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Page: 1

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Current Class: [REDACTED]
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Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

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PAGE 01 LIMA 05555 01 OF 04 172349Z
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02
	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	H-01
	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00	IO-16	L-01
	ADS-00	M-00	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01
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	USSS-00	ASDS-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 05555

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PINS, ASEC, PGOV, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: SENDERO-WATCHERS WORRIED BY
GUERRILLAS' GROWING STRENGTH

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PAGE 02 LIMA 05555 01 OF 04 172349Z
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: LIMA'S BEST JOURNALISTS COVERING SENDERO ARE WORRIED. A BATTERED BUT DISCIPLINED SENDERO IS SLOWLY BUT STEADILY REBUILDING ITS STRENGTH AND CONFIDENCE. IT EVEN APPEARS TO HAVE REESTABLISHED ITS VERSION OF A PRESS LIAISON SERVICE. MEANWHILE, THE GOVERNMENT IS (ONCE AGAIN) BETTING IT CAN FINISH OFF SL WITH ONE KNOCK-OUT PUNCH BY CAPTURING ITS CURRENT TOP LEADERSHIP. BUT THE JOURNALIST WARN THAT THE STATE IS LOSING ITS EFFECTIVENESS OR ITS

Current Class: [REDACTED]

Page: 1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: DONALD A. JOHNSTON
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Current Class: ██████████
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Page: 2

Channel: n/a

CONCENTRATION. AMONG THE REASONS FOR THEIR CONCERN IS WHAT THEY VIEW AS A COUNTERPRODUCTIVE GOP PROPAGANDA AND DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN THAT IS FAILING TO FOOL SENDERO CADRE, AND THE SURPRISING RELEASE OF UNREPENTANT SENDERO CADRE FROM JAIL. THE JOURNALISTS' SPEAK OF SENDERO CONTACTS TELLING THEM OF LONG-TERM SENDERO RECOVERY PLANNING SPANNING AN EIGHT YEAR PERIOD WHILE FUJIMORI INSISTS ON REPEATING PROMISES TO DEFEAT SL BY 1995. END SUMMARY.

SENDERO REESTABLISHES ITS PRESS "LIAISON OFFICE"

3. SEVERAL OF LIMA'S BEST INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISTS ON THE SENDERO BEAT TOLD US SEPARATELY IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS THAT SL HAS REESTABLISHED ITS "LIAISON" SERVICE WITH THEM. SHORTLY AFTER GUZMAN WAS CAPTURED IN SEPTEMBER

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PAGE 03 LIMA 05555 01 OF 04 172349Z
 1992, SEVERAL OF THE SAME JOURNALISTS COMPLAINED THAT THEIR BEST SENDERO SOURCES, APPARENTLY ASSIGNED TO KEEP THEM ABREAST OF SENDERO'S SIDE OF THE WAR, WENT UNDERGROUND. ONE JOURNALIST SPECULATED THAT IT WAS AS IF SL NOW FELT CONFIDENT ENOUGH TO REESTABLISH ITS "PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT." BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH THESE JOURNALISTS ABOUT WHAT THEIR SENDERO CONTACTS AND "LIAISON" CONTACTS ARE TELLING THEM, A WORRISOME PICTURE HAS EMERGED OF A SENDERO SUCCESSFULLY REGROUPING AND OF DEFICIENCIES WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT'S COUNTERINSURGENT EFFORTS.

SENDERO: WHAT SCHISM?

4. SEVERAL OF LIMA'S LEADING SENDERO-WATCHING JOURNALISTS ARE ADAMANT THAT SL IS NOT "DIVIDED" BETWEEN THOSE FOLLOWING IMPRISONED SL FOUNDER ABIMAEEL GUZMAN WHO CALLS FOR A PEACE ACCORD AND THOSE FOLLOWING OSCAR ALBERTO RAMIREZ DURAND (AKA COMRADE FELICIANO), CONSIDERED THE CURRENT LEADER OF SENDERO LUMINOSO. SIMPLY PUT, THE BULK OF SENDERO CADRE IS LOYAL TO THE PARTY AND FAITHFUL.

