

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 01 OF 11 181617Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----271BF0 182010Z /38

R 181617Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4992  
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

SECTION 01 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:  
DOWN BUT NOT OUT

REFS: 93 LIMA 9186

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 01 OF 11 181617Z

1. [REDACTED] - ENTIRE TEXT.

SENDERO IS DEAD, LONG LIVE SENDERO  
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2. SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION: PESIDENT FUJIMORI  
FREQUENTLY ASSERTS THAT "SENDERO WILL BE TOTALLY  
DEFEATED BY 1995|" IF PRESSED, THE GOP WOULD  
GRUDGINGLY ADMIT: "WELL, IT'S ALMOST DEAD, AT

n/a

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n/a

Case Number: S200200010

ANY RATE...." BUT NEARLY ALL PERUVIANS, INCLUDING STRONG CRITICS OF THE GOVERNMENT, HEAP PRAISE ON PRESIDENT FUJIMORI FOR GETTING A FIRM GRIP ON THE TERRORIST SCOURGE THAT HAS PLAGUED PERU FOR 13 YEARS. THEY HAVE GOOD REASON TO CHEER FUJIMORI. THE STATISTICS ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE ARE ALL POSITIVE. THE APPREHENSION OF JUST 18 MONTHS AGO THAT SENDERO MIGHT WIN IS NOW A FADING MEMORY. EVERYONE AGREES THAT PERU'S JUNIOR TERRORIST GROUP, THE MRTA, IS HISTORY. EVEN SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL), ONCE CALLED THE WORLD'S MOST LETHAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, IS REELING FROM REPEATED GOP BLOWS.

3. SL HAS TAKEN A DEFINITE BEATING. IT HAS LOST THE CAPABILITY TO OVERTHROW THE PERUVIAN STATE. MOST TOP SL LEADERS ARE DEAD OR IN JAIL. SL RANK AND FILE ARE REPORTEDLY DEPLETED BY CAPTURES, DEATHS AND (FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE WAR BEGAN IN 1980) DESERTIONS. EVEN SENDERO'S FOUNDER AND SUPREME LEADER, ABIMAEL

[REDACTED]  
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PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 01 OF 11 181617Z  
GUZMAN, REVERED BY HIS FOLLOWERS AND CONSIDERED THE EPITOME OF MARXIST THOUGHT INCARNATE, HAS PUBLICLY CALLED FOR A DIALOGUE TOWARDS PEACE TALKS WITH PRESIDENT FUJIMORI.

4. THAT SAID, SENDERO STILL PACKS A PUNCH AND CAN EXPLOIT THE POTENTIAL OF A LIMITED RECOVERY. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS FRIENDS HAVE BEEN FORCED TO DISMISS CONTINUING SENDERO ATTACKS AS "THE FINAL THRASHINGS OF A DYING CORPSE" FAR TOO OFTEN. IN LIMA, 250 KILO-PLUS CAR BOMBS STARTED OFF 1993 IN JANUARY AND ENDED THE YEAR IN DECEMBER, WITH A 150 KILO CAR BOMB AGAINST HEAVILY DEFENDED THE U.S. EMBASSY IN JULY. SENDERO SABOTAGE AND VIOLENCE CAMPAIGNS IN JANUARY, MARCH, JULY AND DECEMBER WERE AN UNCOMFORTABLE REMINDER THAT SL, DESPITE ITS WOUNDS, CAN STILL MOUNT COORDINATED ACTIONS IN MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY AT THE SAME TIME. ASSASSINATIONS AND HARASSMENT CONTINUE, ESPECIALLY AGAINST SENDERO'S ENEMIES IN RURAL

n/a  
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n/a

Case Number: S200200010

VILLAGES AND URBAN SHANTYTOWNS. SENDERO'S AUGUST 18 MASSACRE OF OVER 60 SETTLERS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN THE CENTRAL JUNGLE REGION OF MAZAMARI WAS AMONG THE WORST MASSACRES OF THE WAR. EVEN THE STATISTICS CAN BE USED TO SHOW THAT SENDERO IS NOT ACTING AS HURT AS IT SHOULD BE. THIS AND OTHER EVIDENCE WOULD SUGGEST THAT WHAT REMAINS OF SENDERO OUTSIDE THE PRISONS HAS RECONSTITUTED ITS LEADERSHIP, AND HAS ALSO STOPPED SENDERO'S MILITARY DECLINE, AT LEAST FOR

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 01 OF 11 181617Z THE TIME BEING.

5. MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE TACTICAL MILITARY BALANCE, HOWEVER, IS THE INTENAL DEBATE GENERATED WITHIN SENDERO BY GUZMAN'S CALL FOR A DIALOGUE FOR PEACE. SENDERO, FIRST AND FOREMOST A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, IS STILL DIGESTING THIS UNEXPECTED ORDER FROM ITS SUPREME LEADER. AFTER THE INITIAL SHOCK OF GUZMAN'S CALL FOR PEACE TALKS, SL APPEARS TO BE MOVING TOWARDS ACCEPTANCE OF EVENTUAL PEACE TALKS.

6. MOST SENDERO WATCHERS ARE SKEPTICAL THAT GUZMAN HAS BEEN BROKEN BY A YEAR OF INCOMMUNICADO DETENTION AND DOUBT HE WOULD SURRENDER HIS LIFE'S WORK FOR BETTER PRISON

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PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 02 OF 11 181618Z ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
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	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01

n/a

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W
-----271C1A 182011Z /38						

R 181617Z FEB 94  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4993  
 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
 SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

CONDITIONS. MANY SENDEROLOGISTS THINK WE HAVE  
 ONLY HAD A GLIMPSE OF ONGOING SENDERO/GOP

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 02 OF 11 181618Z  
 NEGOTIATIONS. SOME SUGGEST NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT  
 LEAD TO SENDERO TACITLY ORDERING ITS CADRE IN  
 FROM THE COLD TO SET UP AN ABOVE GROUND "SHOCK"  
 POLITICAL MOVEMENT, FILLING THE CURRENT VACUUM  
 ON THE RADICAL POLITICAL LEFT. APPEALING TO THE  
 POOR AND DISILLUSIONED YOUTH, SL WOULD SEEK TO  
 INFLUENCE POLITICAL DECISIONS AND EVENTS, USING  
 VIOLENCE AS NEEDED. IF SUCH A PARTY GAINED  
 ENOUGH CLOUT, A GUZMAN RELEASE IN SOME TEN YEARS  
 TIME MIGHT BE FEASIBLE. BUT FIRST, GUZMAN NEEDS  
 ACCESS TO HIS PARTY FAITHFUL; SOMETHING WORTH  
 NEGOTIATING FOR AND WHICH THE GOVERNMENT, TO THE  
 SENDEROLOGISTS' LAMENT, HAS ALREADY GRANTED HIM.  
 END COMMENT AND INTRODUCTION.

MAN ON THE STREET: THE WAR IS ENDING

7. CONVENTIONAL WISDOM IN PERU AT THE BEGINNING  
 OF 1994 HOLDS THAT THE TERRORIST WARS ARE WINDING  
 DOWN. IN THE PAST YEAR AND A HALF, THE GOP

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

HAMMERED BOTH SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) AND THE TUPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MRTA). THE NATIONAL PSYCHE, ONCE PREOCCUPIED WITH THE HORROR OF 13 YEARS OF GUERRILLA WAR AND SENDERO'S APPARENTLY INEXORABLE MARCH FROM THE CENTRAL ANDES TO THE EASTERN JUNGLE AREAS AND TO THE COAST AND TO LIMA HAS, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST OPINION POLLS, TURNED ITS ATTENTION TO MORE PRESSING CONCERNS OVER JOBS, MONEY AND THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY. UNSURPRISINGLY, THE GOVERNMENT

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[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 02 OF 11 181618Z  
HAS GONE TO EXTRAORDINARY LENGTHS TO PROCLAIM ITS VITORY OVER THE TERRORISTS. IN THE CASE OF MRTA, THIS IS WELL WARRANTED, IF OVERSTATED, AS FEW EVER CONSIDERED MRTA A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE PERUVIAN STATE. MRTA IS ESSENTIALLY HISTORY. THE CASE FOR PROCLAIMING VICTORY OVER SENDERO LUMINOSO IS HOWEVER, NOT AS STRONG.

