

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

[REDACTED]

RELEASED IN FULL

PAGE 01 LIMA 15735 01 OF 04 072308Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-13	ADS-00	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02
	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	SJK-01	COME-00	CTME-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	HA-09	IMMC-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	INSE-00	JUSE-00	L-03	M-01	NRCE-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIS-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01
	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	/044W	

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P 072303Z NOV 91  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3138  
 INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
 AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 15735

USCINCSO FOR POLAD AND SJA COL GRAHAM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PTER, PHUM, PE  
 SUBJECT: "BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE" STILL A  
 - MYSTERY

REF: LIMA 15498

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 15735 01 OF 04 072308Z

1. SUMMARY: THE NOVEMBER 3 "BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE," IN WHICH UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS MURDERED 16 PEOPLE, REMAINS AT THE TOP OF LIMA'S POLITICAL AGENDA. IT REMAINS A MYSTERY AS WELL, WITH CONTRADICTORY INFORMATION AND SPECULATION ABOUT ITS MEANING. IT MAY NEVER BE KNOWN WHO COMMITTED THE CRIME AND WHY. POSSIBLE PERPETRATORS: SENDERO LUMINOSO TERRORISTS, A HERETOFORE UNKNOWN PARAMILITARY GROUP,

n/a

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n/a

Case Number: S200200010

DISGRUNTLED ARMY/POLICE PERSONNEL, OR THE APRA-CONNECTED RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND. UNTIL MORE IS KNOWN ABOUT THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE VICTIMS IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO NARROW THE CHOICES OF THE POSSIBLE KILLERS. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE "BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE" HAS CONTINUED TO DRAW UNPRECEDENTED ATTENTION IN LIMA. OPEN AND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES HAVE PROVIDED A FLOOD OF CONTRADICTORY INFORMATION AND THEORIES. MOST OBSERVERS HAVE BLAMED EITHER SENDERO LUMINOSO OR AN UNKNOWN PARAMILITARY GROUP FOR THE 16 DEATHS. MANY OF THE FACTS SURROUNDING THE EVENTS ARE STILL IN DISPUTE. THE CONFUSED SITUATION IS PROBABLY BEST SUMMED UP IN THE HEADLINE OF THE LEFTIST DAILY "LA REPUBLICA": "WITNESSES OF THE MASSACRE CONTRADICT THEMSELVES." THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES THE SOMETIMES CONFLICTING INFORMATION AND THEORIES ON THE CASE. AS FURTHER INFORMATION BECOMES AVAILABLE, EMBASSY WILL UPDATE THE DEPARTMENT.

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[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 15735 01 OF 04 072308Z

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UNOFFICIAL POLICE REPORTS  
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3. [REDACTED] THE ANTI-TERRORISM POLICE (DIRCOTE) HAS TAKEN OVER THE CASE FROM THE HOMICIDE DIVISION AND IS NOW IN CHARGE OF THE INVESTIGATION. DIRCOTE HAS DEVOTED A TASK FORCE TO THE MASSACRE. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE FACTS FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL POLICE REPORT:

O THE MASSACRE OCCURRED AT APPROXIMATELY 10:30 PM ON NOVEMBER 3.

O EIGHT MEN, TWO OF THEM HOODED, TOOK PART IN THE ATTACK. THERE WERE NO FEMALE PARTICIPANTS AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED.

O THE KILLERS ARRIVED IN TWO STOLEN TRUCKS. ONE OF THE TRUCKS BELONGS TO THE MINISTRY OF

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n/a  
Case Number: S200200010

INTERIOR AND WAS ASSIGNED TO THE VICE MINISTER, DAVID MEJIA. THE TRUCK WAS REPORTED STOLEN AT GUN POINT EARLY IN THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 30. THE SECOND TRUCK HAS NOT YET BEEN IDENTIFIED. 0 THERE WERE 16 KILLED DURING THE ATTACK AND FOUR WOUNDED SURVIVORS ARE IN HOSPITALS. THE SURVIVORS ARE UNDER POLICE GUARD. EIGHT OF THE BODIES OF THE DEAD HAVE BEEN CLAIMED AND BURIED. EIGHT OTHER BODIES REMAIN UNCLAIMED. THE POLICE INFER THAT THE BODIES HAVE NOT BEEN

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 15735 01 OF 04 072308Z  
CLAIMED BECAUSE THE RELATIVES OF THE VICTIMS ARE AFRAID TO BE IDENTIFIED.

