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United States Department of State Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review Review Authority: MOSKOWITZ, SAM Date: 04/24/95 Case ID: 93006854

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DIA FOR OA-5/OS-10/DB-6D2/JSI-48/DB-3C1 USINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PE SUBJECT: CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SL

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: ON MARCH 18 TWO PRO- SENDERO LUMINOSO STUDENTS FROM SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY ATTENDED A BARBEQUE AT THE HOME OF EMBASSY POLOFF. IN THE PRESENCE OF 9 OTHER STUDENT LEADERS THE TWO OPENLY DEFENDED SENDERO ACTIVITIES AND EXPLAINED THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS FOR THE REVOLUTION IN PERU. WHILE THE OTHER STUDENTS QUESTIONED SOME OF THEIR VIEWS, THE TWO WERE TREATED WITH OBVIOUS RESPECT. ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING POINTS WAS THEIR JUSTIFICATION AND RATIONALE FOR KILLING INDIAN CAMPESINOS (THEY ARE "PETIT RURAL BOURGEOISIE"). END SUMMARY.

3. HOW THE MEETING CAME ABOUT:

WE ORGANIZED A FIRST MEETING WITH THESE STUDENTS THROUGH A SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY LAW PROFESSOR IN RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FROM CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ TO MEET WITH A GROUP OF COLLEGE MARXISTS DURING HIS DECEMBER 17-20, 1988 VISIT TO LIMA (00 LIMA 17807). AFTER THE SOLARZ MEETING ONE OF THE STUDENTS TOLD US THAT TWO OF THOSE ATTENDING WERE SENDERO LUMINOSO REPRESENTATIVES AT SAN MARCOS. SEVERAL OF THE STUDENTS SUBSEQUENTLY REQUESTED A FOLLOW-UP MEETING WITH EMBASSY OFFICERS. WHEN WE SCHEDULED THE ASADO WE DOUBTED THAT THE TWO PRO-SENDERO STUDENTS WOULD COME TO THE HOME OF A U.S. OFFICIAL. THEY DID. TWO USIS OFFICERS ALSO ATTENDED.

4. NOTE: ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT CLEAR IN ADVANCE THAT THE SL WERE COMING, WE OKAYED THIS MEETING BECAUSE, FOR OTHER REASONS, THE POLOFF IS DUE THIS WEEK TO CHANGE RESIDENCES. END NOTE.

5. UNLIKE THE SOLARZ MEETING WHERE THEY LARGELY BLENDED IN WITH THE OTHER STUDENTS, ON MARCH 18 THE TWO WERE OPEN IN THEIR

DEFENSE OF SENDERO AND IN ATTEMPTING TO EXPLAIN SENDERO IDEOLOGY. BOTH WERE SEVERE IN THEIR CRITICISMS OF THE LEFTIST AND MARXIST MEMBERS OF THE I.U. AS ONE (PEDRO) STATED, "ALL OF THE IU PARTIES START WITH A FLAWED PREMISE: THAT THE CURRENT POLITICAL SYSTEM CAN BE REPAIRED". IT WAS PEDRO WHO DID MOST OF THE SPEAKING FOR THE PAIR WITH OCCASIONAL "COMVPI" ASIDES TO HIS COMPANION, FOLLOWED BY RENEWED ATTACKS ON THE REVISIONISM OF MARXISTS WHO NO LONGER ACCEPT AS NECESSARY ARMED REVOLUTION.

6. WHY SENDERO KILLS:

EARLY IN THE EVENING PEDRO RESPONDED TO A POLOFF QUESTION ON SL TARGETING CAMPESINOS FOR ASSASSINATION. HE DEFENDED THE PRACTICE AND EXPLAINED THAT THE SL HAD LEARNED THE LESSON OF THE SINGLE WEAKNESS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA FOLLOWING MAO'S VICTORY. ACCORDING TO PEDRO, MAO RECOGNIZED IN HIS EARLY WRITINGS THAT EVEN AMONG THE PEASANTS THERE EXISTS A "PETIT RURAL BOURGEOISIE". MAO'S ERROR WAS IN NOT PURGING THIS MINORITY. PEDRO SAID THAT THESE QHOLL CAPITALISTS INFILTRATED THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC AND CORRUPTED THE REVOLUTION. THIS LED TO THE EXCESSES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.

7. PEDRO SAID THAT PRESIDENT GONZALO (SL FOUNDER ABIMAEI GUZMAN) OBSERVED THE LESSONS OF MAO'S MISTAKE AND THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THE ORIGINALITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST THINKING OF GONZALO. THE SL, HE SAYS, STUDIES THE HABITS OF THE CAMPESINO, IDENTIFIES THOSE WHO DO NOT SUPPORT THE IDEALS OF THE REVOLUTION, WARNS THEM OF THEIR ERROR, THEN ASSASSINATES THE UNREPENTANT. THEIR POVERTY DOES NOT PREVENT THESE PEASANTS FROM BEING CAPITALISTS AT HEART.