THE GOVERNMENT DOES GOOD

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8. OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS, THE GOP CORRECTLY PRIORITIZED THE USE OF INTELLIGENCE AGAINST THE TERRORISTS. AS DIRECT RESULT OF THIS, THE LEADERS OF BOTH ORGANIZATIONS ARE NOW SERVING LIFE TERMS AT MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISONS, ALONG WITH MOST OF THEIR TOP LIEUTENANTS. WITH THE SEPTEMBER 1992 ARREST OF SENDERO FOUNDER, ABIMAEI GUZMAN, THE GOVERNMENT SMASHED THE AURA OF INVINCIBILITY THAT HAD COME TO SURROUND SENDERO AND SILENCED SPECULATION BY SENDERO WATCHERS OF A POSSIBLE SENDERO "VICTORY." IN ADDITION TO INTELLIGENCE, THE GOP EMPLOYED OTHER SUCCESSFUL TACTICS SUCH AS THE USE OF EFFECTIVE, ALBEIT DRACONIAN COUNTER-TERRORIST LAWS, APPLIED LARGELY BY MILITARY COURTS IN SUMMARY TRIALS. THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMED THAT 1,300 TERRORISTS, PRIMARILY SENDERISTAS, WERE SENTENCED BY THE COURTS IN 1993 - 300 OF WHOM WERE GIVEN THE MAXIMUM LIFE TERM, SUGGESTING, IF THE LAWS WERE FOLLOWED PROPERLY (BUT WE KNOW THEY WERE NOT IN

[REDACTED]

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/aCase Number: S200200010  
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PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 02 OF 11 181618Z  
SOME CASES) THAT THEY WERE HARD CORE CADRE OR  
LEADERS.

9. ALSO, THE USE OF A NEW REPENTANT TERRORIST SCHEME BROUGHT MANY MORE TERRORISTS IN FROM THE COLD. THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMED THAT 780 SENDERISTAS AND 730 MRTA TERRORISTS HAD JOINED THE REPENTANCE SCHEME IN 1993. WHILE IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE TREND INDICATED BY THE GOVERNMENT ASSERTIONS IS CORRECT AND THEREFORE ENCOURAGING, THE GOVERNMENT ALMOST CERTAINLY GROSSLY OVERSTATES ITS CASE. FOR INSTANCE, IN NOVEMBER THE AYACUCHO FRONT HELD A CEREMONY PRESIDED OVER BY PRESIDENT FUJIMORI WHERE OVER 180 "SENDERISTAS" SURRENDERED TO THE STATE, THE LARGEST NUMBER TO SURRENDER AT ONE TIME. EMBASSY SOURCES DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE SURRENDER CONFIRMED THAT NEARLY HALF OF THE "SENDERISTAS" WERE YOUNG CHILDREN BELOW 11 YEARS OF AGE. ALLOWING FOR OLDER MEN AND WOMEN (OVER 50), THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME 30-40 "COMBATANT" AGED SENDERISTAS, BUT ALL OF THEM APPEARED TO HAVE

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PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 03 OF 11 181619Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
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	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

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R 181617Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4994

[REDACTED]  
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Case Number: S200200010

INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

BEEN COERCED RECRUITS. THE "COLUMN" ADMITTED  
THAT THEY HAD KILLED THE THREE SENDERO CADRE IN

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 03 OF 11 181619Z  
CHARGE OF THEM BEFORE FLEEING TO THE NEAREST  
MILITARY CAMP.

10. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO CONTINUED TO RELY ON  
RURAL SELF-DEFENSE COMMITTEES (RONDAS  
CAMPESINAS) TO DENY SENDERO TERRAIN AND  
INFLUENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. CURRENTLY THERE  
ARE MORE THAN AN ESTIMATED 300 RONDAS (WITH AN  
ESTIMATED 50,000 PERSONS) IN AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT  
ALONE, THE REMOTE SOUTH CENTRAL ANDEAN DEPARTMENT  
THAT WAS SENDERO'S "BIRTHPLACE". THE RONDAS,  
PROBLEMATIC AND IN MOST CASES ONLY UNDER NOMINAL  
CONTROL OF THE MILITARY, HAVE CURBED SENDERO  
INFLUENCE AND POWER IN THEIR AREAS, OR, IN SOME  
CASES, EFFECTIVELY DRIVEN SENDERO OUT OF ENTIRE  
ZONES. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO CONTINUED TO USE THE  
MILITARY AS THE SPEARHEAD OF NUMEROUS CIVIC  
ACTION PROGRAMS IN BOTH URBAN AND RURAL AREAS.

11. AIDING THESE SUCCESSFUL TACTICS HAS BEEN  
THE MEASURABLE SIGNIFICANT DECLINE IN ABUSES AND  
HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY THE  
SECURITY FORCES. IN THE KEY INDICATORS OF  
DISAPPEARANCES AND EXTRAJUDICIAL EXECUTIONS,  
REPORTS OF VIOLATIONS BY SOLDIERS AND POLICE  
WERE DOWN BY MORE THAN TWO THIRDS IN 1993  
COMPARED TO 1992. SOME ABUSE CONTINUES, BUT

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

OVERALL, EVEN HARDENED HUMAN RIGHTS VETERANS PRAISE THE REAL REDUCTION IN ABUSES. CONTACTS FROM THE SHANTYTOWNS REPORT, ANECDOTALLY, THAT MILITARY SEARCH AND SEIZURE SWEEPS IN THE  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 03 OF 11 181619Z  
SHANTYTOWNS ARE OFTEN WELCOMED WHEN THESE ARE FOLLOWED UP WITH FOOD HANDOUTS AND BASIC MEDICAL ATTENTION. ROVING POLICE CHECKPOINTS, HOWEVER, ARE STILL REJECTED AS BRIBES AND HARASSMENT ARE THE NORM THERE. ANOTHER MAJOR FACTOR WAS SL'S VASTLY INCREASED ABUSES AGAINST CIVILIANS SINCE THE LATE 1980'S, WHICH PUSHED PEOPLE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT.

12. STILL, THE BETTER BEHAVIOR OF THE TROOPS AND POLICE OVERALL HAS CONTRIBUTED TO AN (OFTEN TIMES GRUDGING) ACCEPTANCE OF THE SECURITY FORCES BY THE LOCAL POPULATIONS OF MARGINAL AREAS AND COMMUNITIES. A SLOW RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN POPULATIONS AND SECURITY FORCES IS HELPING TO CONSOLIDATE GOVERNMENT PACIFICATION GAINS AND TO DENY SENDERO POLITICAL SPACE AMONG THE POORER ELEMENTS OF SOCIETY.

DISPLACED COMMUNITIES' CAUTIOUS RETURN  
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13. AS THE PACE OF THE WAR SLOWED DOWN, SOME OF THE ESTIMATED 600,000 DISPLACED PERSONS HAVE BEGUN CAUTIOUSLY RETURNING HOME. THE SOUTH CENTRAL ANDES, WHERE THE WAR FIRST BEGAN AND WHICH HAS BORNE THE BRUNT OF THE FIGHTING OVER THE YEARS, HAS SEEN THE MOST PROMISING RETURN EFFORTS TO DATE. ADVANCE PARTIES REPRESENTING THE FIRST WAVES OF RETURNEES FROM COMMUNITIES SUCH AS MACARACCAY AND HUAHUAPUQUIO HAVE BEGUN  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 03 OF 11 181619Z  
TO RETURN TO NORTHERN AYACUCHO PROVINCES OF LA MAR, HUANTA AND HUAMANGA. THE RETURN OF THE

n/a  
[REDACTED]



n/a

Case Number: S200200010

CAMPESINOS, TO AREAS THEY FLED, OR WERE DRIVEN FROM, DURING THE COURSE OF THE WAR IS WIDELY SEEN AS A KEY INDICATOR THAT PEACE IS RETURNING TO THE COUNTRYSIDE. HAVING GONE THROUGH ONE ORDEAL, CAMPESINOS -- TRADITIONALLY CONSERVATIVE ABOUT RISKING THEIR FAMILIES, LIVESTOCK, CROPS AND FEW POSSESSIONS -- ARE NOT LIKELY TO MOVE BACK UNLESS THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT THE SITUATION THAT FORCED THEM TO LEAVE HAD CHANGED.

