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R 042043Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0299
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
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ROME PASS VATICAN; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

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SUBJECT: AYACUCHO: QUIET SPELL RAISES HOPES
REF: 92 LIMA 15156

SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION

1. (U) AYACUCHO, THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) INSURGENCY, IS IN PERU'S SOUTH CENTRAL ANDES. AN INDICATION OF ITS ISOLATION

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IS THAT THE TRIP FROM LIMA TAKES 18 HOURS BY LAND OR 40 MINUTES BY AIR. THE IMPOVERISHED CITY'S POPULATION HAS GROWN SIXFOLD IN THE LAST DECADE AS A RESULT OF THE INSURGENCY IN THE PROVINCES; AROUND HALF OF ITS 120,000 RESIDENTS LIVE IN SHANTYTOWNS.

2. (C) DURING A RECENT VISIT TO A RELATIVELY CALM AYACUCHO, POLOFFS FOUND THAT SL STILL MAINTAINS A LOW-KEY PRESENCE IN THE CITY, PARTICULARLY IN SHANTYTOWNS AND THE UNIVERSITY WHERE IT WAS FOUNDED. SL STILL HAS FAIRLY ACTIVE COLUMNS IN THE PROVINCES, BUT EVEN THEY ARE BEING KEPT AT BAY BY POLICE, THE MILITARY AND LOCAL SELF-DEFENSE COMMITTEES (RONDAS). NEARLY EVERY CONTACT AFFIRMED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY THE AUTHORITIES HAVE DROPPED SIGNIFICANTLY (ALTHOUGH THERE IS SOME CONCERN OVER ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE DIFFICULT-TO-CONTROL RONDAS).

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 THE ICRC HAS FULL ACCESS TO DETAINEES AND FEW COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE AUTHORITIES.

3. (C) SERIOUS PROBLEMS STILL EXIST IN AYACUCHO, HOWEVER. BY ALL ACCOUNTS, COCA CULTIVATION AND NARCO-TRAFFICKING ARE ON THE RISE IN THE REGION; AYACUCHO CITY HAS BECOME A MAJOR TRANSSHIPMENT CENTER FOR PRECURSOR CHEMICALS USED IN PROCESSING COCAINE. THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT IS UNABLE TO PROVIDE BASIC SERVICES TO AYACUCHO RESIDENTS, AND, WITH FEW SOURCES OF INCOME AVAILABLE, POVERTY REMAINS AN INTRACTABLE PROBLEM.
 END SUMMARY/INTRODUCTION.

IMPROVED SECURITY SITUATION

4. (U) ON JUNE 28-30, POLOFFS VISITED AYACUCHO CITY, CAPITAL OF AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT, LOCATED IN A REMOTE MOUNTAIN VALLEY HIGH IN THE SOUTH CENTRAL ANDES, SOME 350 KILOMETERS SOUTH OF LIMA. IT WAS IN AYACUCHO'S SAN CRISTOBAL DE HUAMANGA UNIVERSITY THAT PROFESSOR ABIMAEI GUZMAN FOUNDED SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) IN THE 1970'S AND LAUNCHED ITS ARMED STRUGGLE IN 1980. THE CITY AND ITS

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SURROUNDING DEPARTMENT HAVE BEEN ONE OF THE HARDEST-HIT AREAS IN THE 13 YEARS SINCE THE SL TERRORIST WAR BEGAN. AYACUCHO, A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKWATER SINCE THE END OF THE COLONIAL ERA, SLIPPED EVEN FURTHER BACKWARDS. PHYSICALLY ISOLATED BY TORTUOUS MOUNTAIN GEOGRAPHY AND

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PERSISTENT TERRORISM ALONG THE FEW POOR ROADS THAT LINKED IT TO THE REST OF PERU, AYACUCHANOS CAME TO BE VIRTUALLY OSTRACIZED BY THEIR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, WHO OFTEN ASSOCIATED ANYONE FROM AYACUCHO WITH TERRORISM.