0 THE KILLERS SHOT DOZENS OF ROUNDS AND FIRED A FINAL SHOT TO THE HEAD AT CLOSE RANGE.

0 TWO OF THE VICTIMS WERE MEMBERS OF THE LEFTIST TEACHERS' UNION SUTEP. IN A ROOM UPSTAIRS FROM THE MASSACRE ANOTHER PARTY OF SUTEP MEMBERS WAS ALSO TAKING PLACE.

0 THE WOUNDED SURVIVORS REPORT THAT THE GUNFIRE DID NOT SOUND NORMAL. NEIGHBORS AND THE NEARBY POLICE STATION (SOME 30 METERS AWAY) DID NOT

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PAGE 01 LIMA 15735 02 OF 04 072313Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-13	ADS-00	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02
	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	SJK-01	COME-00	CTME-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	DS-00	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	HA-09	IMMC-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	INSE-00	JUSE-00	L-03	M-01	NRCE-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIS-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01
	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	/044W	

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n/a

Case Number: S200200010

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3139  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED]

SECTION 02 OF 04 LIMA 15735

USCINCSO. FOR POLAD AND SJA COL GRAHAM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, PE  
SUBJECT: "BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE" STILL A  
HEAR THE GUNFIRE. SILENCERS WERE NOT USED.

O OTHER THAN MANY BEING ICE CREAM STREET

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 15735 02 OF 04 072313Z  
VENDORS, THE VICTIMS HAD NO KNOWN CONNECTIONS.  
IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THEY WERE ALL FROM THE  
DEPARTMENT OF AYACUCHO. DIRCOTE IS NOW  
INTENSELY INVESTIGATING THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE  
VICTIMS TO DETERMINE A POSSIBLE MOTIVE.

O THE PARTY WAS BEING HELD TO RAISE MONEY TO  
INSTALL A NEIGHBORHOOD WATER AND SEWAGE SYSTEM.  
APPROXIMATELY 100 TICKETS WERE AVAILABLE TO BE  
SOLD. AT ABOUT 9:30 PM ABOUT HALF OF THE  
PARTICIPANTS THEN AT THE PARTY LEFT.

-----  
OPEN SOURCE INFORMATION  
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4. (U) THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS CULLED  
FROM VARIOUS NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS:

O A WOMAN DID NOT LEAD THE GROUP. THE VICTIMS  
DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE THE MARCH AGAINST  
VIOLENCE ORGANIZED BY THE GROUP "PERU, LIFE AND  
PEACE." TEN PERSONS AT THE PARTY WERE  
ORIGINALLY FROM AYACUCHO BUT THE TWO ORGANIZERS

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

HAD LEFT AYACUCHO MORE THAN 20 YEARS AGO. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE ORGANIZERS OWED A "BLOOD DEBT" TO SL. THE KILLERS WERE TALL AND HAD AN ATHLETIC BEARING (RIGHT-CENTER "EXPRESSO").

O THE PARTICIPANTS AT THE PARTY WERE NOT SUTEP MEMBERS BUT TWO BLOCKS AWAY A SIMILAR PARTY WAS TAKING PLACE HOSTED BY THE PARENTS ASSOCIATION

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 15735 02 OF 04 072313Z OF A SCHOOL. THIS PARTY TO RAISE FUNDS FOR THE SCHOOL HAD 12 SUTEP MEMBERS PRESENT (EXPRESSO).

O A STREET VENDOR THAT WAS NEAR THE MASSACRE REPORTED THAT THE KILLERS WERE PARAMILITARY BECAUSE "THEY HAD AN ATHLETIC BEARING, SOME WORE MILITARY TYPE BOOTS, FOUR WERE HOODED AND THE TWO DRIVERS THAT STAYED WITH THE VEHICLES HAD 'COMMANDO TYPE FACES', THAT IS, CAMOUFLAGED SO THAT THEY COULD NOT BE EASILY RECOGNIZED." SHE ALSO SAID THAT ONE OF THE KILLERS HAD A MILITARY TYPE HAIRCUT. THIS WITNESS ATTENDED THE PARTY FROM 2:00 PM UNTIL SHE AND HER HUSBAND LEFT AT 9:00 PM SO THAT HER HUSBAND COULD DRINK OUTSIDE WITH SOME FRIENDS. SHE CLAIMS TO HAVE SEEN THE KILLERS ARRIVE CARRYING HAND GUNS WITH LONG, HEAVY BARRELS (PRESUMABLY SILENCERS). SHE SAID THAT THE KILLERS CONFRONTED HER ON LEAVING AND ADVISED HER TO KEEP SILENT. SHE ADMITS THAT HER HUSBAND WAS PRESENT WHEN THE KILLERS CONFRONTED HER BUT HE WAS TOO DRUNK TO BE A THREAT AS A WITNESS (LEFTIST "LA REPUBLICA").