14. NGOS WORKING WITH DISPLACED COMMUNITIES AND PERSONS ARE EXCITED BY THE RETURNS AND AGREE THAT IT IS A STRONG INDICATOR THAT SECURITY CONDITIONS ON THE GROUND ARE VASTLY IMPROVED. YET THEY ALSO CAUTION THAT RETURNS, WHILE DEFINITELY WELCOME SIGNS OF NORMALIZATION OVERALL, MUST BE VIEWED ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS AND WARN AGAINST READING TOO MUCH INTO THE LIMITED RETURNS OF ONLY HUNDREDS OF PERSONS TO A FEW LIMITED AREAS OF AYACUCHO, JUNIN AND ELSEWHERE. CEPRODEP, ONE SUCH NGO, ESTIMATES

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PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 04 OF 11 181619Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----271C41 182014Z /38

R 181617Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4995  
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

n/a

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

[REDACTED] SECTION 04 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
 SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

THE NUMBER OF DISPLACED PERUVIANS IS CLOSER TO  
 ONE MILLION AND POINTS OUT THAT IN AYACUCHO THE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 04 OF 11 181619Z  
 RETURN EFFORTS ARE IN PART DRIVEN BY DISPLACED  
 COMMUNITIES' FAILURE TO ADAPT TO THEIR "REFUGE  
 COMMUNITIES" -- SUCH AS THE GRIM SHANTYTOWNS OF  
 LIMA. FED UP WITH THE DIFFICULT PRIVATIONS OF  
 THE CITIES, SOME COMMUNITIES ARE IN FACT  
 STRETCHING THEIR RESOURCES IN ORDER TO RETURN TO  
 THEIR HOME AREAS.

15. JOSE CORONEL, AN AYACUCHO-BASED RESEARCHER,  
 STRESSED TO POLOFF IN AYACUCHO THAT THE RETURNS  
 ARE NOT EQUALLY DISTRIBUTED OVER THE AREAS WHERE  
 THE WAR HAS QUIETED DOWN. HE ATTRIBUTES THIS TO  
 THE DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES THAT ORIGINALLY LED  
 EACH COMMUNITY TO FLEE. IN AYACUCHO'S NORTHERN  
 PROVINCES, WHERE THE BULK OF THE RETURNS ARE  
 OCCURRING, THE AGGRESSOR THAT ATTACKED THE  
 COMMUNITIES MORE OFTEN THAN NOT WAS SENDERO. IN  
 THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, WHICH RECENTLY HAVE BEEN  
 JUST AS CALM, THE PRIMARY AGGRESSOR WAS USUALLY  
 THE MILITARY. THE FEAR AND DISTRUST OF THE  
 GOVERNMENT IS STILL A FACTOR, AND VERY FEW OF  
 THOSE COMMUNITIES HAVE BEGUN TO RETURN.

16. ALL OF OUR INTERLOCUTORS EXPRESSED CONCERN  
 THAT THE FEW RETURNS TO DATE ARE HIGHLY  
 VULNERABLE. SENDERO RETRIBUTION IN THE FORM OF  
 INCURSION AND MASSACRES CONTINUE, SUCH AS IN THE  
 CASE OF HUAYLLAO, AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT AND  
 MAZAMARI, JUNIN DEPARTMENT IN AUGUST, 1993. THE  
 MAZAMARI INCIDENT CAUSED ABOUT HALF OF THE  
 NEARBY COMMUNITIES TO LEAVE THE AREA, DESPITE

[REDACTED]

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n/a

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n/a

Case Number: S200200010  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 04 OF 11 181619Z  
SPECIFIC GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO REASSURE THE  
POPULATION. THE NGOS WORKING WITH THE  
"DESPLAZADOS" FEAR THAT THE LACK OF GOVERNMENT  
RESOURCES AND SUPPORT FOR RETURNING COMMUNITIES  
OR A FEW MORE MASSACRES BY SENDERO WOULD CHILL  
FUTURE EFFORTS.

THE STATISTICS: TAKING A CLOSER LOOK  
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17. AT FIRST GLANCE, THE NUMBER OF TERRORIST  
INCIDENTS AND RELATED DEATHS FOR 1993 ARE  
ENCOURAGING. POLITICAL VIOLENCE IS MARKEDLY  
DOWN COMPARED TO 1992 LEVELS. ACCORDING TO  
FORMER SENATOR ENRIQUE BERNALES' VIOLENCE  
MONITORING GROUP CONSTITUTION AND SOCIETY THERE  
WERE ONLY APPROXIMATELY 1,175 INCIDENTS IN 1993  
VERSUS 1,625 IN 1992. LOOKING PAST THE MERE  
NUMBER OF INCIDENTS, CONSTITUTION AND SOCIETY  
POINTS OUT THAT THE QUALITY OF TERRORIST ACTIONS  
IN 1993 (SIZE OF BOMBS, ASSASSINATION TARGETS,  
ETC.) WAS LESS SPECTACULAR THAN IN 1992. THE  
MONITORING GROUP ALSO REPORTED THERE WERE JUST  
UNDER 1,700 DEATHS IN 1993 VERSUS 3,100 IN 1992.  
IT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THE IMPACT OF  
THE NET REDUCTION IN TERRORIST ACTIVITY WAS  
GREATLY MAGNIFIED BY A VASTLY IMPROVED ATTITUDE  
AMONG PERUVIANS THAT THE TIDE OF THE WAR HAD  
DEFINITELY TURNED AND THAT THE WAR WAS WINDING  
DOWN.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 04 OF 11 181619Z  
18. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MEDIA STRONGLY  
ENCOURAGED THIS WITH A CONSTANT STREAM OF "GOOD  
NEWS" REPORTS ON THE WAR FRONT. THE GOVERNMENT  
CLAIMED THAT OVER 1,500 TERRORISTS HAD REPENTED  
AND OVER 1,800 HAD BEEN CAPTURED. MONITORS  
REPORTED THAT OVER 500 TERRORISTS HAD DIED IN  
CLASHES (VERSUS SOME 225 POLICE AND SOLDIERS).  
WHILE THESE FIGURES SHOULD BE CONSIDERED "SOFT",

n/a  
[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

IT IS GENERALLY ACCEPTED THAT THE STATISTICAL TREND OF THE WAR IS, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN OVER A DECADE, HIGHLY ENCOURAGING AND THAT SENDERO HAS BEEN HIT HARDER THAN ANY TIME SINCE THE WAR BEGAN IN MAY, 1980.