5. (U) IN LATE 1992, AYACUCHO CONTINUED TO BE A CITY LIVING IN THE SHADOW OF SL (REFTEL). PEOPLE LOWERED THEIR VOICES AND GLANCED ABOUT NERVOUSLY WHEN TALKING ABOUT SENDERO. RESIDENTS HEADED INDOORS WHEN NIGHT FELL AND ELECTRICITY RATIONING, ATTRIBUTED IN PART TO SL SABOTAGE OF THE POWER GRID, MEANT MOST OF THE CITY WAS DARK BY 22:00. ALTHOUGH SENDERO'S GUZMAN HAD BEEN IMPRISONED IN SEPTEMBER 1992, LOCAL OBSERVERS CAUTIONED THAT SL MIGHT HAVE STRATEGICALLY WITHDRAWN BACK FROM LIMA TO AYACUCHO, WHICH SL

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CALLS ITS "PRIMARY FRONT."

6. (LOU) BUT WHILE SENDERO BY MOST ACCOUNTS
 RETAINS A LOW-KEY PRESENCE IN AYACUCHO, THERE ARE
 NOW VISIBLE SIGNS THAT THINGS ARE CHANGING FOR
 THE BETTER. POWER RATIONING HAS BEEN ELIMINATED.
 PEOPLE NOW STROLL THROUGH THE CENTRAL "PLAZA DE
 ARMAS" (UNDER THE WATCHFUL GAZE OF POLICE IN
 THEIR ARMORED VEHICLE) LATE INTO THE NIGHT.
 POSTERS ON CITY WALLS ANNOUNCE ENTERTAINMENT ACTS
 AND PUBLIC DANCES AROUND TOWN. (ONE VERY LATE
 MONDAY NIGHT DANCE IN FRONT OF THE ONLY PASSABLE
 HOTEL IN THE CITY DROVE THIS POINT HOME TO
 POLOFFS.) TWO NEW RESTAURANTS HAVE OPENED AND
 THE NATIONAL TOURISM OFFICE EVEN SENT A TEAM TO
 LOOK AT "UPGRADING" (READ "RE-CREATING") TOURISM
 FACILITIES. THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN CRISTOBAL, BY
 ALL ACCOUNTS STILL HEAVILY INFLUENCED BY SL, HELD
 ITS FIRST DANCE AND STUDENT FESTIVAL IN NEARLY
 TEN YEARS WITHOUT INCIDENT. NO ONE IS CLAIMING
 VICTORY, BUT THE FEEL OF THE CITY HAS CHANGED
 FROM ONE OF FEAR AND GLOOM TO ONE OF GUARDED HOPE
 THAT THE CORNER MAY HAVE BEEN TURNED.

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SENDERO: QUIET AND KEEPING UNDERGROUND

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 7. (LOU) MUCH OF THE NEW POSITIVE FEELING IN AYACUCHO IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO A LONG SPELL OF RELATIVE PEACE IN THE CITY SINCE LATE 1992. MOST INTERLOCUTORS WERE HARD PRESSED TO REMEMBER ANY SIGNIFICANT SENDERO TERRORIST ACTION SINCE JANUARY (MRTA, PERU'S OTHER INSURGENT GROUP, IS NOT PRESENT IN AYACUCHO). POLICE AND MILITARY OPERATIONS DISBANDED AT LEAST THREE SL CELLS IN AYACUCHO OVER THE PAST YEAR, AND CONTINUED HEAVY MILITARY AND POLICE PATROLS AND SWEEPS HAVE KEPT SL OFF-BALANCE. JOINT POLICE/ARMY OPERATIONS ARE EVEN BEING CONDUCTED IN THE IMMEDIATE COUNTRYSIDE SURROUNDING AYACUCHO, PRODUCING THE OCCASIONAL CAPTURE AND DRIVING SL FARTHER FROM THE CITY.

8. (LOU) EVEN A SUCCESSFUL TWO-DAY ARMED STRIKE THAT SHUT DOWN THE CITY IN MAY WAS IN PART ATTRIBUTED TO FORCE OF HABIT. ACCORDING TO SOME OBSERVERS, THE PEOPLE, ACCUSTOMED TO SL'S CALLING STRIKES ON KEY ANNIVERSARY DATES, SIMPLY TOOK AN EARLY WEEKEND. IN FACT, SL APPARENTLY DID NOT STAGE A SINGLE SUBVERSIVE ATTACK IN SUPPORT OF ITS MAY ARMED STRIKE. OTHER OBSERVERS, HOWEVER, CLAIM THE MILITARY BECAME COMPLACENT. THE ARMY SAW TO IT THAT A PREVIOUS ARMED STRIKE CALLED IN JANUARY FAILED -- PUBLIC WORKERS WERE THREATENED WITH DOCKED PAY AND MEMOS TO THEIR PERSONNEL FILES IF THEY DID NOT SHOW UP FOR WORK; PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION DRIVERS WERE TOLD THEY WOULD BE ARRESTED AS SYMPATHIZERS IF THEY DID NOT HIT THE STREETS; AND SHOPS WERE TOLD THEY WOULD HAVE

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 THEIR LICENSES REVOKED IF THEY DID NOT OPEN. NONE OF THESE MEASURES WERE TAKEN TO FORESTALL THE MAY ARMED STRIKE.