Current Class: ██████████

Page: 2

Current Class: [REDACTED] L
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Channel: n/a

TO MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST IDEOLOGY AND "GONZALO THOUGHT." THIS TEACHES THAT CADRE FOLLOW THE DIRECTIVES OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP STRUCTURES, SUCH AS THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE PARTY'S RECONSTITUTED CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS HEADED BY FELICIANO AND THE CADRE THEREFORE FOLLOW HIS

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PAGE 04 LIMA 05555 01 OF 04 172349Z
DIRECTIVES.

5. THE JOURNALISTS DISAGREE, IN SOME CASES WITH THE MEDIA OUTLETS THEY WORK FOR, THAT SENDERO IS "DIVIDED" BETWEEN RIVAL "RED" AND "BLACK" FACTIONS OVER THE QUESTION OF A PEACE ACCORD. THEY CONSIDER THAT MOST PERUVIAN MEDIA, LEAD BY PRO-GOP NEWS SERVICES BUT EVEN INCLUDING STAUNCH OPPOSITION DAILIES AND WEEKLY MAGAZINES, ARE WISFULLY AND DELIBERATELY EXAGGERATING THE POSITION OF JAILED SENDERISTAS (IN SUPPORT OF PUBLIC CALLS BY GUZMAN FOR TALKS WITH THE GOP FOR A PEACE ACCORD) INTO A SORT OF HOLY SCHISM. AT BEST, ACCORDING TO THE JOURNALISTS, THE LEADERSHIP OF SENDERO LUMINOSO IS ALLOWING THE DISCUSSION OF THE PEACE ACCORDS AS PART OF SL'S "PERMANENT STRUGGLE OF TWO LINES" -- A CAREFULLY

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PAGE 01 LIMA 05555 02 OF 04 172349Z
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02
	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	H-01
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Current Class: [REDACTED] AL

Current Class: [REDACTED]
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Page: 4

Channel: n/a

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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7732
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SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PTER, PINS, ASEC, PGOV, PHUM, PE
 SUBJECT: SENDERO-WATCHERS WORRIED BY
 CHOREOGRAPHED INTERNAL DEBATE (AT LEAST WHEN
 GUZMAN WAS FREE) THAT ALLOWS VIGOROUS ARGUMENT

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PAGE 02 LIMA 05555 02 OF 04 172349Z
 BUT ALWAYS ENDS WHEN A FINAL POSITION IS TAKEN BY
 THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. VIGOROUS INTERNAL DEBATE
 BY SENDERO IS NORMAL AND AN ACADEMIC EXERCISE BY
 SENDERISTAS ALREADY HORS DU COMBAT IS A RELATED,
 IMPORTANT BUT SEPARATE EVENT.

FELICIANO VS. GUZMAN: CASUALTIES OF WAR

6. THE JOURNALISTS SAID THEIR SENDERO CONTACTS
 ARE CAREFUL TO EXPLAIN THAT THE PARTY HAS NOT
 "REPLACED" GUZMAN WITH FELICIANO. NO ONE COULD
 REPLACE THE FOUNDER AND HIS GUIDING "THOUGHT"
 (PRINCIPLES). THE PARTY HAS MERELY FOLLOWED
 MAOIST TEACHING THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EXERCISE
 THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION
 FROM INSIDE JAIL. MAOISM HOLDS THAT CADRE INSIDE
 PRISON ARE "CASUALTIES OF WAR" TO BE CONSIDERED
 LOST UNTIL THEY CAN BE RECOVERED VIA LIBERATION.
 THE PARTY CONTINUED TO CALL GUZMAN "PRESIDENTE
 GONZALO" AS AN HONORIFIC TITLE, BUT ITS ACTIVE
 LEADERSHIP WAS THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE LIVES

7. FOR MANY OF THE JOURNALISTS WE SPOKE WITH,
 THE RELATIVE STABILITY OF SL'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Current Class: [REDACTED] AL