19. BUT SOME SENDERO WATCHERS ARE CAUTIOUS ABOUT JUST HOW POSITIVE THE TRENDS ARE. CARLOS TAPIA NOTES THAT BETWEEN 1983 AND 1984 A BRUTAL GOVERNMENT OFFENSIVE AGAINST SL IN AYACUCHO COST SENDERO MORE THAN HALF OF ITS CADRE, IN ADDITION TO SOME 3,000 INNOCENT CIVILIANS. IN 1984, MONITORS ESTIMATE SOME 4,300 PERSONS, INCLUDING 2,500 SUBVERSIVES WERE KILLED IN POLITICAL

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PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 05 OF 11 181622Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----273B04 182115Z /63

R 181617Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4996  
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

SECTION 05 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE

n/a

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

VIOLENCE, ALMOST ALL IN AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT. SL  
ACKNOWLEDGED SOME 1,000 KIA IN THIS PERIOD IN  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 05 OF 11 181622Z  
 AYACUCHO. BY 1985, THE PACE OF THE WAR APPEARED  
 TO NOSE DIVE, AS ONLY AN ESTIMATED 1,350 PERSONS  
 WERE KILLED, INCLUDING 900 SUBVERSIVES. BY 1987,  
 ONLY 700 PERSONS WERE KILLED IN POLITICAL  
 VIOLENCE, INCLUDING 185 TERRORISTS, AND THE APRA  
 GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT GARCIA WAS TAKING CREDIT  
 FOR HAVING ENDED THE WAR. SENDERO HAD BEEN HIT  
 HARD, ITS RANKS DECIMATED BY THE PRISON REVOLTS,  
 AND IT WAS IN THE THROWS OF ITS MOST SERIOUS  
 INTERNAL CRISIS, AS A FACTION WITHIN SL DEBATED  
 WHETHER TO MOVE INTO THE CITY. BY 1988, GUZMAN  
 HAD IMPOSED HIS VISION THAT THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR  
 MAKING THE "GREAT LEAP FORWARD" AND TO TAKE THE  
 WAR TO THE URBAN SETTING. IN 1988, NEARLY 2,000  
 PERSONS DIED, INCLUDING ABOUT 675 TERRORISTS, AND  
 LIMA AND OTHER CITIES BEGAN TO BE ASSAILED BY  
 WHAT SENDERO WOULD COME CALL "ENCIRCLING BANDS OF  
 IRON". THIS SPECTACULAR COMEBACK BY SL, THOUGHT  
 BY THE THEN-GOVERNMENT TO HAVE BEEN MORIBUND,  
 CAUGHT MANY BY SURPRISE.

20. SENDERO WATCHERS ARE QUICK TO FALL BACK ON  
 LESSONS LEARNED THE HARD WAY DURING THE 13 YEARS  
 OF THE WAR. DRAWING THE OBVIOUS HISTORICAL  
 PARALLEL, SENDERO IS IN A SIMILAR PREDICAMENT  
 NOW. ALTHOUGH STRATEGICALLY THE CURRENT  
 SITUATION FOR SENDERO IS CONSIDERABLY WORSE SINCE  
 ITS GUIDING PHILOSOPHER-KING, ABIMAEEL GUZMAN, IS  
 EFFECTIVELY HORS COMBAT, WE NOTE THAT TACTICALLY  
 AT LEAST, SL IS MILITARILY FARING MUCH BETTER  
 THAN IT DID IN THE MID-80S. A PRESUMABLY LARGER,  
 [REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 05 OF 11 181622Z  
 MORE EXPERIENCED AND BETTER ORGANIZED SL HAS,  
 DESPITE THE CAPTURES AN SETBACKS OF 1992/93,

[REDACTED]  
n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

MAINTAINED THE PACE OF ITS ACTIONS AT 75 PERCENT OF WHAT THEY WERE IN 1992. THE NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM THESE ACTIONS IS ONLY DOWN BY 50 PERCENT, COMPARED TO A MORE THAN 66 PERCENT DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF DEAD BETWEEN 1984 AND 1985.

21. IN THE SINGLE CATEGORY OF CAR BOMBS, THE SPECTACULAR HIGH VISIBILITY, LOW RISK WEAPON THAT SL USED TO SUCCESSFULLY PLUNGE LIMENOS INTO NEAR DESPAIR IN 1992, THERE WERE SOME 30 DETONATIONS IN 1993 VERSUS 38 IN 1992. SENDERO BEGAN THE YEAR WITH A 300 KILO CAR BOMB AGAINST THE IBM HEADQUARTERS IN JANUARY, HIT THE U.S. EMBASSY WITH A 150 KILO CAR BOMB IN JULY, AND ENDED THE YEAR WITH 250 KILO CAR BOMB AGAINST THE LIMA PREFECTURE/POLICE COMPLEX (INCLUDING THE NATIONAL COUNTER TERRORISM POLICE OFFICES) IN LATE DECEMBER. THE FALL IN POLITICAL VIOLENCE DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE ON THE ORDER OF MAGNITUDE THAT SHOULD HAVE ACCOMPANIED THE SERIOUS BLOWS THAT THE ORGANIZATION HAS SUFFERED.

SENDERO ON THE MEND?  
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22. IN RECENT STATEMENTS AND CONVERSATIONS, "SENDEROLOGISTS" SUCH AS CARLOS TAPIA, CARLOS BASOMBRIO, PABLO ROJAS AND RAUL GONZALES, AGREE THAT SENDERO SEEMS TO HAVE REBUILT A WORKING  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 05 OF 11 181622Z  
CENTRAL DECISION-MAKING BODY TO REPLACE THE LARGELY CAPTURED CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE NEW LEADER IS BELIEVED TO BE OSCAR ALBERTO RAMIREZ DURAND. RAMIREZ IS THE COMMANDER OF SENDERO'S POPULAR LIBERATION ARMY (FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE POPULAR GUERRILLA ARMY OR EGP), AND IS THE ONE MEMBER OF SENDERO'S PERMANENT COMMITTEE, THE HIGHEST SENDERO RULING BODY, STILL FREE. WALL PAINTINGS AND PAMPHLETS FOUND IN LIMA, JUNIN, PUNO AND ANCASH DEPARTMENTS OVER THE PAST YEAR PRAISE THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF "COMRADE FELICIANO," RAMIREZ'S NOM DE GUERRE.

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

23. THE SENDEROLOGISTS CREDIT FELICIANO WITH KEEPING SENDERO'S REMAINING CADRE LARGELY FUNCTIONAL AND ORGANIZED DESPITE THE SERIOUS DAMAGE INFLICTED UPON SL BY THE GOP. WITH VIRTUALLY ALL OF SL'S TOP LEADERS DEAD OR BEHIND BARS, SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF ITS CADRE CAPTURED OR DISPERSED, AND SECURITY FORCES PRESSING AGAINST SENDERO WITH UNACCUSTOMED EFFICIENCY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS CLEARLY DISRUPTED SENDERO'S

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 06 OF 11 181623Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----273B24 182116Z /63

R 181617Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4997  
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 06 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

OPERATIONAL CAPABILITIES. NEVERTHELESS, FELICIANO HAS BEEN ABLE TO EXTEND AND

[REDACTED]

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/aCase Number: S200200010  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 06 OF 11 181623Z  
 CONSOLIDATE HIS HOLD OVER SL'S POLITICAL ORGAN  
 (THE PARTY) AND FRONT GROUPS WHILE USING ITS  
 MILITARY WING TO MAINTAIN AN ADMITTEDLY REDUCED  
 POLITICAL PRESENCE.

24. THE POPULAR LIBERATION ARMY (EPL -  
 SENDERO'S MILITARY WING) HAS REPEATEDLY STAGED  
 COORDINATED CAMPAIGNS OF VIOLENCE AND PROPAGANDA  
 IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IN 1993, SUCH  
 AS COORDINATED WAVES OF ATTACKS IN JANUARY,  
 MARCH, JULY AND DECEMBER. MOST HAVE INCLUDED A  
 SPECTACULAR "SIGNATURE" INCIDENT -- A 300 KILO  
 CAR BOMB AGAINST IBM IN JANUARY, 150 KILO CAR  
 BOMB AGAINST THE EMBASSY IN JULY AND 250 KILO  
 CAR BOMB AGAINST THE LIMA PREFECTURE IN  
 DECEMBER. A PARTIALLY SUCCESSFUL ARMED STRIKE  
 (PARO ARMADO) IN MARCH 1993, WHILE A PALE IMAGE  
 OF PAROS IN 1992 THAT SHUT DOWN LIMA, WAS THE  
 FIRST THREE DAY STRIKE EVER CALLED IN THE  
 CAPITAL CITY AND DID CLOSE DOWN SOME PROVINCIAL  
 CAPITALS. THE EXTRAORDINARY MANPOWER AND  
 RESOURCE DEMANDS OF A PARO APPEAR TO HAVE  
 PREVENTED SENDERO FROM RESORTING TO PAROS FOR  
 MOST OF 1993. BERNALES SEES SENDERO AS RELYING  
 ON LOW RISK, HIGH VISIBILITY TACTICS, SUCH AS CAR  
 BOMBS, OR SPECTACULAR ATTENTION-GRABBING ATTACKS,  
 SUCH AS THE MAZAMARI MASSACRE TO ENSURE IT  
 REMAINS ON THE PUBLIC'S MIND AND IN THE NATIONAL  
 AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS.