9. (C) NEVERTHELESS, BOTH INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS

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AND THE SECURITY FORCES ADMIT THAT SENDERO RETAINS A PRESENCE IN AYACUCHO, ALBEIT CURRENTLY A LOW-KEY ONE. CATHOLIC NUNS WHO WORK IN SOME OF THE 128 SHANTYTOWNS RINGING AYACUCHO SAID THAT SENDERO HAD REESTABLISHED "POPULAR SCHOOLS" TO TRAIN NEW RECRUITS. A PRIEST TOLD OF SENDERO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS RALLYING TO REMOTE HIGHLAND VILLAGES. THE UNIVERSITY'S RECTOR AND COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE (JECOTE) POINT TO SENDERO'S INCREASED PRESENCE AND ACTIVISM IN CAMPUS LIFE.

10. (C) POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMANDER ARMY GEN. RONALD RUEDAS SPOKE PROUDLY OF HAVING BROUGHT SL "UNDER CONTROL" DURING HIS TWO-YEAR TOUR AS CHIEF OF THE AYACUCHO FRONT. (COMMANDERS NORMALLY SERVE ONLY ONE-YEAR TOURS, AND ALTHOUGH RUEDAS SAID HE WAS FLATTERED PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAD ASKED HIM TO STAY FOR A SECOND YEAR, HE WAS ANXIOUS TO MOVE ON.) CONTRASTING HIS FRONT TO

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THE HUALLAGA FRONT UNDER GEN. BELLIDO, RUEDAS SAID AYACUCHO HAD ENTERED THE "PACIFICATION PHASE" WHILE BELLIDO WAS STILL SLOGGING THROUGH THE "REPRESSION PHASE." RUEDAS SAW HIS MAIN TASK AS WINNING OVER THE POPULATION WITH CIVIC ACTION, AND WAS ESPECIALLY CONCENTRATING ON URBAN ROAD WORKS TO DO THIS. ACTIVE PATROLLING BOLSTERED BY INTELLIGENCE WORK WERE ALSO HIGH PRIORITIES. STILL, RUEDAS STRONGLY WARNED THAT IT WAS FAR TOO EARLY TO CLAIM VICTORY. ASKED ABOUT THE APPARENT RELATIVE SAFETY OF AYACUCHO CITY VERSUS THE COUNTRYSIDE, RUEDAS COUNTERED THAT HIS TROOPS ARE ONLY ALLOWED INTO TOWN ON THE WEEKENDS AND MUST BE BACK ON BASE BY 18:00. HIS OFFICERS ARE GIVEN UNTIL 22:00. RUEDAS SAID THAT ONLY A NON-PROFESSIONAL WOULD COUNT THE INSURGENTS OUT AND PUT A DATE ON SENDERO'S TOMBSTONE.

11. (C) AYACUCHO COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE (JECOTE) BELIEVE THAT SENDERO HAS BEEN LARGELY CONTROLLED IN THE CITY, BUT ADMIT SL STILL HAS SOME PRESENCE IN TOWN. SL HAS THREE MAJOR SUB-ZONAL COMMITTEES (CSZ'S - BASES) COVERING THE MAIN APPROACHES TO THE CITY: BASE 21 TO THE NORTHWEST, ON THE ROAD TO HUANCAYO AND LIMA; BASE 14 TO THE SOUTH, ON THE ROAD TO ABANCAY AND CUZCO; AND BASE 7 TO THE EAST COVERING THE ROUTES

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 TO THE COCA-GROWING JUNGLE AREAS OF SAN FRANCISCO

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AND THE APURIMAC/ENE RIVER VALLEYS. OF THESE, THE SECURITY FORCES ARE CONCENTRATING ON BASE 21, THE LARGEST WITH SOME 50 CADRE. SL MAY HAVE SOME 500 HARD-CORE CADRE AND COMBATANTS THROUGHOUT THE AYACUCHO FRONT, ACCORDING TO GEN. RUEDAS, WHO STRONGLY CAUTIONED ABOUT RELYING ON OFTEN INEXACT NUMBERS WHEN ANALYZING SENDERO STRENGTH. RUEDAS ALSO SAID THAT SENIOR NATIONAL-LEVEL SL LEADER OSCAR ALBERTO RAMIREZ DURAND (ALIAS "COMRADE FELICIANO") HAD RECENTLY "ESCAPED" FROM HIS TROOPS, ADDING THAT HE THOUGHT FELICIANO WAS NOW LIKELY IN HUANCAMELICA DEPARTMENT.