8. COMMENT: THIS LINE CAN BE FOUND IN SOME SL DOCUMENTS. IN PRACTICE SENDERO APPEARS TO BE FAIRLY SUCCESSFUL IN PICKING OUT THOSE PEASANTS WHO ARE "PETIT CAPITALISTS". WE HAVE REPEATEDLY HEARD REPORTS THAT THOUGH VILLAGERS REGRETTED THE KILLING BY THE SL OF ONE OF THEIR OWN, "AFTER ALL HE WAS LENDING MONEY AT AN EXORBITANT RATE." A NUMBER OF CAMPESINOS RECENTLY KILLED IN JUNIN DEPARTMENT WERE TARGETED BECAUSE THEY HAD "MORE CATTLE THAN THEY NEEDED TO SUPPORT THEIR FAMILIES" OR BECAUSE THEY BELONGED TO ECONOMICALLY SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT THE MAYORS, JUDGES AND OTHER FIGURES KILLED BY THE SL ARE "THE MOST CORRUPT", A TERM WHICH TO THE SL MAY MEAN "ECONOMICALLY THE SURVIVAL OF SOME ELECTED AND APPOINTED POLITICIANS INSIDE THE EMERGENCY ZONES, EVEN WITHIN AREAS CONSIDERED "LIBERATED", MAY BE A PRODUCT OF THIS SELECTIVITY OF TARGETING.

9. NEVERTHELESS, IT SHOULD NOT BE THOUGHT THAT ALL SL TARGETS ARE CLOSET CAPITALISTS. THE SL IS WAGING A WAR FOR INFLUENCE WHICH BRINGS IT INTO CONFLICT WITH THE ARMY, THE

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PEASANT SELF-DEFENSE ORGANIZATIONS CALLED "ROMOS CAMPESINAS", WITH GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN-FINANCED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, AND WITH SUCCESSFUL, HONEST POLITICIANS WHO ARE WORKING TO ELIMINATE SOCIAL INJUSTICE. ALL OF THESE ARE TARGETED BY SENDERO. OCCASIONALLY, SAYS SENDEROLOGIST RAUL GONZALEZ, THE SL IS ALSO BRUTAL JUST FOR THE SAKE OF BRUTALITY, TO REMIND ALL WATCHERS THAT A COMMITTED REVOLUTIONARY WILL PAY ANY PRICE FOR THE VICTORY OF THE REVOLUTION. END COMMENT.

10. DEFERENCE FROM THEIR PEERS:

PEDRO LARGELY DOMINATED MOST OF THE CONVERSATION DURING LONG SEGMENTS OF THE EVENING, PROMPTING ONE STUDENT (THE ONLY NON-LEFTIST IN THE GROUP) TO COMPLAIN THAT THE DISCUSSION WAS BECOMING UNDEMOCRATIC. ALL OF THE STUDENTS OCCASIONALLY ARGUED WITH OR CHIDED THE TWO, BUT IT WAS PLAIN THAT PEDRO AND MIGUEL COMMANDED THE GRUDGING RESPECT (FEAR?) OF THE OTHERS. THE ONLY EMOTIONAL REPARTEE OF THE EVENING CAME WHEN PEDRO LANCED A PCP STUDENT LEADER: "I DON'T MEAN TO INSULT YOU," PEDRO SAID, AND THEN HE PROCEEDED TO DO JUST THAT, BELITTLING A STATEMENT THE OTHER HAD MADE.

11. POLOFF AT ONE POINT OBSERVED, THAT ABIMAEI GUZMAN AND FIDEL CASTRO WERE THE ONLY TWO MARXISTS LEFT IN THE WORLD WHO REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE THE EVOLUTION OF MARXIST-LENINIST THINKING. BOTH STUDENTS WERE SHARPLY CRITICAL OF THE "MODERNIZATION" CITED BY THEIR LEFTIST FELLOWS. SENDERO, SAID POLOFF, ATTEMPTS TO TRANSPLANT IDEOLOGIES WHICH HAVE FAILED IN THE NATIONS WHERE THEY WERE DEvised, INTO A PLACE LIKE PERU THAT IS TOTALLY DIFFERENT. POLOFF ADDED THAT MARXISM HAS THE DISTINCTION OF BEING ONE OF THE FEW POLITICAL SYSTEMS THAT IS HIGH ART IN ITS CONCEPTION AND A COMPLETE DISASTER IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION. PEDRO AND MIGUEL SAT IN STONEY SILENCE.

12. LOADED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE U.S.:

MOST OF THE EVENING FOCUSED ON U.S. POLICIES IN LATIN AMERICA, ESPECIALLY THIRD WORLD DEBT AND ANTI-NARCOTICS. THE GROUP, INCLUDING THE TWO SENDERO, SEEMED GENUINELY INTERESTED IN ENBOFF'S ANSWERS. PEDRO PRESSED HARD ON THE POSSIBILITY OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE PERUVIAN MILITARY TO FIGHT SENDERO UNDER THE DISGUISE OF ITS ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAM. HE APPEARED UNCONVINCED BY POLOFF'S STATEMENTS THAT OUR PROGRAMS ARE CURRENTLY LIMITED TO THE ILLEGAL PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING OF COCA IN THE UHV.

13. DESPITE THE VERBAL SPARRING, THE EVENING WAS CORDIAL. THE 11 HAVE REQUESTED THAT THESE MEETINGS BE HELD REGULARLY, WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER STUDENTS FROM SAN MARCOS. WE ARE CURRENTLY EVALUATING UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS WE CAN MAINTAIN THIS DIALOGUE.
WATSON

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