colombia and arguably the largest in Latin America that wasn’t outright crushed or taking over a government. In a confidential declassified CIA memorandum from August 9th, 1976 it refers to four (4) groups in Colombia including the FARC writing them off as irrelevant.¹¹ However as history progressed, the CIA was wrong in this case and the FARC became the largest organization in Colombia opposing the government. In May 2013 as part of the 2012 Country Reports on Terrorism, the State Department determined that more than half of all violent and terrorist acts in Latin America were committed by the FARC.¹²

While the FARC seeking peace might sound new along with the historic deal recently reached, it’s not as new or groundbreaking as one might believe it to be. That in no way diminishes its importance, however to really understand the formation, rise and history of the FARC before its most recent peace deal with the Colombian government, it’s important to understand the History of Colombia and past instances of political violence followed by peace. With the exception of 1953-1957 under the Military Dictatorship of Rojas Pinilla, Colombia has remained ruled by politicians instead of military dictatorships.¹³ Dating back Colombia had 8 Constitutions between 1821 and 1866. It would then be 13 years until the War of 1000 Days

¹⁰ Molano Alfredo: The Evolution of the FARC: A Guerrilla Group’s Long History <https://nacla.org/article/evolution-farc-guerrilla-groups-long-history> Accessed: January 31st, 2018

¹¹ CIA Memorandum: August 9th, 1976: Terrorism in South America: https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/DOC_0000343640.pdf Accessed: January 31st, 2018

¹² Beittel S. June & Sullivan P. Mark: July 11th, 2013: US Congressional Research Service: https://www.everycrsreport.com/files/20130711_RS21049_2c3aa5999a25a85f032b91f72e91be41690820e9.pdf Accessed January 31st, 2018

¹³ Howlett Kevin: Colombia’s Imperfect Dictatorship July 18th, 2015 Colombia-Politics.com <http://www.colombia-politics.com/imperfect-dictatorship/> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

(1899-1902) started over the structure of electoral rules.¹⁴ Things were then relatively peaceful until peasant uprisings over land reform (major issue to the FARC) and distribution took place in during the 1920's and 30's especially in the regions of Sumapaz and Tequendama which were known for growing coffee. In addition elements of the Communist Party which would later join with the FARC were also rumored to be supporting the protest as well. Things were then stable until La Violencia. In the after math of La Violencia conditions worsened across Colombia while the elite ruling political class was out of touch creating major inequality and unstable conditions in the rural areas of Colombia which by the 1960's led to the creation of the FARC. The main contributors were Alberto Lleras Camargo (liberal) and Laureano Gomez (conservative)¹⁵ striking a deal that would become the 1958 Constitution which excluded Marist and Communist groups from power who would also contribute to the FARC, aka the National Front which launched large amounts of guerilla activities in Colombia.

Upon officially forming in 1964 the stated goal of the FARC was to defeat the Oligarchy of the Conservative and Liberal Parties and their control/poor management of the Colombian state in regards to land distribution issues.¹⁶ In addition many rural areas across Colombia were left unattended or ignored in infrastructure projects. The FARC started taking over these areas of control and forging connections with the locals, thus creating two (2) different Colombia's of

¹⁴ Taylor L Steven: Colombia: On the Brink of Peace with the FARC? **Political Violence and Violent Politics: Colombia's History** ORIGINS Current Events in Historical Perspective Joint Publication between Ohio State & Miami University History Departments Volume 10: Issue 1: October 2016: <http://origins.osu.edu/article/colombia-brink-peace-farc> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

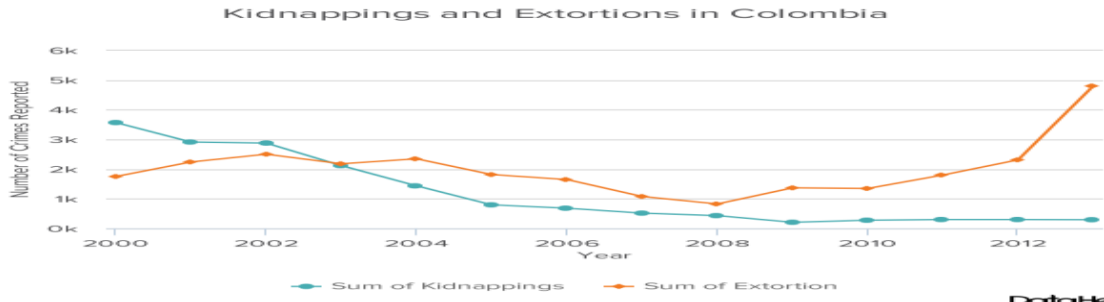
¹⁵Garcia-Guadilla Pilar Maria and Hurtado Monica Participation and Constitution Making in Colombia and Venezuela: Enlarging the Scope of Democracy? Paper for the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), Miami, FL, March 16-18, 2000 <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/Lasa2000/Garcia-Guadilla-Hurtado.PDF> Colombia: Page 7: Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

