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EXCISE

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PAGE 01 LIMA 12787 01 OF 05 272035Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	SS-01	CIAE-00	EB-01
NSCE-00	ARA-05	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSD-01	L-02	AMAD-01	
CTME-00	NRCE-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	PA-01	FAAE-00	CCO-00	
SJK-01	INRE-00	CA-02	CG-00	ACDA-13	A-01	USSS-00	
USIE-00	JUSE-00	FBIE-00	DOEE-00	M-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	
OIS-01	DSE-00	ZOVD-00	P-02	/045 W			

-----032172 272156Z /63

P 272030Z AUG 90  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0977  
 INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM  
 SECDEF WASHDC  
 DEAHQS WASHDC  
 DIA WASHDC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IS/FPC/CDR *M 8/6* Date: *4/21/95*

( ) RELEASE  
 (X) EXCISE  
 ( ) DENY  
 ( ) DELETE Non-Responsive Info  
 FOIA Exemptions *b6*  
 PA Exemptions

MR Cases Only:  
 EO Citations \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ TS authority to:  
 ( ) CLASSIFY as ( ) S or ( ) C OADR  
 ( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C OADR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 05 LIMA 12787

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OISL, DDIC

DIA FOR OA-5/1D/DB-6D2/JS1-4B/DB3C1

TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGDV, PE  
 SUBJECT: SENDERO LUMINOSO ENTERS ITS SECOND DECADE

REF: A) LIMA 1054, B) LIMA 5576

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT  
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PAGE 02 LIMA 12787 01 OF 05 272035Z

2. THIS IS PART TWO OF A THREE PART REPORT ON

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118-10-1011 12787 01 OF 05

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SENDERO LUMINOSO. IN PART ONE (REF A) WE REPORTED PERU'S 1989 TERRORISM TOTALS NATIONWIDE. IN THIS REPORT WE WILL FURTHER DISCUSS THE 1989 TERRORISM DATA, WITH A FOCUS ON SENDERO LUMINOSO AND OUR ESTIMATES OF CURRENT SL STRENGTHS AND TARGETING PATTERNS. IN PART THREE WE WILL ANALYZE SENDERO'S WEAKNESSES AND STRENGTHS AND POSSIBLE GOP RESPONSES TO THE TERRORISM THREAT.

3. SUMMARY. 1989 WAS PERU'S WORST YEAR FOR TERRORISM. DEATHS OF SECURITY FORCES, POLITICIANS, AND CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT WORKERS WERE THE HIGHEST EVER. SENDERO LUMINOSO EXECUTED MAJOR, SUCCESSFUL OPERATIONS IN LIMA AND THE COUNTRYSIDE. MILITARY INTELLIGENCE EXPERTS PLACE SL STRENGTH AT: 2,000 UNDER PERMANENT ARMS, ANOTHER 3,000 TO 5,000 MILITIA WHO OCCASIONALLY TAKE UP ARMS, AND 17,000 COMMITTED SUPPORTERS. SL CONTINUES TO FOCUS ITS EFFORTS ON THE MOUNTAINS OF CENTRAL PERU AND ON LIMA, BUT PERMANENT SL BASE AND TRAINING CAMPS ARE NOW INCREASINGLY CENTERED IN THE EASTERN JUNGLE VALLEYS NOT THE MOUNTAINS. THE NUMBER OF PROVINCES UNDER EMERGENCY ZONE STATUS HAS GROWN FROM SIX IN DECEMBER, 1982 TO 72 IN JULY, 1990. END SUMMARY.

-----  
1989: A BANNER YEAR FOR VIOLENCE  
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4. SOME 3,200 PERUVIANS DIED IN 1989 IN TERRORIST-RELATED VIOLENCE, A JUMP OF MORE THAN A  
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PAGE 03 LIMA 12787 01 OF 05 272035Z

THOUSAND OVER 1988'S TOTALS. THERE WERE MORE DEATHS OF POLICE, MILITARY, ELECTED OFFICIALS, POLITICIANS, AND CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN 1989 THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS YEAR. THERE WERE ALSO MORE TERRORIST ATTEMPTS LAST YEAR THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS YEAR. (REF A SUMMARIZES 1989 TERRORISM DATA AND COMPARISONS WITH PREVIOUS YEARS.)