THE UNIVERSITY: SENDERO REAPPEARS

12. (C) SENDERO HAS INCREASED ITS PRESENCE ON CAMPUS AT THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE HUAMANGA, ACCORDING TO RECTOR PEDRO VILLENNA. DURING AN OCTOBER VISIT, VILLENNA HAD PROUDLY POINTED TO DECREASING SENDERO ACTIVITY ON CAMPUS AS A RESULT OF HIS ADMINISTRATION'S HARD-WON CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE 8,500 STUDENTS AND FACULTY, AND DESPITE THE MEAGER SUBSIDIES SAN CRISTOBAL RECEIVES FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

13. (C) HOWEVER, SL BEGAN MAKING ITSELF FELT AGAIN STARTING IN NOVEMBER 1992. MILITANTS HAVE REGAINED MODEST CONTROL OVER THE DINING HALL --

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 WHERE POOR STUDENTS ON A TIGHT BUDGET MUST EAT -- AND THE STUDENT DORMS WHICH HOUSE SOME 300 MALE AND 150 FEMALE STUDENTS. SL IS ESPECIALLY STRONG IN THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT, AND THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT WAS UNABLE TO HOLD ELECTIONS FOR STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNIVERSITY GOVERNING BOARD BECAUSE OF SL INFLUENCE. BUT VILLENNA STILL BOASTS THAT SAN CRISTOBAL HAS NOT "LOST" A SEMESTER (USUALLY THE RESULT OF STUDENT UNREST) IN OVER SIX YEARS, A RECORD MANY OTHER UNIVERSITIES CANNOT MATCH. NEVERTHELESS, VILLENNA STILL SLEEPS IN HIS OFFICE SINCE SENDERO BOMBS DEMOLISHED HIS HOME IN 1990, AND HIS FAMILY RECENTLY HAD TO CHANGE RESIDENCES IN LIMA

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FOLLOWING TERRORIST THREATS. VILLENA, WHO HAS WORKED IN SAN CRISTOBAL SINCE THE EARLY 70'S AND KNEW PROFESSOR GUZMAN PERSONALLY, IS STRONGLY CONSIDERING LEAVING FOR A QUIETER UNIVERSITY.

THE ICRC: PROGRESS TO REPORT

14. (C) THE ICRC'S CHIEF SUB-DELEGATE SAID THERE HAD BEEN IMPROVEMENTS ALL AROUND IN TERMS

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OF THE WAR AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. THE WAR HAD SUBSIDED IN THE CITY AND SOMEWHAT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. CONDITIONS WERE SUCH THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME ICRC WAS CHANGING ITS OPERATIONAL SCHEME TO ALLOW LOCAL STAFF TO ACCOMPANY DELEGATES INTO THE FIELD, ALLOWING ICRC TO REASSIGN THREE OF NINE DELEGATES TO THE MORE DIFFICULT HUALLAGA FRONT. THE SUB-DELEGATE, HOWEVER, EMPHASIZED THAT HE WAS NOT SURE THAT SENDERO WAS ON ITS LAST LEGS AND SPECULATED THAT IT MAY IN FACT BE REGROUPING.

15. (C) THE ICRC SAID THAT SENDERO'S SOUTHERN COLUMNS WERE QUITE ACTIVE BUT WERE "BEHAVING" THEMSELVES AND NOT ABUSING THE LOCAL POPULATION. HE SAID HE HAD HEARD THAT THE MOST ACTIVE SL COLUMN, OPERATING IN THE AREA OF HUANTA PROVINCE IN NORTHERN AYACUCHO, HAD BEEN REPRIMANDED BY A SPECIAL SL COMMITTEE FROM LIMA AND INSTRUCTED TO TREAT THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES BETTER. EVEN THE ARMY AND POLICE WERE BEHAVING MUCH BETTER THAN IN THE PAST AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WERE DOWN. BUT THE ICRC CAUTIONED THAT THE IMPROVEMENTS WERE LIKELY THE RESULT OF THE QUIETER MILITARY SITUATION AND COULD BE REVERSED IF SUBVERSIVE ACTIONS PRESSED THE ARMY TOO HARD.