Page: 4

Current Class: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

IS EVIDENCE OF SENDERO'S SUCCESSFUL REBUILDING OF STRUCTURES. ACCORDING TO THEM, SL'S RECONFIGURED CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC) HAS HELD AT LEAST THREE CC

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PAGE 03 LIMA 05555 02 OF 04 172349Z
MEETINGS (PREPARATORY TO A POSSIBLE FUTURE CONGRESS) IN NOVEMBER 1992, MARCH 1993 AND FEBRUARY 1994. THE LAST ONE WAS IN THE "DOG'S EAR" REGION OF LA MAR PROVINCE, AYACUCHO. THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES FOUND OUT ABOUT IT TOO LATE AND LAUNCHED THEIR OPERATION IN APRIL, MISSING THE CC COMPLETELY. AT THIS LAST SESSION, THE CC REPORTEDLY DECIDED TO RELEASE THE TEXT OF THE INTERNAL CC DEBATE ON THE GUZMAN "PEACE ACCORD" LETTERS, SO THAT THE PARTY BASES COULD DISCUSS THEM, ACCOMPANIED BY THE OFFICIAL PARTY LINE AS SET BY THE CC, AND BE DONE WITH THE ISSUE. THE ORTHODOX ANSWER IS "NO" TO THE PEACE ACCORDS.

GOP: DISTRACTED AND LOSING MOMENTUM

8. ALL THE JOURNALISTS WE SPOKE WITH WERE CONCERNED THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS LOSING ITS CONCENTRATION AND ITS MOMENTUM IN FIGHTING THE TERRORISTS. THE GOVERNMENT WAS INCREASINGLY DISTRACTED BY THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND THE RELATIVE QUIETNESS OF SENDERO PLAYED INTO THIS BY ALLOWING THEM TO FOCUS ON OTHER PROBLEMS WHILE CLAIMING THAT SL WAS NEXT TO DEATH. BUT SENDERO IS QUIETLY REBUILDING ITSELF AND BENEFITING NICELY FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S DISTRACTION. THEY CAUTION THAT SENDERO WOULD FROM TIME TO TIME MAKE ITS PRESENCE FELT WITH OCCASIONAL SPASMS OF VIOLENCE, BUT SL WAS MUCH MORE CONCERNED WITH HEALING ITSELF FOR THE FUTURE THAN IN SACRIFICING

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PAGE 04 LIMA 05555 02 OF 04 172349Z
ITS FORCES ON CURRENT MILITARY EFFORTS.

9. FOR THEIR PART, THE SECURITY FORCES SEEMED ONCE AGAIN FIXATED ON SMASHING SENDERO WITH ONE "KNOCKOUT BLOW," IN THIS CASE, THE CAPTURE OF

Current Class: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Current Class: [REDACTED]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Page: 6
Channel: n/a

FELICIANO. ALTHOUGH A CAPABLE LEADER, SEVERAL JOURNALISTS FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT FELICIANO IS NOT IRREPLACEABLE AND ARGUE THAT SHOULD HE BE KILLED OR CAPTURED, ANOTHER LEADER WILL TAKE HIS PLACE. CARLOS TAPIA, A LEADING SENDERO-WATCHER, ADDS THAT FELICIANO IS AN ORIGINAL MEMBER OF SL'S FIRST "GRADUATING CLASS" OF GUERRILLA LEADERS, AND WARNS THAT NO ONE IS SURE HOW MANY OTHER "CLASSES" WE HAVE YET TO GO THROUGH.