¹⁶ Taylor L Steven: Colombia: On the Brink of Peace with the FARC? **A History of Failed Peace Initiatives, Persistence, and Growth** ORIGINS Current Events in Historical Perspective Joint Publication between Ohio State & Miami University History Departments Volume 10: Issue 1: October 2016: <http://origins.osu.edu/article/colombia-brink-peace-farc> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

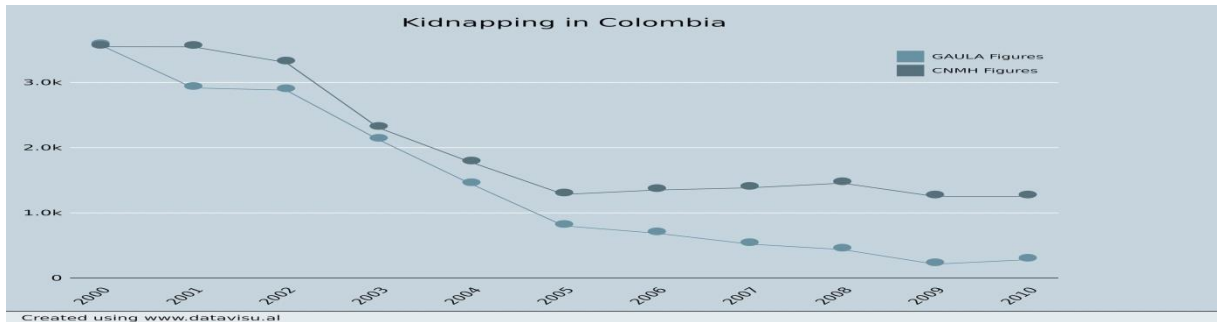
Countryside guerilla rule and city elite. The main targets of the FARC were military bases, infrastructure and individuals who could bring money for ransom kidnappings. From the 1970's to 1980's, FARC fighting membership grew from 500 to 3,000. By the 1980's they were sending small groups to large cities for car bombing attacks. In addition to grow their money resources they began taxing cocaine production and drug trafficking routes for protection.

In the 1980's with the help of Belasario Betancur the FARC held a seize fire from 1984-1987. During that time the FARC formed a political party called the Patriotic Union (UP) which made the ballot in the 1986 election. From those elections they received 14 senators, a lot of national council members and controlled a number of small rural localities. However a large number of UP politicians were assassinated in urban areas leaving work.¹⁷ This led to the FARC attacking an army unit in Caquetá from dissatisfaction of being killed. The party was still existing but many FARC member left and returned to violent attacks by force. By 1987, 450 members of UP were gunned down in public by Motorcycle riders. That number would increase to 3,000 deaths by 2004. During the 1990's violence by the FARC greatly increased across Colombia reaching 20,000 fighting troops. By the early 2000's the method was kidnappings for ransom. The chart below shows that there were over 1,000 kidnappings each year from 2000-2005 with the majority believed to have been committed by the FARC. That is over 3 a day. In addition the other chart below shows that extortion schemes went up, when kidnappings went down across Colombia which leads hints that the activities of the FARC were either lucrative or they were cash strapped to keep funding their activities. In addition prior to the 2015 peace deal negotiations, there is also a map showing area of FARC Control/Influence.

¹⁷ Rand Report: Chap 7: The Peace Negotiations Page 1:
https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1339/MR1339.ch7.pdf Accessed:
Thursday May 10th, 2018



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In present day outcome, the historic peace deal and recent developments will be discussed, however this history is crucial to understanding the peace deal came about.

¹⁸ Gurney Kyra Behind Colombia's Dramatic Fall in Kidnappings **Kidnapping Going Down; Extortion Going Up** InSight Crime <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/behind-colombia-dramatic-fall-in-kidnappings/> January 13th, 2015: Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

¹⁹ Gurney Kyra Behind Colombia's Dramatic Fall in Kidnappings **Discrepancies in the Numbers** InSight Crime <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/behind-colombia-dramatic-fall-in-kidnappings/> January 13th, 2015: Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

²⁰ Nolan Alan: **FARC Rebels Find Peace With Colombian Government 3) Uribe, Santos, and the Peace Negotiations** currentcontext.org September 1st, 2016: <http://www.currentcontext.org/blog/farc-and-government-peace> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

SHINING PATH: The Shining Path is a Leninist-Marxist Communist group officially founded in 1970. However its founder Philosophy Professor Guzman of San Cristobal Huamanga University began recruiting students in the 1960's.²¹ Up until the 1980's they had large control of rural areas with very little resistance. In the 1980's their violence intensified before dropping off in the 1990's after the capture of their leader Abimael Guzman. In 2001 the Shining Path resumed terrorist activities across Peru and in March 2002 they launched a car bomb across the street from the US Embassy that killed 10 Peruvian citizens and US Embassy Security personnel.²² In 2016, many people considered the Shining Path no longer active/relative; however in 2017 they have shown signs of reactivation presence.

The recruitment of Shining Path members began in the intellectual community by Guzman during the 1960's who was inspired by Jose Carlos Mariategui. The home base of the Shining Path was San Cristobal de Huamanga National University in Ayacucho. Guzmán and other members of the Shining Path were able to dominate the faculty and student clubs during this time. They indoctrinated large portions of the student body with a Maoist ideology by continually talking about the massive income and life style inequality between the classes within Peru.