OVERCOMING KEY DEFICIENCIES  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 06 OF 11 181623Z  
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25. SENDERO WATCHERS BELIEVE THAT, IN PART, SL'S  
 RELATIVE SILENCE OVER THE PAST YEAR IS EXPLAINED  
 IN THAT SENDERO HAS BEEN WORKING HARD TO STOP ITS  
 DOWNWARD SLIDE, SALVAGE AND STRENGTHEN ITS  
 REMAINING STRUCTURES, AND PREPARE TO RECUPERATE  
 SOME OF ITS LOST GROUND. ISABEL CORAL SUGGESTS

[REDACTED]  
n/a



[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

THAT SENDERO IN ITS PRESENT STATE HAD IN FACT REACHED THE LIMITS OF ITS ABILITY TO WIN THE MASSES OVER OR CONTROL THEM BY SHEER FORCE. SL'S BRUTAL TERROR TACTICS, POLITICAL INTOLERANCE, AND REFUSAL TO LISTEN OR WORK TOWARDS THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE HAD BECOME TOO MUCH EVEN FOR THE MUCH ABUSED CAMPESINO. YET, PABLO ROJAS BELIEVES THAT SENDERO IS STRUCTURED SO AS TO LEARN FROM ITS MISTAKES. DOCTRINE REQUIRES THAT THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FREQUENTLY ENGAGE IN OFTEN BITTER INTERNAL SELF-CRITICISM SESSIONS HAVE ALWAYS OCCURRED FOLLOWING MAJOR CRISIS. THESE HAVE ALLOWED SENDERO TO LEARN TO ADAPT TO DIFFERENT CONDITIONS AS THE SITUATION WARRANTS.

26. A CRITICAL PROBLEM SENDERO IS FACING IS IN REPLENISHING ITS DEPLETED RANKS, A DIRECT RESULT OF GOP SUCCESSES AND SLS RESULTING LOSS OF PRESTIGE. BESIDES WAR CASUALTIES AND CAPTURES, SENDERISTAS HAVE, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE WAR BEGAN, SURRENDERED AND CROSSED OVER TO THE GOVERNMENT SIDE. BUT THERE IS EVIDENCE FROM LIMA AND HUANCAYO SHANTYTOWNS THAT SENDERO HAS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 06 OF 11 181623Z  
BEGUN TO COUNTER THIS BY STEPPING UP PROSLEYTZING EFFORTS. "POPULAR SCHOOLS," LARGELY ABANDONED IN MANY LIMA SHANTYTOWNS TO ALLOW THE CADRE ON "TEACHING AND INDOCTRINATION DUTY" TO BE THROWN INTO THE BATTLE OF LIMA OF LATE 1991/EARLY 1992, ARE BEING QUIETLY REACTIVATED. CHURCH SOURCES REPORT POPULAR SCHOOLS ARE OPERATING IN CALLAO, INDEPENDENCIA, ATE-VITARTE AND VILLA EL SALVADOR - COVERING ALL POINTS OF THE COMPASS AROUND LIMA. CHURCH SOURCES ALSO REPORT POPULAR SCHOOLS IN THE SHANTYTOWNS OF AYACUCHO AND HUANCAYO. GRASS ROOTS ACTIVISTS IN VILLA EL SALVADOR COMPLAIN WORRIEDLY OF "YOUNG PIONEER" GROUPS CREATED RECENTLY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLERS. THE ACTIVISTS AND PRIESTS WARN THAT THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEPRIVATIONS THAT ALLOWED SENDERO TO GAIN THE POWER IT HAD HAVE NOT BEEN ADDRESSED, AND ANGRY AND DISSATISFIED YOUTH ARE THEREFORE

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

STILL SUSCEPTIBLE TO SENDERO RECRUITMENT.

27. ANOTHER SHORTCOMING IS SL'S WELL-DESERVED

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 07 OF 11 181623Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----271CFO 182021Z /38

R 181617Z FEB 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4998  
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 07 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

IMAGE PROBLEM AS A TYRANNICAL, BLOODTHIRSTY  
TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. SENDERO HAS SOUGHT TO

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 07 OF 11 181623Z  
COUNTER THE RISE OF RONDAS, AN EXPRESSION OF  
POPULAR OPPOSITION AGAINST SL THAT IT DID NOT

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

HAVE TO CONTEND WITH IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE WAR WHEN IT ENJOYED POPULAR SUPPORT, WITH REPRISALS AGAINST RONDEROS AND MASSACRES OF COMMUNITIES THAT CREATED RONDAS. IN THE CITIES AND SHANTYTOWNS, SENDERO HAS ASSASSINATED OR INTIMIDATED LEGITIMATE GRASS ROOTS LEADERS WHO OPPOSE THEIR DICTATORIAL MANNER. BUT IN THE CURRENT POST-CAPTURE (OF GUZMAN) ENVIRONMENT, SHEER TERROR HAS BECOME A BLUNT TOOL TO CONTROL THE MASSES WITH AS THE PEOPLE REMAIN LARGELY UNCOWED DESPITE SL BRUTALITY.

28. PABLO ROJAS SUGGESTS AN EARLY SIGN THAT SENDERO WAS TRYING TO OVERCOME THIS IMAGE WAS A FEBRUARY 1993 INCURSION BY SENDERO INTO THE VILLAGE OF HUANCABAMBA, IN NORTHERN PIURA DEPARTMENT. A SENDERO COLUMN OVERRAN THE TOWN AND HERDED THE TOWNSPEOPLE INTO THE CENTRAL PLAZA. THE TOWNSFOLK WERE SUBJECTED TO THE NORMAL POLITICAL HARANGUE AND THEN CAPTURED POLICEMEN WERE BROUGHT INTO THE TOWN SQUARE. THE GRUESOME EXEMPLARY KILLINGS THAT OFTEN TOOK PLACE AT THIS TIME DID NOT OCCUR. INSTEAD, THE POLICE WERE PUBLICLY CHASTISED, WARNED AGAINST MISTREATING OR EXTORTING THE LOCAL POPULATION AND RELEASED. ROJAS SAID THIS WAS REMINISCENT OF SENDERO ACTIONS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SUBVERSION.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 07 OF 11 181623Z

29. SENDERO'S FAILURE TO ADDRESS THE BASIC DEMANDS AND NEEDS OF MARGINAL RURAL AND URBAN COMMUNITIES AFTER MORE THAN DOZEN YEARS OF WAR IS ANOTHER SERIOUS PROBLEM AREA FOR SL. BUT AGAIN, GRASS ROOTS ACTIVISTS, HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS, AND CHURCH OFFICIALS HAVE NOTICED CHANGES IN SL BEHAVIOR DURING 1993 THAT SUGGEST SENDERO MAY BE TRYING TO IMPROVE ITS POPULAR ACCEPTABILITY BY WORKING TO ADDRESS POPULAR NEEDS.