5. IN PART, THE SITUATION IN PERU IS MORE SERIOUS THAN THESE TOTALS REVEAL. A THIRD OF PERU'S LAND AREA AND ONE FIFTH OF ITS POPULATION HAVE BEEN UNDER

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VIRTUALLY CONTINUOUS EMERGENCY ZONE (EZ) STATUS SINCE 1986, A LEGAL RECOGNITION THAT IN THOSE AREAS CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES CAN NO LONGER GOVERN WITHOUT MILITARY SUPPORT. ONE-HALF OF PERU'S POPULATION WAS UNDER EZ STATUS AT SOME TIME DURING 1989. LIMA DEPARTMENT PASSED IN AND OUT OF EZ STATUS WHILE TERRORISM FLARED HERE AND THE GOVERNMENT SOUGHT HELP FROM THE MILITARY. OUTSIDE EZ DEPARTMENT CAPITALS, MANY RURAL AREAS ARE CONSIDERED PINK OR RED ZONES, UNDER HEAVY INFLUENCE OR VIRTUAL SL CONTROL.

6. THOUGH PERUVIANS ARE LARGELY INURED TO THE VIOLENCE, THE TERRORIST THREAT HAD A DRAINING EFFECT ON THE NATIONAL PSYCHE LAST YEAR. BETWEEN THE 1986 AND 1989 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS MORE THAN 1600 ELECTED OFFICIALS RESIGNED THEIR OFFICES, MOST UNDER THREATS FROM SENDERO LUMINOSO. BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1987 AND NOVEMBER 15, 1989, 166 ELECTED OR APPOINTED OFFICE HOLDERS WERE KILLED BY TERRORISTS. IN NOVEMBER, IN NEARLY 20 PERCENT OF THE VOTING DISTRICTS OF PERU, REPRESENTING AN ESTIMATED 10 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, THE GOP WAS EITHER UNABLE TO HOLD MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OR THE ELECTIONS WERE ANNULLED DUE TO LOW VOTER TURNOUT. (NOTE: SL'S INFLUENCE IN

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PAGE 04

LIMA 12787 01 OF 05 272035Z

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CONFIDENTIAL  
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CONFIDENTIAL  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LIMA 12787 02 OF 05 272036Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	SS-01	CIAE-00	EB-01
NSCE-00	ARA-05	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-01	L-02	AMAD-01	
CTME-00	NRCE-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	PA-01	FAAE-00	CCO-00	
SJK-01	INRE-00	CA-02	CG-00	ACDA-13	A-01	USSS-00	
USIE-00	JUSE-00	FBIE-00	DOEE-00	M-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	
OIS-01	DSE-00	ZOVD-00	P-02	/045 W			

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P 272030Z AUG 90  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0973  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM  
SECDEF WASHDC  
DEA HQS WASHDC  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 LIMA 12787

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, DISL, DOIC

DIA FOR OA-5/1D/DB-6D2/JS1-4B/DB3C1

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE  
SUBJECT: SENDERO LUMINOSO ENTERS ITS SECOND DECADE

THE 1990 PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS WAS  
SIGNIFICANTLY LOWER. IN PART THIS IS BECAUSE MEMBERS  
OF PARLIAMENT ARE ELECTED DEPARTMENT-WIDE. SL WAS  
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PAGE 02 LIMA 12787 02 OF 05 272036Z

UNABLE TO HALT THE VOTING IN A DEPARTMENT-WIDE RACE.  
VOTER ABSENTEEISM, ONE POSSIBLE MEASURE OF SL

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INFLUENCE, DROPPED FROM 34 PERCENT NATIONWIDE IN THE 1989 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS TO 21 PERCENT IN THE APRIL PARLIAMENTARY/PRESIDENTIAL VOTING. END NOTE.)

-----  
JUDGING SL'S STRENGTH  
-----

7. FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER MANTILLA BELIEVES THAT SL NOW HAS BETWEEN 2,500 AND 5,000 MEN AND WOMEN UNDER ARMS NATIONWIDE.