In the 1970's they grew from 20 to 500 members by 1980 while remaining relatively peaceful.²³ In 1980 the Shining Path committed their first official violent act and during that same year also declared War on the Peruvian Government. On May 17th, 1980 the Shining Path

²¹ Shining Path History: <http://sites.stedwards.edu/craigc-crij4347asp2015/central-south-america/shining-path/shining-path-history/> Accessed: March 3rd, 2018

²² Sullivan Mark: March 29th, 2005: Latin America: Terrorism Issues Congressional Research Service (CRS): http://www.bits.de/public/documents/US_Terrorist_Attacks/CRS-LatinAmericaTerr290305.pdf Accessed January 31st, 2018

²³ National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism (START) Project on Violent Conflict Shining Path (SL) History: June 2015: <http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/shining-path-sl> Accessed: May 10th, 2018

destroyed Peruvian ballot boxes in an attempt to disrupt elections and create government chaos across the country.²⁴ From then on, the Shining Path would partake in violence for the rest of the 1980's and 1990's. The majority of their support base was in the rural areas of Apurimac, Ayacucho and Huancavelica; however they did have sympathizers in Lima.

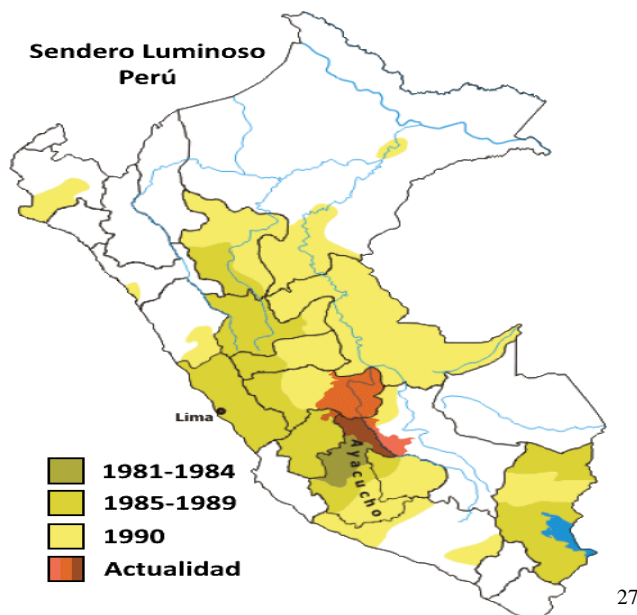
The structure of the Shining Path was also interesting as in units were independent of each other but loyalty at the top belonged to Guzman. Using writings from Mao Tse-Tung "Organization for Guerrilla Warfare" which laid out military instructions for students with no knowledge of warfare, Guzman quickly had local fighting forces in some of the most impoverished areas of Peru that were ignored during land reform to recruit to his cause.²⁵

The Shining Path started major acts of violence in the 1980s resulting in the death of 30,000 civilians. During this time they revealed their ultimate goal to destroy existing Peruvian institutions and replace them with a Communist peasant revolutionary regime while being opposed to any foreign government influence by foreign governments and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA). The Shining Path recruited thousands of poor Native peasants during the 1970's and 1980's. After realizing that the Shining Path was a serious threat, the Peruvian military came up with a plan for a counterinsurgency against the Shining Path in addition to implement Rondas Campesinas. Support quickly changed when the Shining Path started attacking villages.

²⁴ Peru Reports.com <https://perureports.com/shining-path/> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

²⁵ US Army Major Burgoyne L Michael *The Allure of Quick Victory: Lessons From Peru's Fight Against Sendero Luminos* September-October 2010 Military Review http://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20101031_art011.pdf Page 69: Accessed Thursday May 10th, 2018

Following the first collapse of the Shining Path in the 1990s, its remaining members did a 5 year study of its failure and released a 45-page document.²⁶ In this document, the Shining Path concluded that extrajudicial killings, kidnappings, blackmail, and occupying homes was a bad idea when trying to gain public support and this is what caused them to fail. However they vowed to continue attacking Peruvian Military, police, and those fighting terrorist and or drug traffickers. While the Shining Path is no longer as strong/active as it was during the 1980s and 1990s, members still operate in remote mountainous and jungle areas of central/southern Peru. Shining Path members have formed alliances with coca farmers and drug traffickers in drug-growing areas of the Upper Huallaga and Apurimac valleys to provide armed protection against the government's interdiction efforts.