30. A CATHOLIC RELIEF WORKER RECALLED THAT SENDERO USED TO DISSUADE LOCAL RURAL OR URBAN COMMUNITIES FROM COMING INTO CONTACT WITH THE

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

TROOPS HANDING OUT THE FOOD, BUILDING ROADS OR PROVIDING OTHER ASSISTANCE. COMMUNITY LEADERS WERE WARNED AND SOMETIMES KILLED FOR HAVING REQUESTED OR MERELY ACCEPTED RELIEF WORK INTO THEIR COMMUNITIES. FOR SENDERO, THE ASSISTANCE WAS SIMPLY THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPT TO "BUY OFF" THE POOR, DELUDE THEM INTO THINKING THE GOVERNMENT CARED, AND DESIGNED TO HIDE THE TRUE NATURE OF THE STATE BY PROVIDING THEM WITH A THIN CUSHION OF MINIMAL AID.

31. BUT ACCORDING TO CARLOS TAPIA, SENDERO IS NOW FREQUENTLY ESPOUSING LEGITIMATE POPULAR GRIEVANCES AND WORKING TO SOLVE THEM. A CATHOLIC CHURCH SOCIAL ACTION OFFICIAL REMARKED THAT THE CHURCH SOCIAL RELIEF WORK WAS RETURNING TO HIGHLAND AREAS OF JUNIN DEPARTMENT THAT SENDERO HAD DRIVEN THEM OUT OF IN THE MID-1980S.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 07 OF 11 181623Z  
SENDERO APPARENTLY HAS DECIDED TO ALLOW RELIEF WORKS TO PROCEED TO ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF THE LOCAL POPULATION.

32. IN LIMA'S "RED" SHANTYTOWNS, SUCH AS CANTO GRANDE AND PARTS OF ATE-VITARTE, GRASS ROOTS ACTIVISTS CLAIM SENDERO ACTUALLY ENCOURAGES THE POPULATION TO TAKE ALL THE FOOD THEY CAN WHEN MILITARY OR GOP CIVIC ACTION OPERATIONS COME TO THEIR DISTRICTS. OF COURSE, SENDERO NOW TELLS THE SHANTYTOWN DWELLERS THAT THE STATE "OWES" THEM THE FOOD AND MEDICAL AID, AND THAT THEY SHOULD DEMAND EVEN MORE AID AND SUPPORT FROM THE GOVERNMENT. SL HAS INFILTRATED (OR HIJACKED) LEGITIMATE GRASS ROOTS MOVEMENTS DEMANDING WATER, SEWAGE AND ELECTRICITY. SENDERISTAS HAVE COME TO BE SEEN BY SOME COMMUNITIES AS HELPING TO SOLVE THEIR DEMANDS BY EFFECTIVELY ORGANIZING THE PEOPLE THROUGH DEDICATED SENDERISTAS-CUM-COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS.

33. TAPIA WARNS THAT SENDERO'S VOLTE FACE ON

[REDACTED]

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 08 OF 11 181632Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----271E02 182029Z /38

R 181617Z FEB 94  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4999  
 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 08 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
 SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

ASSISTANCE IS DANGEROUS BECAUSE THE STATE HAS NO  
 RESPONSE TO IT. STRAPPED FOR RESOURCES, THE GOP

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 08 OF 11 181632Z  
 CANNOT MEET THE VERY REAL UNMET NEEDS IN RURAL  
 VILLAGES AND URBAN COMMUNITIES, ALTHOUGH THE DOLS  
 500 MILLION IT PROPOSES TO SPEND ON FONCODES  
 SMALL PROJECTS MAY MEET SOME OF THIS DEMAND. SL  
 CAN PLAY ON THIS BY SWAMPING THE GOVERNMENT WITH  
 THESE REQUESTS AND TURNING REQUESTS INTO DEMANDS.  
 WHEN THESE GO UNFULFILLED BECAUSE THE GOP'S MEANS  
 CANNOT COPE, THE DEMANDS CAN BE USED TO MOBILIZE

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

THE COMMUNITIES -- WITH SENDERISTAS, NO LONGER SEEN AS TERRORISTS BUT RATHER COMMUNITY GRASS ROOTS ACTIVISTS, LEADING THE WAY.

34. NONE OF THE SENDEROLOGISTS CLAIM THAT SL IS ABANDONING VIOLENCE. THE MASSACRE IN MAZAMARI AND CONTINUING HARASSMENT OR ASSASSINATION OF UNCOOPERATIVE LOCAL LEADERS ARE INDICATORS THAT SENDERO WILL RETAIN VIOLENCE AS A VIABLE TACTIC TO USED WHENEVER IT WISHES. RATHER, SENDERO IS SELECTIVELY SWITCHING TO "KINDER, GENTLER" AND MORE SELECTIVE TACTICS WHEN AND WHERE IT MIGHT GAIN THEM GROUND. SOFTER TACTICS CONFUSE THE POPULATION ABOUT SENDERO'S TRUE NATURE, EXPOSE CADRE LESS THAN ARMED ACTION, AND WIN IT POLITICAL SPACE AMONG THE POPULATION.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOP: REAL OR JUST A TACTIC?  
-----

35. SO IF SENDERO IS MENDING ACCORDING TO THE SENDERO-WATCHERS, AND THE GOVERNMENT IS SO WRONG IN ANNOUNCING SENDERO'S IMMINENT DEMISE, WHY IS  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 08 OF 11 181632Z  
SENDERO'S SUPREME LEADER, ABIMAEEL GUZMAN, CALLING FOR A DIALOGUE WITH FUJIMORI TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE PEACE TALKS? THERE ARE SEVERAL THEORIES.

36. CARLOS BASOMBRIO, HEAD OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP LEGAL DEFENSE INSTITUTE (IDL), TAKES THE STRAIGHTFORWARD TACK THAT WHATEVER SENDERO'S MILITARY STRENGTH OUTSIDE THE JAILS, GUZMAN HIMSELF IS NOT DOING WELL AT ALL. BASOMBRIO ARGUES THAT GUZMAN WAS IN FACT BROKEN BY A YEAR LONG STINT IN INCOMMUNICADO ISOLATION. FOR A MAN WHO WAS USED TO READING AND DEBATING (AND ALWAYS WINNING) EVERY DAY, THE ISOLATION WOULD HAVE BEEN DEVASTATING. FOR BASOMBRIO, GUZMAN ABANDONED HIS OFTEN STATED COMPLETE REJECTION OF NEGOTIATIONS (WHICH A FREE GUZMAN EQUATED WITH DEFEATISM AND TREASON) AND BEGAN TALKS WITH THE TO DEVIL (OR VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS, IN THIS CASE). MENTALLY WEAKENED, GUZMAN WAS WILLING TO EXCHANGE

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

BETTER CONDITIONS IN JAIL, SUCH AS ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND HIS COMRADES, FOR STATEMENTS SUGGESTED BY THE GOP. THE GOP, BASOMBRIO SUGGESTS, USED THE STATEMENTS FROM GUZMAN POORLY BUT WAS NEVERTHELESS ABLE TO CAUSE MISCHIEVE INSIDE SENDERO'S RANKS.

37. RAUL GONZALEZ ARGUES THAT SENDERO IS FIRST AND FOREMOST A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, AND DESPITE THE UPS AND DOWNS OF THE MILITARY SITUATION, THE POLITICAL ARENA HAS SHIFTED DRAMATICALLY IN THE GOVERNMENT'S FAVOR.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 08 OF 11 181632Z  
GONZALES CLAIMS THAT GUZMAN'S LETTERS OFFER THE CLUE WHEN IT STATES THAT OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS, SUCH AS THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE AND THE DE FACTO AMERICAN HEGEMONY, AND SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS, SUCH AS THE IMPROVED GOP INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITIES AND HIS OWN CAPTURE, HAVE CHANGED SO RADICALLY AS TO REQUIRE A CHANGE IN SENDERO'S FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGY. THE SIGNIFICANT DROP IN INFLATION AND SLOW RESTART OF THE ECONOMY ADD TO ITS NEW OPERATING ENIRONMENT.