O SIX COPIES OF SL'S CLANDESTINE NEWSPAPER "EL DIARIO" WERE FOUND AT THE SITE. POLI/E BELIEVE THAT THREE OF THE VICTIMS WERE LINKED TO SL. THREE OF THE CORPSES REMAIN UNCLAIMED AT THE MORGUE (RIGHT-CENTER "EL COMERCIO").

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CONTRADICTIONS  
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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

PAGE 04 LIMA 15735 02 OF 04 072313Z

5. [REDACTED] THE FOLLOWING ARE ONLY A FEW OF THE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE ABOVE "FACTS:"

O WERE SILENCERS USED? IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT WITH TWO NOISY DANCE PARTIES IN PROGRESS THAT THE VICTIMS COULD HAVE BEEN KILLED WITHOUT THE NEIGHBORS OR POLICE HEARING WHAT HAPPENED. THE TESTIMONY OF THE SURVIVORS MUST BE MITIGATED BY THE FACT THAT THEY WERE ON THE FLOOR AS THOSE ABOUT THEM WERE KILLED.

O IF ALL THE DEAD WERE GIVEN A FINAL SHOT IN THE HEAD, WHY WERE THERE FOUR SURVIVORS? WERE

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 15735 03 OF 04 072317Z  
ACTION SCT-03

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	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	/044W	
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P 072303Z NOV 91  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3140  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 04 LIMA 15735

USCINCSO FOR POLAD AND SJA COL GRAHAM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

[REDACTED] n/a

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

TAGS: PTER, PHUM, PE  
SUBJECT: "BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE" STILL A  
THEY ALSO SHOT IN THE HEAD AND SURVIVED OR DID  
THESE METHODOICAL KILLERS PANIC AND SUDDENLY  
LEAVE? IF EVERYONE PRESENT (INCLUDING A NINE

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 15735 03 OF 04 072317Z  
YEAR OLD BOY) WERE KILLED SO THAT NO WITNESSES  
WOULD BE LEFT, WHY WOULD ONE OF THE KILLERS  
STOP, TALK TO THE "LA REPUBLICA" WITNESS AND HER  
DRUNK HUSBAND AND LEAVE THEM ALIVE?

O WAS THE SUTEP PARTY IN THE SAME BUILDING OR  
TWO BLOCKS AWAY? WHY IS THERE NO OTHER APPARENT  
POLITICAL CONNECTION THAT WOULD MAKE ANY OF THE  
VICTIMS SUCH A HIGHLY VALUED TARGET TO JUSTIFY  
THE DEATH OF 16?

O WHY DID SOME OF THE PARTICIPANTS LEAVE THE  
PARTY EARLY IN THE EVENING? PARTIES OF THIS  
SORT NORMALLY CONTINUE UNTIL WELL INTO THE  
MORNING. DID SOME OF THOSE PRESENT KNOW WHAT  
WAS ABOUT TO HAPPEN?

-----  
SOME THEORIES  
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6. [REDACTED] MOST OBSERVERS IN LIMA BELIEVE THAT THE  
KILLERS WERE EITHER SL, ARMY, POLICE, APRA  
PARAMILITARIES (COMANDO RODRIGO FRANCO) OR  
COMMON CRIMINALS. THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE  
KILLERS WERE COMMON CRIMINALS HAS BEEN DISCARDED  
BY MANY SINCE EVIDENCE OF DRUG INVOLVEMENT HAS  
YET TO APPEAR. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE  
CURRENT THEORIES:

O "SL REVENGE ON RONDEROS" - THIS EARLY THEORY  
SEEMS LESS CREDIBLE SINCE IT NOW APPEARS THAT

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 15735 03 OF 04 072317Z  
THE LEADER WAS NOT FEMALE, A SL TRADEMARK AND

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

THAT THE VICTIMS WERE NOT ALL FROM AYACUCHO. OBSERVERS ALSO POINT OUT THAT PREVIOUS SL LIMA ASSASSINATIONS WERE WELL PLANNED WITH A SINGLE TARGET. THIS TYPE OF MASS KILLING BY SL HAS NOT OCCURRED IN LIMA. ON THE OTHER HAND, MASS MURDER OF WHOLE COMMUNITIES BY SL IS COMMON IN THE SIERRA. LOCAL PRESS REPORTS THAT ON NOVEMBER 3, 37 MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE KILLED BY SL IN THE HUANCVELICA VILLAGE OF SANTO TOMAS DE PATA. THE VICTIMS, WHO RANGED IN AGE FROM 7 TO 75, ALLEGEDLY WERE KILLED FOR THEIR TIES TO RONDEROS.