10. ONE LEADING JOURNALIST CLAIMED THAT MOST OF THE DOCUMENTS AND FLYERS THAT HAVE SURFACED IN SUPPORT OF THE GUZMAN "PEACE ACCORDS" ARE IN FACT

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PAGE 01 LIMA 05555 03 OF 04 172350Z
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02
	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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	USSS-00	ASDS-01	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRME-01	DRL-09	G-01

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R 172349Z JUN 94
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7733
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 04 LIMA 05555

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PINS, ASEC, PGOV, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: SENDERO-WATCHERS WORRIED BY
A GOVERNMENT "BLACK" OPERATION. WHILE SUPPORTIVE

Current Class: [REDACTED]IAL

Page: 6

Current Class: [REDACTED]
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Page: 7

Channel: n/a

OF THE PRINCIPLE BEHIND THE ALLEGED GOP

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PAGE 02 LIMA 05555 03 OF 04 172350Z
 DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN, THE JOURNALIST ARGUED
 THAT THE SUPPOSED INTERNAL SL DOCUMENTS ARE ONLY
 FOOLING MOST OF THE PUBLIC AND CONFUSING SOME OF
 THE MEDIA BUT FEW WITHIN SL ARE FALLING FOR IT.

11. THE BASIC PROBLEM IS THAT THE FAKE DOCUMENTS
 AND FLYERS HAVE TO MIMIC LEGITIMATE SL PAPERS AND
 OFTEN CARRY THE SIGNATURE OF A RESPONSIBLE SL
 BODY, SUCH AS THE METROPOLITAN REGIONAL COMMITTEE
 (CRM). BUT SL CADRE ARE USUALLY AWARE THAT NO
 CRM MEETING HAS TAKEN PLACE WHERE SUCH POSITIONS
 COULD BE ADOPTED AND THIS GIVES AWAY THE
 DOCUMENT'S TRUE AUTHORSHIP. THE MORE PHONEY
 DOCUMENTS APPEAR, THE MORE THE STATE IS SEEN AS
 MANIPULATING THE APPEAL FOR A PEACE ACCORD.
 THIS UNDERCUTS ANY ACCEPTANCE BY CADRE OF THE
 ENEMY'S PROPOSALS AND STRENGTHENS THE PARTY STAND
 THAT GUZMAN CANNOT LEAD THE REVOLUTION FROM
 INSIDE JAIL. THUS THE BLACK CAMPAIGN IS COUNTER-
 PRODUCTIVE AND HELPS CONSOLIDATE FELICIANO'S
 POSITION AS HEAD OF THE PARTY.

12. SIMILAR TO THE DOCUMENT PROBLEM, GRAFFITI
 PAINTED BY PRESUMED GOP OPERATIVES ARE ALSO
 HURTING THE GOP'S CAUSE. WALL SLOGANS THAT
 PRAISE "PRESIDENT" FELICIANO (COMMENT: AN
 EFFORT TO PORTRAY FELICIANO AS AN USURPER SINCE
 ONLY GUZMAN RATES THIS TITLE) BACKFIRED SINCE THE
 PARTY HAS NOT HELD THE NECESSARY CONGRESS THAT
 WOULD BE THE ONLY INSTANCE WHICH COULD CONFER
 THIS TITLE ON ANY SENDERO LEADER. OTHER GRAFFITI

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PAGE 03 LIMA 05555 03 OF 04 172350Z
 READING "DEFEND THE PEACE ACCORDS (SIGNED) SL"
 ALSO SUGGEST A SLOPPY GOP DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN
 -- SENDERO NEVER CALLS ITSELF SL AND ALWAYS USES
 ITS PROPER NAME, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU OR
 "PCP".

13. ANECDOTALLY, ANOTHER JOURNALIST CLAIMED TO

Current Class: [REDACTED] TIAL

Page: 7

Current Class: [REDACTED]
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Channel: n/a

HAVE VISITED THE PRINTING PRESS WHERE PERUVIAN "INTELLIGENCE" (NFI) MAKES MOST OF ITS "SL" PRO-PEACE ACCORD TRACTS. ONE OF THE JOURNALIST'S PAID SOURCES TOOK A WHOLE UNCUT SHEET OF THESE FLYERS TO THE JOURNALIST. A RIVAL SOURCE TURNED UP LATER WITH THE SAME FLYER AND WAS SHOWN THE SHEET AND TOLD THERE WOULD BE NO PAYMENT FOR THE INFORMATION. THE SECOND SOURCE WAS SO VEXED THAT HE HAD BEEN BEATEN TO THE MONEY THAT HE TOOK THE JOURNALIST TO THE PRINTING SHOP ITSELF, AND THE JOURNALIST INSISTED THAT IT WAS BEING RUN BY THE GOP.