HAVE REVIEWED AND SYNTHESIZED THE INTELLIGENCE DATA FROM THE POLICE AND THREE MILITARY SERVICES ON SENDERO LUMINOSO. THESE MEN ESTIMATE THAT SL HAS 2,000 SOLDIERS UNDER PERMANENT ARMS, ANOTHER 3,000 TO 5,000 MARGINALLY TRAINED MILITIA WHO TAKE UP ARMS FOR SPECIFIC OPERATIONS, AND AN ADDITIONAL 17,000 DEDICATED SUPPORTERS, INCLUDING SL'S "GENERATED ORGANIZATIONS," ITS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SUPPORT GROUPS.

8. TO ESTIMATE SENDERO'S STRENGTH MORE ACCURATELY, INCLUDING ITS SUCCESS IN RECRUITING CADRE, IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO ADD TO THE ESTIMATES IN PARAGRAPH 7 THE NUMBER OF TERRORISTS KILLED OR IN DETENTION. THE SENATE COMMISSION REPORTS THAT APPROXIMATELY 7,500 SUSPECTED SL TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN KILLED BY SECURITY FORCES SINCE 1980. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE NOW APPROXIMATELY 1,500 SUSPECTED SL UNDER DETENTION IN VARIOUS PERUVIAN PRISONS, EITHER CONVICTED OF  
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PAGE 03 LIMA 12787 02 OF 05 272036Z

TERRORISM OR CHARGED AND AWAITING COURT PROCEEDINGS.

SL NUMBERS  
-----

ARMED CADRE	2,000	-	5,000
MILITIA	3,000	-	5,000
SUPPORTERS	17,000		
DEAD	7,500		
DETAINED	1,500		
TOTAL	31,000	-	36,000

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9. COMMENT: WE EMPHASIZE THAT THESE FIGURES ARE VERY ROUGH ESTIMATES. THE DATA FROM OUR MILITARY CONTACTS WE JUDGE TO BE A GOOD FAITH ESTIMATE, BUT BASED ON INTELLIGENCE DATA WHICH WE DOUBT IS WHOLLY ACCURATE. THE SL DEATH TOTALS SINCE 1980 CERTAINLY INCLUDE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEASANTS LIVING IN VILLAGES CONTROLLED BY SL, KILLED BY SECURITY FORCES, COUNTED AS TERRORISTS, BUT NOT TRULY SL SUPPORTERS OR CADRE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THESE TOTALS SHOULD BE AUGMENTED BY THE HUNDREDS OF DISAPPEARED AND SUMMARILY EXECUTED SINCE 1980, MANY OF WHOM WERE PROBABLY SL. END COMMENT.

10. BEYOND THE TOTALS ARE THE SPECIFIC TERRORIST ATTACKS IN THE PAST YEAR WHICH SHOW SL'S ABILITY TO PLAN AND EXECUTE MAJOR OPERATIONS. SL WAS PARTICULARLY SUCCESSFUL IN KILLING SITTING MAYORS IN IMPORTANT INTERIOR TOWNS: AZANGARO (MAY), TINGO MARIA (JUNE), AYACUCHO (SEP), CANETE (OCT), HUANCAYO (DEC). BUT IT ALSO RAN MAJOR OPERATIONS IN LIMA: THE BOMBINGS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ESCORT BATTALION (JUN), THE SOVIET FISHERMEN (JUL), THE BUS OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE WORKERS (DEC).

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PAGE 04

LIMA 12787 02 OF 05 272036Z

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CONFIDENTIAL  
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UNCLASSIFIED  
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PAGE 01 LIMA 12787 03 OF 05 272037Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	SS-01	CIAE-00	EB-01
NSCE-00	ARA-05	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSO-01	L-02	AMAD-01	
CTME-00	NRCE-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	PA-01	FAAE-00	CCD-00	
SJK-01	INRE-00	CA-02	CG-00	ACDA-13	A-01	USSS-00	
USIE-00	JUSE-00	FBIE-00	DOEE-00	M-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	
DIS-01	DSE-00	ZOVD-00	P-02	/045 W			