²⁶ GlobalSecurity.org https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/sendero_luminoso.htm Accessed Thursday May 10th, 2018

²⁷ Shining Path Sphere of Influence: Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shining_Path Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

²⁸ Per Coca Growing Regions Peru's Shining Path One down Just one more remnant to go May 3rd, 2012 Economist American Print Edition plus Web: <https://www.economist.com/node/21548957> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018



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\$\$ FUNDING \$\$



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ELN: Today the ELN is still active within Colombia. While its well known that the majority of their funding comes from ransom kidnappings, one area often less explored is ELN bank activities in addition to the drug smuggling.³³ The ransom kidnappings are variable in the income depending upon quality of kidnap and ability of payment by family/companies of workers. Drug smuggling and taxing routes in areas they control, the ELN brings in about \$200 Million in a down year when crops are raided/destroyed and as high as \$3.5 Billion in a phenomenal year.³⁴ In addition the ELN uses extortion against multinational oil companies for money.³⁵ It's rumored that the majority of their funds are funneled thru the Tri Border Area (TBA) or spent in the economy as cash. However, a recent theory, in need of more research, suggests that some of the ELN membership was also part of the Panama Papers. According to

²⁹ Colombian Peso Notes: IStock Getty Images: <https://www.istockphoto.com/photo/stack-of-colombian-pesos-bills-stacks-background-gm593317486-101822039> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

³⁰ USD Money Stack: Steemit Beta: [Count the \\$100 usd notes Contest!](https://steemit.com/steemit/@geneeverett/count-the-usd100-usd-notes-contest) Geneeverett <https://steemit.com/steemit/@geneeverett/count-the-usd100-usd-notes-contest> Accessed May 10th, 2018

³¹ 100 Sol Notes: IStock Getty Images: <https://www.istockphoto.com/photo/peruvian-nuevos-soles-isolated-on-white-background-gm620701486-108286607> Accessed May 10th, 2018

³² Currency Globes: Wisegeek.com <http://images.wisegeek.com/currency-globe.jpg> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

³³ Hudson Rex and Curtis Glenn: Library of Congress Federal Research Division, the Crime and Narcotics Center and the Director of Central Intelligence: July 2003: Revised December 2010: Terrorist and Organized Crime Groups in the Tri-Border Area (TBA) of South America: https://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/TerrOrgCrime_TBA.pdf Accessed: January 31st, 2018

³⁴ The Mackenzie Institute Security Matters: Dec 10th, 2015: <http://mackenzieinstitute.com/ejercito-de-liberacion-nacional-eln-3/> Accessed: Thursday May 10th, 2018

³⁵ Labyrinth Colombian Chapter 3: [Origins and Development of the Guerrillas](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1339/MR1339.ch3.pdf) The National Liberation Army (ELN) Rand.org https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1339/MR1339.ch3.pdf Accessed Thursday May 10th, 2018

the Offshore Leaks Database by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalist there is a company called ELN ASSETS LTD with an interesting history.³⁶ The company was incorporated on August 31st, 2004 and became inactive on September 24th, 2010. The acting agent was Mossack Fonseca. The company was registered in the British Virgin Islands and used the Intermediary of Depigest³⁷ Trust Company based out of Switzerland. The Pastourelle Group Foundation would pay in as shareholders and then the money would go to the Bearer with a fee cut which was then considered clean and untraceable cash for the ELN member to use or if not that is at least the theory. Below is a photo to demonstrate the connection:



The question for the ELN is where does the money go after they receive the ransom payments and extortion fees if one were to cut off the funding. In a June 6th, 2016 Congressional Memorandum the US Federal Government acknowledges that many drug traffickers and alleged drug traffickers in Latin America were involved in the Panama Papers.³⁹ One specific name in the Panama Papers from the ELN is Frank Pearl.⁴⁰ Others are suspected under false names.

³⁶ OFFSHORE LEAKS DATABASE ELN ASSETS LTD by The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists <https://offshoreleaks.icij.org/nodes/10113414> Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

³⁷ Depigest Trust Company: Official Company Website: <https://www.depigest.ch/en/>



³⁸ Offshore Leaks Database Connection Chart.

³⁹ United States House of Representatives Committee on Financial Services: June 6th, 2016 Memorandum for the June 8th, 2016 Task Force to Investigate Terror Financing hearing entitled "The Enemy in our Backyard: Examining Terror Funding Streams from South America" Page 7/12: Panama Papers and Latin American Links https://financialservices.house.gov/uploadedfiles/060816_tf_supplemental_memo.pdf Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

⁴⁰ April 14th, 2016: The FARC's Finances: [Unfunny Money](https://www.economist.com/news/americas/21697008-government-may-never-get-its-hands-guerrillas-ill-gotten-gains-unfunny-money) Economist: <https://www.economist.com/news/americas/21697008-government-may-never-get-its-hands-guerrillas-ill-gotten-gains-unfunny-money> Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

FARC: Between 2010 and 2014 under the arrangement of the Venezuelan government, Hezbollah smuggled \$250 Million USD worth of Cocaine for the FARC.⁴¹ The majority of the funding for the FARC comes from drug sells over time. Just like Hezbollah was the preferred distributor from 2010-2014, the FARC changes the groups it contracts with for drug distribution and has been around the criminal underworld including the Mexican Drug Cartels. Today the FARC have a net worth of as little as \$332 Million or as much as \$11 Billion USD depending upon how the assets are counted and which version is believed.⁴² (Yagoub Mimi August 29th, 2017) The problem with evaluating the net worth of the FARC is the cost of seized assets, land/cattle fluctuation values, the Colombian government wasn't specific on what to include/exclude of Colombian holdings and foreign holdings are excluded from the count.