TOILET PAPER IN THE COMPUTER AGE

14. AN INTERESTING OBSERVATION FROM ONE JOURNALIST WAS THAT THE DOCUMENTS THAT SL SENT JOURNALISTS REGARDING THE FEBRUARY CC MEETING WAS ON COMPUTER PRINT-OUT PAPER. BY CONTRAST, THE JAILED SL CADRE ARE PASSING AROUND "DISCUSSION DOCUMENTS" ON THE PEACE ACCORDS LITERALLY WRITTEN ON TOILET ROLLS. CARLOS TAPIA TOLD US MUCH THE SAME THING SEVERAL MONTHS AGO.

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PAGE 04 LIMA 05555 03 OF 04 172350Z
 HE WAS ASKED BY THE POLICE TO TESTIFY AS TO THE AUTHENTICITY OF SEVERAL DOCUMENTS DURING A TRIAL BEING HELD AT SANTA MONICA, LIMA'S WOMEN'S MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON. A GUARD SHOWED HIM A SEPARATE SET OF "DOCUMENTS" CONFISCATED THAT MORNING WRITTEN ON TOILET ROLLS. CONSIDERING THE QUALITY OF PERUVIAN TOILET PAPER, THE REPORT IS WHOLLY CREDIBLE.

THE GOVERNMENT LETS OUT HARDLINE SENDERISTAS

15. TWO OF THE JOURNALISTS WERE OUTRAGED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS REPORTEDLY RELEASED SEVERAL HARDLINE, NON-REPENTANT SENDERO CADRE FROM ITS PRISONS. ONE JOURNALIST ESTABLISHED THAT IN ONE CASE A KNOWN SENDERISTA WAS RELEASED BY THE COURT FOR INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE -- WHICH WAS ALL THE

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Current Class: [REDACTED] AL

Page: 8

Current Class: [REDACTED]
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Page: 9
Channel: n/a

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LIMA 05555 04 OF 04 172354Z
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	ACDE-00	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02
	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
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-----5358AE 172354Z /38

R 172349Z JUN 94
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7734
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[REDACTED] SECTION 04 OF 04 LIMA 05555

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TAGS: PTER, PINS, ASEC, PGOV, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: SENDERO-WATCHERS WORRIED BY
MORE OUTRAGEOUS CONSIDERING THAT HUNDREDS OF
CLEARLY INNOCENT PERSONS ARE STILL IN JAIL WITH

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CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LIMA 05555 04 OF 04 172354Z
NO EVIDENCE AGAINST THEM AT ALL -- BUT THE
CONCERN IS THAT SENDERO IS SOMEHOW OR FOR SOME
REASON REGAINING SOME OF ITS BADLY NEEDED CADRE
THROUGH THE PRISON GATE. THIS WAS A SITUATION
THAT THE FUJIMORI COUP OF APRIL 1992 HAD
APPARENTLY STOPPED, AND WHICH FUJIMORI HAS
REPEATED CITED AS A MAJOR JUSTIFICATION FOR THE
COUP. THE JOURNALISTS' CONCERN TRACKS WITH
PARALLEL INFORMATION FROM CONTACTS IN SENDERO-
PLAGUED LIMA SHANTYTOWNS. THEY REPORT THE

Current Class: [REDACTED]

Page: 9

Current Class: [REDACTED]
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Page: 10

Channel: n/a

REAPPEARANCE OF PREVIOUSLY DETAINED SENDERISTAS IN THEIR AREAS OF LIMA AND CLAIM THAT THESE CADRE ARE ONCE AGAIN CONDUCTING PARTY BUSINESS. THE WIDOW OF CARLOS LAVALLE (LIMA 5039) CLAIMED THAT FELIX CONDOR, A SENDERO CADRE CAPTURED WITH EXPLOSIVES AND SUBVERSIVE PROPAGANDA, HAD RECENTLY BEEN SEEN IN RAUCANA.