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P 272030Z AUG 90  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0974  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM  
SECDEF WASHDC  
DEAHQS WASHDC  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 LIMA 12787

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DIA FOR OA-5/1D/DB-6D2/JS1-4B/DB3C1

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE  
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11. THOUGH SL IS EARNING A REPUTATION FOR RUNNING  
POORLY PLANNED, AMATEURISH OPERATIONS IN LIMA,  
DETAILS OF THE JUNE 3, 1989 BOMBING REVEAL SL'S  
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PAGE 02 LIMA 12787 03 OF 05 272037Z

TECHNICAL ABILITY. THE TARGETED BUS HAD BEEN UNDER  
PRIOR SURVEILLANCE. SL BLOCKED THE BUS WITH A

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STALLED VOLKSWAGEN ON A BUSY STREET EXACTLY WHERE AN SL "STREET VENDOR" WAS WAITING ON THE SIDEWALK. THE "VENDOR" SHOVED HIS CART, LOADED WITH DYNAMITE, NEXT TO THE BUS. THE EXPLOSION OCCURRED WITHIN SECONDS. THE THREE IN THE VOLKSWAGON AND THE "VENDOR" FLED IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS. A BLOCK AWAY AN OFF-DUTY COP DREW HIS WEAPON TO CHALLENGE ONE OF THE FLEEING TERRORISTS. THE POLICEMAN WAS SHOT FROM BEHIND BY A TERRORIST IN THE CROWD PROVIDING ESCAPE COVER FOR THE PERPETRATORS. NONE OF THE SL PARTICIPANTS HAS BEEN ARRESTED.

12. SL WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MOST OF THE TERRORIST-RELATED DEATHS IN 1989, AND ALSO SUFFERED FAR MORE FATALITIES AT THE HANDS OF THE POLICE AND MILITARY THAN ANY OTHER GROUP. OF 1989'S 3,200 DEATHS, 1526 WERE KILLED BY SENDERO. OF THE 1135 SUSPECTED TERRORISTS KILLED BY SECURITY FORCES, 954 WERE SL.

-----  
WHERE SL IS OPERATING  
-----

13. THE FOCUS OF SL OPERATIONS REMAINS THE MOUNTAINS OF CENTRAL PERU: 68 PERCENT OF ALL DEATHS ATTRIBUTED TO SL OCCURRED IN THE FOUR SIERRA DEPARTMENTS OF APURIMAC, AYACUCHO, HUANCAMELICA, AND JUNIN. 55 PERCENT OF ALL TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN 1989 OCCURRED IN THE SIERRA (INCLUDING MOUNTAINOUS REGIONS OF OTHER DEPARTMENTS.) BUT SL IS CONTINUING ITS EFFORTS TO  
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PAGE 03 LIMA 12787 03 OF 05 272037Z

EXTEND THE REVOLUTION TO LIMA. 10 PERCENT OF ALL SENDERO DEATHS OCCURRED IN LIMA DEPARTMENT. 24 PERCENT OF 1989 SL INCIDENTS WERE IN LIMA CITY

LIMA	COAST	SIERRA	JUNGLE	TOTAL	
ATTEMPTS	515	240	1169	193	2117

14. NOTE: THE 1989 FIGURES IN THIS CHART AND THAT WHICH FOLLOWS COME FROM THE SENATE COMMISSION ON

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VIOLENCE (SEE REF B FOR OUR ANALYSIS OF THE VALIDITY  
OF THIS DATA). THESE PARTICULAR DEATH AND INCIDENT  
TOTALS DO NOT INCLUDE THE DEATHS OF SUSPECTED SL AT  
THE HANDS OF THE MILITARY OR POLICE, ONLY KILLINGS  
DONE BY SL. WE HAVE DEATH TOTALS SPECIFIC TO EACH  
DEPARTMENT OF PERU, BUT INCIDENT TOTALS ARE ONLY  
LISTED BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION: LIMA CITY, THE COAST,  
THE SIERRA AND THE JUNGLE. END NOTE.

