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IN BOLIVIA'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES -- SO FAR HAS MADE BOLIVIA LESS THAN FERTILE GROUND FOR A POPULAR INSURRECTION. THIS REPORT ALSO EXPLORES, HOWEVER, SEVERAL EVOLVING CONDITIONS WHICH MAY BE ERODING BOLIVIA'S SOCIAL RESILIENCE AND APPARENT POLITICAL IMMUNITY (PARAS. 11 TO 14). END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

ROOTS OF SENDERO LUMINOSO IN PERU (WITH APOLOGIES TO LIMA)

2. (U) IN THE MID-1962'S THE PERUVIAN ARMY AND POLICE WERE DRAWN INTO A LONG, COSTLY STRUGGLE TO SUPPRESS TWO SMALL GUERRILLA INSURGENCIES BY THE "NATIONAL ARMY OF LIBERATION" AND THE "MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY

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PAGE 03 LA PAZ 03448 01 OF 06 242101Z  
LEFT." ALTHOUGH THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY CAMPAIGN PREVAILED, IT LEFT THE MILITARY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR REVOLT AMONG LANDLESS PEASANTS. THERE HAD BEEN NO EFFECTIVE LAND REFORM, POWER WAS CONCENTRATED IN THE HANDS OF THE TRADITIONAL OLIGARCHY, GOVERNMENT WAS CORRUPT AND THE INDIAN POPULATION WAS NEGLECTED. IN AN ANALYSIS PUBLISHED IN 1967, ARMY MAJOR GENERAL EDGARDO MERCADO CONCLUDED THAT PERUVIAN SOCIETY WAS IN A STATE OF "LATENT INSURGENCY." HE FEARED THE COMMUNISTS WOULD EXPLOIT THE SITUATION UNLESS DEEP-GOING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS COULD

BE IMPLEMENTED. MERCADO'S THESIS WAS INFLUENTIAL IN THE COUP THAT REMOVED PRESIDENT BELAUNDE AND INSTALLED THE "REVOLUTIONARY" MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL JUAN VELASCO ALVARADO ONE YEAR LATER. VELASCO AND HIS SUCCESSOR, GENERAL FRANCISCO MORALES BERMUDEZ CERRUTO, MADE A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO TRANSFORM PERU'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES. THEY ENHANCED POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING PROCESSES AND TRIED TO ACCELERATE THE PROCESSES OF CHANGE.

3. (U) IN 1970 A MAOIST SPLINTER GROUP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU, WHICH BECAME KNOWN AS SENDERO LUMINOSO, WAS LAUNCHED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HUAMANGA, IN AYACUCHO UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF ABIMAE L GUEZMAN, A LEFTIST PROFESSOR. ITS CADRE WAS A GROUP OF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS OF LARGELY PROVINCIAL EXTRACTION. THEY WERE DISAPPOINTED BY THE VELASCO REFORMS, BITTERLY FRUSTRATED AT THE LACK OF OPPORTUNITIES IN PERU'S MOST BACKWARD, NEGLECTED REGION AND WILLING TO SUBMERSE THEIR PERSONAL IDENTITIES IN THE CAUSE OF REVOLUTION. THE BUDDING GUERRILLA MOVEMENT TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE CIVIL GUARD'S HEAVY-HANDED COUNTER-INSURGENCY TACTICS, AND

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WANT TO 'LIBERATE' THEM.

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8. (C) DESPITE A CORNUCOPIA OF HOME-GROWN RADICAL GROUPS, BOLIVIA SO FAR HAS NOT SPAWNED AN EXTREMIST MOVEMENT WITH THE STAYING POWER AND IDEOLOGICAL FANATICISM OF SENDERO LUMINOSO. NOR IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE THAT THE SENDERISTAS, HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SPREAD THEIR DOCTRINE TO BOLIVIA. THERE ARE OCCASIONAL SENDERISTA EFFORTS TO PROSELYTIZE BOLIVIAN INDIANS NEAR THE FRONTIER, BUT THE BOLIVIANS, CONFIDENT OF THEIR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND LAND-HOLDING STATUS, SEEM TO REGARD THE SENDERISTAS AS FOREIGN POLITICAL UPSTARTS.

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PAGE 23 LA PAZ 2344E 25 OF 26 242131Z

ACCORDING TO SOCIOLOGIST JORGE DANDLER, A  
CRITICAL FACTOR IN THE RISE OF SENDERO LUMINOSO WAS  
THE PRESENCE OF A MULTITUDE OF "LOST YOUTH" IN PERU'S  
PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITIES. FACED WITH IMPOSSIBLE  
CHOICES -- EITHER REMAIN IN THEIR HOMETOWNS WITH NO  
HOPE OF FINDING JOBS FOR "EDUCATED" PERSONS, OR JOIN  
THE DEGRADING EXISTENCE OF THOSE WHO SQUAT ON THE  
OUTSKIRTS OF LARGE CITIES -- MANY CHOSE TERRORIST  
INSURRECTION. [

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PAGE 11

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