The FARC also objected to the imposed timeline for providing the documents. In addition money laundering thru ligament businesses and fronts that went undetected is a concern as well. Other concerns raised are mid-level FARC commanders who made side deals and never reported earning or faked cut numbers to upper leadership in addition to untraceable cash dealings. It is widely suspected that the FARC laundered money near Rainbow Bridge in Ciudad del Este in the Tri Border Area (TBA). In addition Humberto de la Calle appears the Panama Papers for laundering money.⁴³

⁴¹ Feb 4th, 2014 US Congress Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade Subcommittee:

<https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CHRG-113hhrg86587/pdf/CHRG-113hhrg86587.pdf> Page 5/81:

⁴² August 29th, 2017 Yagoub Mimi: InSight Crime <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/the-farc-riches-list-assets-fails-reveal-total-wealth/>

⁴³ April 14th, 2016: The FARC's Finances: Unfunny Money Economist:

<https://www.economist.com/news/americas/21697008-government-may-never-get-its-hands-guerrillas-ill-gotten-gains-unfunny-money> Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

While appears to be stuck on the Panama Papers and the drug trade, the FARC have also entered into another source of revenue. They have begun illegal mining for gold.⁴⁴ Over the years here is what the FARC have officially disclosed to the Colombian government since reaching the peace agreement.⁴⁵

OBJECTS	AMOUNT	Value (USD)
Hectares of Realestate:	241,560	\$147,167,667
Vehicles	292	\$2,772,422
Cattle	20,724	\$10,549,372
Weapons	Undisclosed	\$70,057,363
Roads	3,753 km	\$65,540,667
Grams of Gold	2,670,520	\$10,700,800
Mafia Assets Confiscated by the FARC	Undisclosed	\$9,745,000
House Hold Equipment Objects	?	\$7,103,859
Museum Like Treasures & Artifacts	Undisclosed Pieces	\$5,492,000
Medical Equipment:	Includes 2 Dentist Chair and Cleaning Equipment among others	\$1,494,980
Colombian Pesos	Various Denomination of bills	\$833,333
USD	\$100's & \$20's	\$450,000
Horses	579	\$323,667

Below are some pictures from Business Insider on what that looks like.



⁴⁴ United States House of Representatives Committee on Financial Services: June 6th, 2016 Memorandum for the June 8th, 2016 Task Force to Investigate Terror Financing hearing entitled “The Enemy in our Backyard: Examining Terror Funding Streams from South America” Page 3/12: Sources of Financing: FARC: https://financialservices.house.gov/uploadedfiles/060816_tf_supplemental_memo.pdf Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

⁴⁵ Hodgson Camilla: Colombia's Rebel Army is Handing over \$332 Million in Assets — Here's what that's made up of Business Insider: <http://www.businessinsider.com/colombian-farc-inventory-of-332-million-assets-handed-to-government-2017-9> Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

SHINING PATH: Overtime the Shining Path had/have 4 main sources of money to fund their operations within Peru. The first was kidnappings for ransom. The targets typically were relatives of Peruvian government/police officials and or wealthy foreigners. The second way of funding is smuggling of drugs, people and weapons for various purposes while receiving a cut for services rendered. The third way of receiving funding was to take over an area such as the mob would and then for protection/normalcy have the shops/landowners pay them weekly payments. The prime intimidation payments was the 1970's and 1980's. The fourth and last way by agricultural crops from areas they controlled within Peru. They would then take market prices and either sell them for more to the locals they controlled or trade/sell crops across the border to groups such as the FARC and ELN to provide them food. One crop that granted the Shining Path a lot of money and popularity was coca which the Peruvian government was trying to suppress.⁴⁶ The Shining Path then stepped in and offered protection of both the crops and immunity from government crackdown by a combination of force and tribute payments.

After the arrest of Guzman in 1992, Commandant Feliciano came to rise and restructured the organization from open confrontation in rural areas to working quietly underground. At that time the Shining Path increased the drug trade to increase its funding.⁴⁷ In 1995 the Shinning Path increased its presence again and Feliciano was captured. However following his model, the Shining Path remained in the drug trade and rebuilt funds underground during this time before reappearing with violent urban guerilla tactics in the early 2000's.

⁴⁶ Steinitz S. Mark: The Terrorism and Drug Connection in Latin America's Andean Region: Page 5/16: https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/media/csis/pubs/pp_steinitz%5B1%5D.pdf Accessed January 31st, 2018

⁴⁷ Feldmann Andreas and Perälä: Nongovernmental Terrorism in Latin America: Re-Examining Old Assumptions: Working Paper #286-July 2001. The Hellen Kellogg Institute for International Studies Page 11/31: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a34f/dee0cdb57d397d6787d05bed634575522eb1.pdf> Accessed: January 31st, 2018

OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

ELN: The ELN operates mostly in Colombia. Its operations include ransom kidnappings, protection offerings, drug distribution and the occasional joint ventures with the FARC.

FARC: The FARC control large portions of Colombia. Their operations involve smuggling, ransom kidnappings, agriculture, human/weapons trafficking, drug activities, money laundering, property protection and recently added government negotiations to their list of operation activities and involvement. In some areas their control is so strong, that the FARC run schools, social programs and act as the local police.