- 1989 SL-CAUSED DEATHS

-----  
ANCASH 75  
APURIMAC 18  
AREQUIPA 8  
AYACUCHO 535  
CAJAMARCA 4  
CUZCO 7  
HUANCABELICA 155  
HUANUCO 50  
ICA 26  
JUNIN 330  
LAMBAYEQUE 5  
LA LIBERTAD 12  
LIMA/CALLAO 158

CONFIDENTIAL  
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PAGE 04

LIMA 12787 03 OF 05 272037Z

CONFIDENTIAL  
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PAGE 01 LIMA 12787 04 OF 05 272038Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	SS-01	CIAE-00	EB-01
NSCE-00	ARA-05	NSAE-00	COME-00	SSD-01	L-02	AMAD-01	
CTME-00	NRCE-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	PA-01	FAAE-00	CCD-00	
SJK-01	INRE-00	CA-02	CG-00	ACDA-13	A-01	USSS-00	
USIE-00	JUSE-00	FBIE-00	DOEE-00	M-01	DS-01	IMMC-01	
DIS-01	DSE-00	ZOVD-00	P-02	/045 W			
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P 272030Z AUG 90  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0975  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM  
SECDEF WASHDC  
DEAHQS WASHDC  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 05 LIMA 12787

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OISL, DOIC

DIA FOR DA-5/1D/DB-6D2/JS1-4B/DB3C1

TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE  
SUBJECT: SENDERO LUMINOSO ENTERS ITS SECOND DECADE

PASCO	13
PIURA	2
PUNO	71

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PAGE 02 LIMA 12787 04 OF 05 272038Z

SAN MARTIN	29
TUMBES	1

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UCAYALI 28

TOTAL 1526

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NOTE: THERE WERE NO SL VICTIMS IN THE FIVE DEPARTMENTS NOT INCLUDED IN THIS CHART. END NOTE

15. MOST MILITARY AND POLICE ANALYSTS BELIEVE THAT SENDERO IS INCREASINGLY BASING ITS MILITARY OPERATIONS FROM THE EASTERN JUNGLES; THE VALLEYS OF THE HUALLAGA, UCAYALI, ENE, AND APURIMAC RIVERS. THERE IS, OF COURSE, PERMANENT SL MILITARY PRESENCE IN AREAS OF MAJOR SL ACTIVITY, BUT WE HAVE DONE SPECIFIC GEOGRAPHIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL TRACKING OF REPORTED SL INCIDENTS IN PUNO, ANCASH AND NORTHERN LIMA DEPARTMENT. IT IS POSSIBLE TO FOLLOW SOME SL COLUMNS AS THEY COME UP INTO THE SIERRA, CONDUCT A STRING OF OPERATIONS, PICKING UP MILITIA AND FORCE-MULTIPLIERS AS THEY MOVE, AND THEN RETURN TO THE JUNGLE.

16. THOUGH MOST SL TROOPS UNDER PERMANENT ARMS ARE INCREASINGLY BASED IN TRAINING AND PERMANENT CAMPS IN THE JUNGLE, THESE AREAS SAW RELATIVELY FEW INCIDENTS IN 1989. 9 PERCENT OF LAST YEAR'S INCIDENTS WERE IN THE JUNGLE. WE CANNOT GROUP SL KILLINGS BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION, BUT SAN MARTIN AND HUANUCO DEPARTMENTS, ENCOMPASSING ALL OF THE UHV (AND CONSIDERABLE SIERRA) ACCOUNTED FOR ONLY 5 PERCENT OF SL KILLINGS.  
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PAGE 03 LIMA 12787 04 OF 05 272038Z

17. COMMENT: THIS DATA DOES NOT MEAN THE JUNGLE IS SAFE. THE RISK TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, ESPECIALLY POLICE AND MILITARY, IS HIGH. BUT LARGE PARTS OF THE JUNGLE, ESPECIALLY THE UHV SOUTH OF JUANJUI, ARE CONSIDERED BY SL TO BE "PACIFIED" AREAS. THUS, THERE ARE RELATIVELY FEWER INCIDENTS THERE. IN OTHER JUNGLE AREAS (I.E. EASTERN JUNIN) SL IS STRUGGLING FOR CONTROL WITH ESTABLISHED PEASANT AND INDIAN COMMUNITIES. THERE THE DEATH AND INCIDENT TOTALS ARE MUCH HIGHER. THOUGH THIS REPORT DOES NOT