O "POLICE/MILITARY DEATH SQUAD" - THIS THEORY WOULD BE SUPPORTED IF SILENCERS COULD BE CONFIRMED TO HAVE BEEN USED AND PRESS REPORTS OF MILITARY BEARING/DISCIPLINE OF THE KILLERS BEAR OUT. THE PROBLEM WITH THE THEORY IS THE LACK OF A MOTIVE. TO DATE NO APPARENT POLITICAL CONNECTION HAS BEEN SHOWN TO ANY OF THE VICTIMS. ONE COROLLARY OF THIS IS THE "WRONG PARTY" THEORY THAT ARGUES THAT THE REAL TARGET WAS THE SUTEP PARTY. BUT INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE PARTY GOERS AT THE SUTEP PARTY WERE RUN-OF-THE-MILL TEACHERS AND NOT KEY UNION LEADERS.

O "BLACKEN THE GOP'S IMAGE" - THE IDEA HERE IS THAT THE MOTIVATION WAS TO DO THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE DAMAGE TO THE GOP'S HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

PAGE 04 LIMA 15735 03 OF 04 072317Z  
AND DAMAGE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERU AND THE DONOR COUNTRIES. FOLLOWING THIS THEORY ANY GROUP OF POOR PEOPLE WOULD SERVE AS VICTIMS AND A CLEAR POLITICAL MOTIVATION WAS NOT NEEDED. THE INFLUENTIAL PUBLISHER OF THE WEEKLY "CARETAS" TOLD EMBOFF THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE COMMUNIQUE FROM PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN "PERUVIAN ANTITERRORIST COMMAND" (REPORTED BY FBIS CHIVA CHIVA 051750Z NOV 91) WAS INTENDED TO DAMAGE PERU'S HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE. IT IS INTERESTING THAT THIS COMMUNIQUE, WHICH ONE TELEVISION STATION REPORTED WAS ALLEGEDLY GIVEN TO LIMA

n/a  
[REDACTED]



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n/a  
Case Number: S200200010

NEWSPAPERS, WAS NOT GIVEN TO ANY OF THE MAJOR  
LIMA DAILIES. POSSIBLE AUTHORS OF SUCH A

[REDACTED]  
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[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 15735 04 OF 04 072317Z  
ACTION SCT-03

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[REDACTED] SECTION 04 OF 04 LIMA 15735

USCINCSO FOR POLAD AND SJA COL GRAHAM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, PE  
SUBJECT: "BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE" STILL A  
CAMPAIGN COULD INCLUDE THE APRA PARTY,  
NARCO-TRAFFICKERS, CORRUPT POLICE/MILITARY OR  
ANY COMBINATION OF THE ABOVE.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
PAGE 02 LIMA 15735 04 OF 04 072317Z

O "WE ARE NOT GOING TO TAKE IT ANYMORE" - THIS  
THEORY HOLDS THAT THE PERPETRATORS WERE PERUVIAN

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

ARMY OFFICERS DISGRUNTLED BY THE GOP'S DECISION TO PROSECUTE AN ARMY OFFICER AND NCOS INVOLVED IN THE SANTA BARBARA MASSACRE (LIMA 15416). UNDER THIS THEORY THE HARD-LINERS COULD HAVE USED THE KILLINGS TO MAKE A STATEMENT THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO FIGHT A DIRTY WAR AND INSURE THAT NO USG HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONED ASSISTANCE CAN FORCE THE GOP INTO PROSECUTING MILITARY HUMAN RIGHTS OFFENDERS.

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COMMENT  
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7. UNTIL RELIABLE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE, MORE AUTHORITATIVE SPECULATION IN THIS MASSACRE WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE. WITH THE WEAKNESS OF THE PERUVIAN JUSTICE SYSTEM, THE CLIMATE OF GENERALIZED VIOLENCE, AND THE PRIMITIVE STATE OF CRIMINAL FORENSICS, THE TRUTH IN THIS CASE MAY NEVER BE KNOWN. PERUVIANS, NONETHELESS, ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THIS ARRIVAL OF APPARENTLY MINDLESS; MASS VIOLENCE IN THEIR CAPITAL. MASS MURDER LIKE THIS WOULD DRAW LITTLE ATTENTION IF IT OCCURRED IN THE SIERRA OR JUNGLE SINCE SENDERO, AND LESS FREQUENTLY THE ARMY, HAD USED THIS TACTIC FOR YEARS. PRESS ATTENTION AND A DECISION BY CONGRESS TO QUESTION THE DEFENSE AND

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 15735 04 OF 04 072317Z  
INTERIOR MINISTERS IN THE "BARRIOS ALTOS CASE"  
INDICATES PUBLIC OPINION IS AROUSED. QUANTON

[REDACTED]

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n/a

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