SHINING PATH: In 2013, the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report released by the US State Department labeled Peru as the World's top potential producer of Cocaine.⁴⁸ While the Shinning Path traditionally held operations in ransom kidnappings for profit and controlled large areas demanding tribute protection payments. Today the Shining Path has transferred to remote locations for the growing Coca and is intensifying the drug trade connections to survive and increasing funding giving the growth potential of the region. In addition with the FARC in peace deals who absorbed the power vacuum after Colombian Cartels fell, the Shining Path is hoping to do the same to remerge strong and once again continue its operations at full strength. This is something that the Peruvian government should be concerned about.

⁴⁸ Feb 4th, 2014: Celina B. Realuyo Statement: 113th Congress: Hearing on Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape: <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20140204/101702/HHRG-113-FA18-Wstate-RealuyoC-20140204.pdf> Page 4/11. Accessed January 31st, 2018

VIOLENCE

ELN: Of the 3 groups being compared in this paper, the ELN is the least violent.

However with the recent strength in numbers of the Shining Path and the FARC going down the road of peace with the Colombian government, FARC defectors dissatisfied with the peace it is possible over the next few years to see a dramatic increase in ELN violence. Below is a recap of the most notorious violent acts committed by the ELN.

Jan 7th, 1965: The ELN seizes the town Simacota.

1975: They assassinate Army Inspector General Jose Ramon Rincon Quiones.

1980's: Blew up numerous pipelines and had small amounts of killings most days that added up to thousands over time.

1984's: When other rebel groups were signing cease fires, the ELN refused to sign, kidnapped the brother of President Betancur and demanded the Colombian government declare the ELN the official legitimate government of Colombia in order to get the brother back. The Colombian government didn't comply.

1998: Blew up the Ocesa Pipeline resulting in the death of 84 people and injured another 30.

April 1999: Hijacked an Avianca Flight.

May 1999: Kidnapped 186 people attending a Church Service in Cali.

June 15th, 2011: The ELN sets off a car bomb in Popayan Cauca that injures 15 and kills

FARC: Since the FARC started they have been the most violent group around of the 3 being compared. They are credited with 220,000 deaths and displacing 7 million Colombians from their homes.⁴⁹ The conditions that they keep ransom victims in are also terrible. Below is a list of major FARC attacks overtime since August 1996.

August 30th, 1996: The FARC attack Las Delicias Military Base killing 54 soldiers, injuring 15 and capturing 60 Colombian soldiers to take prisoner for negotiations.

March 1998: The FARC ambush the 52nd Counter Guerilla Battalion of Colombian Army's 3rd Mobil Brigade killing 62 and taking 43 prisoner.

August 1998: The FARC destroy the Military base of Mira Flores in Southern Guaviare.

October 2000: The FARC raid Dabeida and kill 54 Colombian Police/Army.

May 2nd, 2002: The FARC kill 119 unarmed civilians.

Feb 26th, 2006: In a bus near Puerto Rico the FARC kill 8 civilians.

During 2010 the FARC got into a large number of firefights with Colombian Security Forces and ended up kill 460 security personnel while injuring an additional 2,000.

Since the Peace Talks started and have gone into effect, violence across Colombia has dropped dramatically, especially from the FARC.

⁴⁹ Miroff Nick: August 24th, 2016 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/08/24/the-staggering-toll-of-colombias-war-with-farc-rebels-explained-in-numbers/?utm_term=.9a8ca54f934e Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018.

SHINING PATH: During the 1970's and 1980's the Shining Path was extremely violent and active. In the mid 1990's they dropped off significantly. In the early 2000's they went to car bombs and most recently its either targeted ransom kidnappings or fire traded during Peruvian Military targeted operation raids. Of the 70,000 deaths the Shining Path was responsible for 54% of them. 75% of those deaths were of the indigenous population.⁵⁰ On Jul 16th, 1992 the Shining Path went from rural and village warfare to road bombs in the streets of Mira Flores.⁵¹ In the late 1980's and early 1990's until the capture of Guzman Shining Path firefights resulted in heavy causality losses.

June 1985: The Shining Path blows up electricity transmission towers causing a blackout of Lima.⁵²

July 16th, 1992: The Shining Path sets off a bomb on Tarata Street killing 25 people and injuring 155 people.

March 21st, 2002: The Shining Path sets off a car bomb across the street from the US Embassy killing 10 Peruvians and injuring US Security personnel.

October 7th, 2012: The Shining Path shoots down and disrupts a helicopter transport for an international gas pipeline company.