38. GUZMAN SEES HIMSELF AS THE ONLY LEADER CAPABLE OF GUIDING SENDERO, AND NOW THAT SL IS FACING ITS DARKEST DAYS, HIS LEADERSHIP IS EVEN MORE NECESSARY. IN ORDER TO GUIDE THE PARTY, HE NEEDS TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE CADRE AND THE ONLY WAY HE CAN HOPE TO ACHIEVE THAT IS BY NEGOTIATING CONCESSIONS WITH THE GOP. INSISTING THAT GUZMAN IS A MARXIST-LENINIST BEFORE BEING A MAOIST, GONZALES SEES NO CONTRADICTION IN GUZMAN HOLDING TALKS WITH THE GOP. IT IS THE ONLY OPTION OPEN TO GUZMAN AND EVEN MAO SAID "RETREAT WHEN THE

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 09 OF 11 181633Z

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----271E21 182029Z /38

R 181617Z FEB 94  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5000  
 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 09 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
 SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

ENEMY ADVANCES".

[REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 09 OF 11 181633Z  
 39. GONZALES FEELS IT IS TOO EARLY TO KNOW WHAT  
 WILL COME OF THE TALKS, BUT BELIEVES THAT THE  
 GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN UP FAR MORE THAN GUZMAN IN  
 THE EARLY GOING. GUZMAN WAS ISOLATED AND  
 "ROTTING" AWAY IN JAIL; THE FAILED LEADER OF AN  
 UNPOPULAR TERRORIST MOVEMENT WHO WAS PUBLICLY  
 HUMILIATED BY BEING FORCED TO WEAR "KEYSTONE  
 KOPS-LIKE" STRIPPED PRISON GARB. IN OCTOBER, THE  
 GOP RESCUED GUZMAN FROM OBLIVION. GUZMAN WAS  
 PRESENTED TO PERUVIANS AS THE INDISPENSIBLE,  
 VALID INTERLOCUTOR WHO COULD DELIVER BINDING  
 "PEACE TALKS" WITH SENDERO. GUZMAN WAS SUDDENLY  
 DESERVING OF RESPECT (AND A NEW MAO SUIT); A MAN

n/a

[REDACTED]



[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

WHOSE MESSAGES WERE GIVEN PROMINENT NATIONWIDE ATTENTION DESPITE ONGOING SENDERO TERRORIST ACTIONS. IN RETURN, GUZMAN PROVIDED AN UNCLEAR, WORDY AND POLITE (IF NOT OBSEQUIOUS) PAIR OF LETTERS VAGUELY CALLING FOR A DIALOGUE TOWARDS PEACE TALKS SOMETIME IN THE FUTURE.

40. CARLOS TAPIA GOES MUCH FURTHER AND FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT ABIMAEI OPENED SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOP IN MID-1993 (93 LIMA 8327). FOR TAPIA, THE OBSEQUIOUS OCTOBER LETTERS (AND VIDEOS) WERE ONLY THE MOST PUBLIC PORTIONS OF ON-GOING DIALOGUES BETWEEN GUZMAN AND FUJIMORI'S SECURITY ADVISOR VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS AND RAFAEL MERINO. BUT TO WHAT PURPOSE? TAPIA SCOFFS AT THOSE WHO, LIKE PRO-GOP JOURNALIST MANUEL D'ORNELLAS, SUGGEST THAT GUZMAN "BROKE" AFTER ONE YEAR OF INCOMMUNICADO DETENTION

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 09 OF 11 181633Z  
JUST TO OBTAIN BETTER PRISON CONDITIONS. ICRC PRISON VISITS WILL GENERALLY ENSURE THAT GUZMAN'S PRISON CONDITIONS ARE TOLERABLE, AND BESIDES SAID TAPIA, GIVING UP A LIFETIME'S STRUGGLE FOR LONGER EXERCISE HOURS AND CONJUGAL VISITS WITH ELENA IPARRGUIRRE SEEMS HARDLY WORTH IT.

41. TAPIA SUGGESTS THE ENDGAME OF THE STILL INCIPIENT NEGOTIATIONS IS THE APPEARANCE OF A QUASI-LEGAL POLITICAL "SHOCK" PARTY. LIKE GONZALES, TAPIA SEES NO CONTRADICTION IN GUZMAN NEGOTIATING WITH THE GOP (IT'S ALL HE CAN DO FROM INSIDE HIS CELL) AND BELIEVES THAT GUZMAN, KNOWING HE WILL NOT BE RELEASED ANYTIME SOON, PLACES A HIGH PRIORITY ON REGAINING EVEN LIMITED ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

42. THE RESPONSE INSIDE THE JAILS AND OUT TO GUZMAN'S MESSAGE AT FIRST WAS MIXED; VIOLENT ACTIONS CONTINUE AND GAIN IN PACE, WHILE POLITICALLY THERE WAS A DEAFENING SILENCE. PASTORAL WORKERS AT THE PRISONS TOLD US SENIOR SENDERO LEADER NELLY EVANS WAS THROWN OUT OF THE SENDERO CELL BLOCK OF LIMA'S CHORRILLOS WOMEN'S

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

PRISON IN EARLY NOVEMBER FOR DEFENDING GUZMAN'S POSITION, BUT BY DECEMBER 23, THE WOMEN HAD AGREED TO SUBMIT TO GUZMAN'S CALL. A LATE DECEMBER LETTER FROM THE SENDERISTA MALE INMATES AT LIMA'S CASTRO GRANDE PRISON ALSO PLEDGED TOTAL SUPPORT FOR GUZMAN AND HIS PEACE TALKS. OMINOUSLY, THE LETTER CONTAINED THE SLOGAN

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 09 OF 11 181633Z  
"FIGHT FOR A PEACE ACCORD|" (93 LIMA 13265).

43. TAPIA BELIEVES THAT THE HOLDOUTS IN THE PRISONS WILL EVENTUALLY FALL BACK IN LINE BEHIND GUZMAN. STILL, IT IS SIGNIFICANT TO NOTE THAT TO CLINCH THE SUPPORT OF THE JAILED SENDERISTAS FOR THE GUZMAN PEACE TALKS, THE GOP HAS ASSISTED GUZMAN BY BRINGING OTHER SENIOR IMPRISONED SENDERO LEADERS SUCH AS ELENA IPPARAGUIRE, MARTHA HUATAY, AND OSMAN MOROTE TO MEET WITH GUZMAN. THOSE WHO ARE LOYAL TO GUZMAN HAVE THEN BEEN FARMED OUT TO DIFFERENT PRISONS TO "CONVINCE" HOLDOUTS OF GUZMAN'S PLAN. HOWEVER, NOT ALL SENDERISTAS ARE BUYING INTO THE PEACE CALLS. SENDERO WATCHERS NOTICED THAT LAURA ZAMBRANO, A SENIOR SENDERISTA WHO MET WITH GUZMAN ALONG WITH MOROTE ET AL DID NOT SIGN THE "LEADERS LETTER" LATE OCTOBER. MOROTE, WHO IS WIDELY REPUTED TO HAVE BEEN IN SOME DISGRACE WITH THE GUZMAN, DID SIGN THE LETTER. ONLY 300 OF THE 1,000 PLUS SENDERO INMATES AT CANTO GRANDE SIGNED THEIR PRISON'S LETTER.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

NNNN

PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 10 OF 11 181634Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-17 AID-01 ARA-01 A-01 CA-02 CCO-00  
CG-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 CTME-00 C-01 DEAE-00 OASY-00  
DODE-00 DOEE-00 DOTE-00 DS-00 EB-01 FAAE-00 FBIE-00

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

-----271E2D 182030Z /38

R 181617Z FEB 94  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5001  
 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 10 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
 SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