SENDERO: BIDDING ITS TIME

16. MUCH OF THE JOURNALISTS' FRUSTRATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT IS THAT SENDERO THINKS AND PLANS IN TERMS OF YEARS AND DECADES AND THE GOP SEEMS TO THINK IN TERMS OF DAYS AND MONTHS. SL CONTACTS HAVE TOLD DIFFERENT JOURNALISTS THAT CURRENT SL STRATEGIC PLANNING FOR THE PARTY'S RECOVERY COVERS AN EIGHT YEAR TIMEFRAME. WHILE SL WILL OCCASIONALLY REMIND PERUVIANS THAT IT IS STILL AROUND WITH VIOLENT ACTIONS OR CAMPAIGNS, ITS PLANS GIVE PRIORITY TO RECRUITMENT,

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PAGE 03 LIMA 05555 04 OF 04 172354Z
 INDOCTRINATION, INCREASED ORGANIZATIONAL DEPTH, AND INTERNAL SECURITY. THE SL CONTACTS FULLY AND READILY ACKNOWLEDGE THE PARTY'S WEAKNESS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S SUCCESSES.

17. REPORTEDLY, SL ASSUMES THAT WHOEVER WINS THE PRESIDENCY WILL CONTINUE THE CURRENT FREE MARKET ECONOMIC POLICIES. IT CALCULATES THAT IN FIVE YEARS, EMPLOYMENT WILL STILL BE A PROBLEM AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS WILL HAVE WORSENERD EVEN MORE AND THE MASSES, WEARY OF MUCH SACRIFICE FOR LITTLE REWARD WILL BE RIPE FOR REVOLUTION AGAIN. SO, SL WILL REBUILD NOW AND BIDE ITS TIME FOR MORE PROPITIOUS DAYS.

18. COMMENT: THE JOURNALISTS WE TALKED WITH ARE AMONG THE KEENEST OF PERU'S SENDERO-WATCHERS AND MAKE HIGHLY CREDIBLE CLAIMS TO HAVING DIRECT CONTACT WITH SENDERISTAS, INCLUDING SOME SENIOR CADRE. THEIR VIEWS INTO SENDERO AND ITS PROGRESS IS NOW HELPED ALONG (AND INFLUENCED) BY THE REESTABLISHMENT OF SL'S "PRESS LIAISONS," WHICH MAY WELL BE AN INDICATOR OF INCREASED SENDERO

Current Class: [REDACTED]IAL

Page: 10

Current Class: [REDACTED] AL
 Current Handling: n/a
 Document Number: 1994LIMA05555

Page: 11

Channel: n/a

CONFIDENCE AND ORGANIZATION. IT IS STRIKING THAT THE JOURNALISTS AGREE ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY THAT SENDERO IS GETTING STRONGER AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS AT BEST DISTRACTED FROM ITS COUNTERTERRORIST FUNCTIONS, INCLUDING BY THE 1994-95 ELECTION CAMPAIGN. AN EXAMPLE IS THE TRANSFER EARLY THIS YEAR TO SIN OF SOME OF THE BEST DINCOTE CADRE WORKING ON SENDERO.

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PAGE 04 LIMA 05555 04 OF 04 172354Z

19. THE DIFFERENCES MOST OF THEM HAVE WITH THEIR OWN PUBLICATIONS' EDITORIAL LINE ON THE COVERING THE WAR AND THE CONSTANT PRESS ATTENTION TO A SUPPOSED SCHISM WITHIN SENDERO IS A FUNCTION OF THE SUSPENSION OF THE RULES BY NEARLY ALL PERUVIAN MEDIA WHEN IT COMES TO SENDERO. LEFT AND RIGHT, PRO- AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT MEDIA OFTEN SET ASIDE EDITORIAL POSITIONS AND DELIBERATELY SKEW REPORTING TO PLAY UP GOP SUCCESS AND DOWNPLAY SENDERO ACTIONS -- PERHAPS THE ONLY TOPIC PERUS LIVELY MEDIA CAN AGREE ON.

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Current Class: [REDACTED] AL

Page: 11