⁵⁰ Gandhi Aneesha: [From Shining Path to Truth Commission: A brief history of the Political Regimes of the 1980s and 1990s and the Truth Commissions in Peru](https://www.brandeis.edu/ethics/pdfs/internationaljustice/JustPerformance/From_Shining_Path_to_Truth_Commission.pdf) Summer 2011 Northeastern University School of Law: https://www.brandeis.edu/ethics/pdfs/internationaljustice/JustPerformance/From_Shining_Path_to_Truth_Commission.pdf Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

⁵¹ Cabitza Mattia [Peru's Shining Path Rebels: Old Enemy, New Threat](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-17188842) BBC Feb 28th, 2012: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-17188842> Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

⁵² New York Times Archives: 1995: <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/09/22/world/around-the-world-guerrillas-black-out-lima-for-45-minutes.html> Accessed Friday May 11th, 2018

PRESENT DAY OUTCOMES

ELN: The ELN is on and off again on peace negotiations with split factions. They entered peace negotiations in January 2017 hosted by Ecuador. However the Colombian government has withdrawn those talks⁵³ in January 2018. Violence rep up with both sides launching attacks in February and March followed by some cooling off in April. Within the last week Cuba has offered to host the talks.⁵⁴

FARC: Have successfully negotiated phase 1 of a peace deal and hopefully will be resolved. However, with troubles in disclosing assets to the Colombian government combined with tactics that appear to be repeating the motorcycle murders and arrest of the Patriotic Union Party during the 1980's, the FARC could potentially revert back to violence and terminate the deal. This year as of May 9th, 2018 twenty two (22) FARC leadership officials have been gunned down in public.⁵⁵ In addition FARC peace negotiator Santrich was arrested⁵⁶ in April creating lack of trust and starting tensions among the FARC. While violence has decreased, remembering the 1980's this wouldn't be the first time that fighting could resume.

SHINING PATH: Today the Shining Path has about 400 members and most operates in drug trafficking, cultivation and smuggling.

⁵³ Aljazeera News: Colombia withdraws negotiators after ELN attacks
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/01/colombia-withdraws-negotiators-eln-attacks-180110183956528.html>
Jan 11th, 2018. Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

⁵⁴ Alsema Adriaan Cuba to host Colombia's peace talks with ELN May 6th, 2018 Colombia Reports:
<https://colombiareports.com/cuba-to-host-colombias-peace-talks-with-eln/> Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

⁵⁵ Nicholls Sallyan Former FARC fighters 'murdered in Colombia' despite peace deal Euronews: May 9th, 2018:
<http://www.euronews.com/2018/05/09/former-farc-fighters-murdered-in-colombia-despite-peace-deal>
Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

⁵⁶ Taylor Luke: Will the arrest of an ex-FARC leader threaten peace in Colombia? April 15th, 2018
<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/04/arrest-farc-leader-threaten-peace-colombia-180413094121234.html>
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FINDINGS

ELN: Camilo Torres was the Catholic Priest with a large following in Colombia that made the ELN famous. First he agreed with their ideology and sympathized during sermons. Torres then resigned and joined the ELN. Four (4) months after joining he was killed in his first battle and died. For his death he became a martyr to the ELN and helped increase membership as a recruiting tool.

Operation Anori was a heavy raid conducted on the ELN when its membership was down to just 200 members in its early years of operation. The Colombian government had already killed 135 of those members and had the chance to kill the remaining 65, but on orders from the Colombian President the Colombian Army stood down and let the last 65 escape with the hope for peace negotiations. Instead the ELN went dark and started extorting oil companies, doing ransom kidnappings and blowing up pipelines. From there the ELN would grow to reach 5,000 fighting forces.

The majority of ELN funding comes from Ransom kidnappings and the drug trade while its money is laundered thru the Panama Papers and the Tri Border Area (TBA).

Overtime the ELN grew bolder from hijacking commercial flights, to attacks on military bases, kidnappings for ransoms at increasing numbers and refusing pre conditions of prisoners/hostage releases before negotiating. In addition they would pick times for oil pipeline bombings to inflict mass casualties.

FARC: Responsible for the deaths of 220,000 Colombians and displacing over seven (7) million people from their homes. This ranged over the years from small town/village takeovers, bombing and the aftermath of military operations to confront the FARC.

The FARC wants political legitimacy, land issues resolved and a chance for peace in the 1980's was blown. This can be seen from how many time the FARC have come to the negotiating table over the years, their stated land reform goals their attempt at a political party in the 1980's and now their attempts to comply with the Colombian government on handing over assets.

With recognition the FARC commit less violence, but respond in kind by escalating once their members are killed. During the 1980's after the establishment of the Patriotic Union Party, FARC attacks dropped dramatically across Colombia. However after having 450 elected members gunned down in the streets of Urban areas alleged to take place by certain factions of the Liberal and Conservative Parties, the FARC had enough and returned to violence. In addition with the most recent rounds of peace talks, cease fires went into effect greatly limiting and reducing violence across Colombia. However tensions have started to rise again given the arrest and assassinations of many FARC leaders and negotiators.

SHINING PATH: Responsible for over 30,000 deaths according to the Truth Commission of Peru.⁵⁷ The Shining Path mostly partakes in urban warfare with the occasional urban attacks as witnessed and documented earlier in this paper across Lima. Today the Shining Path has reemerged and rebranded as a drug trafficking organization in Peru having lost the appeal of Guzman.