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SPECIFICALLY CONSIDER THE MRTA, THE UHV AREA NORTH OF JUANJUI IS UNDER MRTA INFLUENCE. SOME OF THE UHV/SAN MARTIN DEPARTMENT VIOLENCE ARE MRTA/SL CLASHES ALONG THE FRONTIER OF THESE GROUPS' ZONES OF INFLUENCE. END COMMENT.

-----  
IS SL STRONGER TODAY?  
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18. SL BEGAN ITS ARMED STRUGGLE MAY, 1980. THE FIRST EMERGENCY ZONES WERE DECLARED BY PRESIDENT BELAUDE IN 6 PROVINCES OF AYACUCHO, APURIMAC, AND HUANCABELICA DEPARTMENTS IN DECEMBER, 1982. THE CITY OF LIMA WAS DECLARED IN EMERGENCY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 1986. DURING 1989, 69 PROVINCES OF 10 DEPARTMENTS WERE IN EMERGENCY STATUS, TWO PROVINCES OF ANCASH DEPARTMENT AND ONE IN LORETO DEPARTMENT WERE ADDED IN 1990. THERE ARE 183 PROVINCES IN 24 DEPARTMENTS OF PERU.

YEAR	PROVINCES	DEPARTMENTS
1982	6	3
1983	8	3

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PAGE 01 LIMA 12787 05 OF 05 272038Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO LDG-00 ADS-00 AID-01 INR-05 SS-01 CIAE-00 EB-01  
NSCE-00 ARA-05 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-01 L-02 AMAD-01  
CTME-00 NRCE-00 TRSE-00 PM-01 PA-01 FAE-00 CCD-00  
SJK-01 INRE-00 CA-02 CG-00 ACDA-13 A-01 USSS-00  
USIE-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 DOEE-00 M-01 DS-01 IMMC-01  
DIS-01 DSE-00 ZDVD-00 P-02 /045 W  
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P 272030Z AUG 90  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0976  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM  
SECDEF WASHDC  
DEA HQS WASHDC  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 LIMA 12787

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

DEA FOR AD, DO, OF, DISL, DOIC

DIA FOR OA-5/1D/DB-6D2/JS1-4B/DB3C1

TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE  
SUBJECT: SENDERO LUMINOSO ENTERS ITS SECOND DECADE

1984	19	6
1985	29	6
1986	35	7

CONFIDENTIAL  
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PAGE 02 LIMA 12787 05 OF 05 272038Z

1987	49	8
1988	57	9

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1989	69	10
1990	71	11

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NOTE: PRESIDENTIAL DECREES NORMALLY ESTABLISH EZS FOR 60 DAY PERIODS. MANY PROVINCES PASS IN AND OUT AND BACK INTO EZ STATUS DURING A YEAR. THE TOTALS IN THIS CHART REFLECT THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PROVINCES IN EZ STATUS DURING THAT YEAR, NOT THE NUMBER IN EZ AT THE END OF THE YEAR. IT IS POSSIBLE 1990'S TOTAL MAY YET INCREASE. END NOTE.

19. THE DATA IN REF A AND IN THIS REPORT LEAVE NO ROOM FOR DOUBT THAT SENDERO LUMINOSO IS STRONGER TODAY THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS YEAR, IF STRENGTH IS MEASURED BY THE NUMBER OF MEN AND WOMEN UNDER ARMS, THE NUMBER OF TARGETS THE TERRORISTS ARE ABLE TO STRIKE, AND THE LAND AREA UNDER SENDERO INFLUENCE. DESPITE SENDERO'S GROWTH, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE MOVEMENT REMAINS VULNERABLE, PERHAPS MORE SO THAN EVER BEFORE. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT SENDERO IS GROWING, BUT NOT DEVELOPING. IT IS THAT THESIS WE WILL DEVELOP IN PART THREE OF THIS REPORT.

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