44. MORE IMPORTANTLY, HOWEVER, IS THE RESPONSE  
 OF THE SENDERISTAS OUTSIDE OF THE PRISONS -

[REDACTED]  
 [REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 10 OF 11 181634Z  
 THOSE IN JAIL ARE IN FACT HORS COMBAT. KEY TO  
 THE GOP STRATEGY OF GETTING GUZMAN TO SURRENDER  
 SENDERO IS WHETHER GUZMAN RETAINS EFFECTIVE  
 CONTROL OVER ALL PARTS OF SENDERO, IN AND OUT OF  
 PRISONS. TAPIA, GONZALEZ AND OTHER SENDERO  
 WATCHERS POINT OUT THAT NONE OF THE LETTERS  
 CONTAIN A CLEAR CALL FOR A CESSATION OF ARMED  
 ACTIONS. THEY DISAGREE WITH GOVERNMENT  
 SPOKESPERSONS AND PRO-GOP MEDIA WHICH DISMISS  
 CONTINUING SENDERO TERRORIST ACTIONS TO SPLINTER  
 GROUPS REFUSING TO OBEY GUZMAN. GONZALEZ ARGUES  
 THAT THE SENDERO ATTACKS ON DECEMBER 3 WERE IN  
 CLEAR CELEBRATION OF GUZMAN'S BIRTHDAY -  
 SOMETHING THAT WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURED IF GUZMAN  
 WERE BEING SEEN AS TRAITOR - AND THAT THE ABSENCE  
 OF ANY "OFFICIAL" SENDERO DOCUMENT ATTACKING  
 GUZMAN OR REJECTING HIS PEACE CALLS IS EVIDENCE  
 THAT GUZMAN REMAINS THE PARAMOUNT SENDERO LEADER

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

AMONG SENDERISTAS OUTSIDE THE PRISONS.

45. THANKS TO THE GOP, GUZMAN SHOULD BE ABLE TO GET HIS TROOPS IN ORDER AND REGAIN CONTROL OVER ANY WHO MAY NOW BE OUT OF STEP WITH HIM. THIS WILL TAKE TIME AND WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT INCLUDE A HALT TO SENDERO VIOLENT ACTION. THE FUNDAMENTAL POINT IS THAT GUZMAN WILL NO LONGER BE ISOLATED AND HE WILL HAVE GAINED AN IMPORTANT ROLE ON A STAGE PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

46. ACCORDING TO THE TAPIA SCENARIO, ONCE GUZMAN IS AGAIN IN CLEAR CONTROL OF THE PARTY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 01519 10 OF 11 181634Z  
INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PRISONS, SENDERO WOULD NEGOTIATE A CEASE FIRE AND TRANSFORM INTO A POLITICAL SHOCK MOVEMENT. SENDERO WOULD BE A NATURAL TO FILL THE CURRENT VOID IN THE RADICAL POLITICAL LEFT. SL WOULD BRING ITS CADRE IN FROM THE COLD AND SL MILITANTS WOULD THEN OPENLY BECOME POLITICAL ACTORS. THIS DOES NOT IMPLY SL WILL BECOME AN ESTABLISHED POLITICAL PARTY. SENDERO WILL CARRY TOO MUCH BAGGAGE TO BECOME A MAJOR POLITICAL FORCE THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX AND, IDEOLOGICALLY, SENDERO SEES ITSELF ONLY AS A VANGUARD PARTY. RATHER, SENDERO CADRE, ACTING LIKE NAZI BROWNSHIRTS BEFORE HITLER BECAME CHANCELLOR, WOULD USE STRONG ARM "SHOCK" METHODS TO SWAY ELECTIONS, IMPOSE POLITICAL AGENDAS AND DISRUPT EFFECTIVE OPPOSITION TO ITS PLANS. IN TIME, SL MIGHT EVEN FORCE A PAROLE FOR ABIMAE GUZMAN, NOW THE LEADER OF AN OPEN (IF VIOLENCE-PRONE) POLITICAL MOVEMENT.

47. WE NOTE THAT EMBASSY CONTACTS HAVE OVER THE PAST FOUR MONTHS REPORTED TALK AMONG SENDERO CADRE AT LIMA'S SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY ABOUT THE CREATION OF NEW, OPEN SENDERO FRONT POLITICAL GROUPS. ONE CONTACT CALLED SUCH A GROUP A POLITICAL PARTY THAT WOULD BE HEADED BY "CLEAN" SENDERISTAS AND SYMPATHIZERS AND AIMED AT RECRUITING THE DISAFFECTED YOUTH AND POOR. THE "PARTY" WOULD OFFER A DISGUISED SENDERO PROGRAM

n/a  
[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

WITHOUT THE BAGGAGE OF SENDERO'S ABUSES OR  
TERROR AND CHALLENGE THE STATE TO DELIVER ON

PAGE 04 LIMA 01519 10 OF 11 181634Z  
ITS PROMISES OF IMPROVED LIVING CONDITIONS.

THE QUIET BEFORE THE STORM?  
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48. THE CONSENSUS AMONG THE SENDERO WATCHERS IS THAT SL HAS DEFINITELY BEEN HAMMERED BY THE GOP BUT IT IS FAR FROM DEFEATED. LEAVING ASIDE THE MILITARY EQUATION, FOR WHICH THEY ALL WARN AGAINST GOP COMPLACENCY, THE SENDEROLOGISTS HAVE LONG TOLD A SEEMINGLY DEAF GOVERNMENT THAT SENDERO IS A POLITICAL BEAST THAT MUST BE DEFEATED POLITICALLY. GOP SUCCESS IS SLOWLY PUSHING SENDERO OUT OF THE MILITARY ARENA AND ONTO A POLITICAL STAGE THAT THE GOP IS ILL- PREPARED TO PLAY ON. SENDERO POLITICAL VIOLENCE HAS NOT ABATED IN PROPORTION TO THE WOUNDS SENDERO HAS SUFFERED, AND SL WILL LIKELY TRY TO INCREASE ITS VIOLENCE IN SCOPE AND PACE OVER THE NEXT YEAR IN ORDER TO GIVE ITSELF THE BEST BARGAINING POSITION POSSIBLE WHEN IT SITS DOWN WITH THE GOVERNMENT. THIS VIOLENCE IS LIKELY TO

NNNN

PAGE 01 LIMA 01519 11 OF 11 181634Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	DEAE-00	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01
	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-01
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/068W

n/a

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

-----271E38 182030Z /38

R 181617Z FEB 94  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5002  
 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 11 OF 11 LIMA 01519

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, KDEM, SNAR, PGOV, ASEC, PE  
 SUBJECT: WHERE IS SENDERO LUMINOSO:

BE MORE FOCUSED THAN THE INDISCRIMATE 1992 CAR  
 BOMBING CAMPAIGN IN LIMA. BUT THE MOST DANGEROUS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 01519 11 OF 11 181634Z  
 BATTLES ARE THOSE FOUGHT AT THE TABLE OVER THE  
 HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE POPULATION. IN THIS CASE  
 FUJIMORI IS HARD AT WORK TRYING TO CUT THE GROUND  
 FROM UNDER THE SENDERO, AIMING HIS PRE-1995  
 CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES (AND FONCODES PROJECTS) AT  
 THE SAME CONSTITUENCY OF "HAVE NOTS." HE HAS  
 PROMISED TO "END" THE WAR IN 1995. WHILE FEW  
 BELIEVE THAT THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE, FUJIMORI'S  
 APPETITE FOR EXPEDIENCY, SPECTACULAR ACTS AND  
 QUICK FIXES MAY PUSH HIM HARD TO REACH SOME KIND  
 OF UNDERSTANDING WITH GUZMAN AND AS MANY  
 FOLLOWERS AS THE LATTER CAN BRING ALONG. HE  
 PROBABLY KNOWS THAT ABSENT SUCH A COUP AND GIVEN  
 THE PROBLEMATIC AVAILABILITY OF SUFFICIENT  
 RESOURCES IN THE SHORT TERM, THE POTENTIAL  
 EXISTS FOR SENDERO TO RECOVER A FOLLOWING AND  
 BEDEVIL IF NOT OVERTHROW THE STATE.  
 ADAMS

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]  
n/a