⁵⁷ Peru Truth Commission Report: 1st 40 Pages in Spanish:
https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/file/resources/collections/commissions/Peru01-Report/Peru01-Report_Vol1Intro.pdf Accessed: Friday May 11th, 2018

COMPARISON ANALYSIS

While all three organizations express the Marxist-Leninist ideology and at first glance appear to be similar, their motivations/grievances that led them to form, were very different. For example: The FARC wanted a seat at the political table within the system while redistributing land to what they viewed as the oppressed peasant class. The ELN wanted to put peasants in control while the Shining Path wanted to overthrow the Peruvian Government and rule themselves under Communist ideology. When a group (FARC) wants a say in what goes on that is very different from a group wanting to completely overthrow (Shining Path) the government. In addition while two may agree (ELN & Shining Path) that the government needs to be overthrown, installing yourself (Shining Path) versus a different group of people to replace the existing government is also very important as well and denotes a key difference in motivation, ideology and strategic opportunities taken/ignored by the leadership and fighters of the three groups. Basically the FARC is the child saying coach put me in the game I'm ready to play in the big leagues with Liberals and Conservatives, stop putting me at the child's table or withholding supper altogether. The ELN is the disgruntled parent in the stands saying put my kids in who can do a better job than the Coach's kid (Colombian Government) is playing favorites to prevent Colombia from winning big time in the future. The Shining Path is the angry disgruntled ignored fan base saying fire Mike Stoops that has now been given a platform, money, weapons and only armed resistance against it.

After establishing the motivations/grievances for forming, in order for a terrorist organization to complete formation into a group, one has to look at the circumstances and membership surrounding it which is important in figuring out different outcomes for groups.

While all three (3) similar terrorist organizations might start out expressing Marxist-Leninist ideology that doesn't make them all the same. An example would be calling the Christian denominations of the Mormons, Evangelical Covenant and Roman Catholics all the same because they all claim to be Christians. The Shining Path was started by a group of intellectual elites at a University in Peru pre Internet search engines and Starbucks. They were used to reading the libraries in all-nighters and doing the tedious work of writing by hand. Patience was key to the Shining Path with their slow rise and expansion during the 1970's and 1980's. As Catholics try to prevent the participation of non Catholics from their Mass, the Shining Path when attempting to prevent all other forms of governments except their Communist ideology from participation in government if ever given the chance, which they had in a few rural areas and small villages of control.

While one can make the case in Colombia that both the ELN and the FARC rose in the aftermath of La Violencia, their motivations for rising were very different which left them in search of different goals. The ELN was mad at the state and disliked the Oligarchs of Colombia status quo operations initially appealing to Colombians that had previously studied in Peru and were elite. On the other hand, the FARC wanted land reform and redistribution to peasants while having political groups join them that were left out of the Liberal-Conservative Power sharing agreement in the after math of La Violencia. The FARC initially made mass appeal while the ELN greatly limited its numbers in the beginning. The initial difference between the two was like an elite wine club in France verse an open bar in Germany. Another stark difference is that overtime the ELN went from anti-drug trafficking and ransom kidnappings to making it common practice today. Part of this was because the ELN had a large number of Catholic priest to begin with in the early stages, however after 1973 membership was down to 35 and money was needed

to rebuild which led to a shift in views overtime for convenience instead of key core issues. This is when the group changed to its present day form. Similarly the Shining Path was very ideological in the beginning, but after Guzman was captured, the Shining Path lost many of its followers and the remaining followers shifted to convenience for financially lucrative activities such as drugs. The FARC while changing attack methods overtime, still had land reform and redistribution while wanting to be an official political party at the heart of their activities which made the peace deals easier to achieve for the FARC.

CONCLUSION

RESEARCH QUESTION: How do terrorist groups in Latin America, rise and fall/shift overtime?

ANSWER: The groups rise around a cause and charismatic leader. In the case of the Shining Path that charismatic leader was Guzman. For the ELN and FARC the cause was reform from dissatisfaction against the Oligarchs in Colombia and land issues among the peasants.

Groups shift overtime as circumstances change. After the ELN had 35 members remaining and managed to escape, they changed their mode of operation by attacking infrastructure, implementing extortion, entering the drug trade after opposing it and started ransoms for kidnappings to raise capital. This is when they went from fighting government sources, to having civilian casualties. The FARC had a shift in the 1980's when they were allowed access to the political ballot before reverting to violence. Recently peace has been achieved, but reoccurrences of problems from 1984-1987 are starting to resurface that can threaten that peace. For the Shining Path it was the capture of their leader Guzman that led the group to shift from trying to overthrow the government to focusing on the lucrative drug trade.

The fall comes when a group is obliterated by force or no longer has need to pursue their cause. Compared to what the Shining Path once was, it is basically gone. The FARC could have lost pursuing their cause in the 1980's if it weren't for the gunning down in the streets of their politicians and some of the recent arrest by the Colombian government on FARC members can reignite that cause against the Liberal/Conservative Oligarchy of Colombia in a power sharing agreement. The ELN could have been destroyed in 1973, however with the decision by

the President to let them escape for hope of peace talks later, the ELN then shifted and became far more violent than it was before since their cause of government change was not met and was not compatible with the majority of Colombians.

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