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 16. (C) ICRC ACCESS TO DETAINEES IN MILITARY AND POLICE DETENTION CENTERS CONTINUED, THERE WERE MONTHLY MEETINGS WITH GEN. RUEDAS, AND ICRC TEAMS OCCASIONALLY GAVE HUMAN RIGHTS AND LAW OF WAR TALKS TO THE TROOPS AND OFFICERS. THE ICRC SAID THE MONTHLY TALKS WITH RUEDAS WERE YIELDING SOME BENEFITS, IF SLOWLY, REGARDING BETTER TREATMENT OF DETAINEES, A "FEW SUSPICIOUS CASES" OF DEATHS, AND OTHER ICRC ISSUES. DETAINEES APPARENTLY CONTINUE TO BE ROUTINELY BEATEN BUT

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OTHER SERIOUS TORTURE HAS ABATED.

17. (C) IN A SEPARATE MEETING, THE COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE CRITICIZED THE ICRC FOR SUPPLYING SL WITH MEDICINES. ACCORDING TO A CAPTURED SL DETAINEE IN POLICE CUSTODY, THE ICRC ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION LEFT TWO LARGE BOXES OF MEDICINE FOR SENDERO IN A REMOTE AREA, AND ON ANOTHER OCCASION AN ICRC DELEGATE HAD A MEETING WITH SL LEADER FELICIANO. THE ICRC CHIEF DELEGATE FOR PERU LATER CONFIRMED IN LIMA THAT THE ICRC HAS OCCASIONAL CONTACT WITH SENDERO, BUT ASSURED POLOFF THAT DIRECT ASSISTANCE, MEDICAL OR OTHERWISE, WAS PROVIDED ONLY IF SENDERO INSISTANCE COULD NOT BE DISSUADED AND UNDER PROTEST.

ICRC CONCERN OVER THE RONDAS

18. (C) THE ICRC EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE

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 RISE OF SELF-DEFENSE GROUPS (RONDAS CAMPESINAS) IN THE AYACUCHO FRONT. ACCORDING TO THE ICRC, THE MILITARY HAS ESTABLISHED SOME 3,200 RONDAS IN THE AYACUCHO FRONT OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS. ABOUT 4,000 PERSONS BELONG TO APPROXIMATELY 350 RONDAS SET UP ON THE APURIMAC RIVER ALONE. WHILE ADMITTING THAT THE RONDAS FORM A SUCCESSFUL KEY COMPONENT OF PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE STRATEGY, THEY WORRY THAT THE RONDAS ARE BECOMING A LARGE, UNCONTROLLABLE ARMED FORCE BEYOND GOVERNMENT CONTROL. GEN. RUEDAS SAID SEPARATELY HE HAD THREE OFFICERS ASSIGNED TO "CONTROLLING" 2,800 RONDAS. THE ICRC HAS RECORDED INCIDENTS WHERE ARMY OFFICERS ALLOWED 400 RONDEROS TO SURROUND NON-COMPLYING SETTLEMENTS TO OBLIGE VILLAGERS TO SET UP A RONDA. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A RISING NUMBER OF REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES (MURDER, THEFT AND RAPE) COMMITTED BY POORLY-TRAINED, MOSTLY-UNCONTROLLED RONDAS.

19. (C) NEVERTHELESS, THE ICRC SAID THAT THE RONDAS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN KEEPING SL LARGELY AT

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BAY, FORCING THEM FROM THE POPULOUS RIVER VALLEYS

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	E-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	FRB-03	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01
	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00	IO-19	ITC-01	JUSE-00
	L-03	ADS-00	M-01	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
	OIS-01	OMB-01	OPIC-08	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01
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R 042043Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0303
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ROME
CIA WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
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ROME PASS VATICAN; USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

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AND DEPRIVING THEM OF USING SETTLEMENTS FOR REST
OR SUPPLIES. THE ICRC NOTED THAT SL HAS TAKEN TO

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TARGETING FOOD SUPPLIES MORE THAN USUAL. THE PROBLEM WAS ONE OF CONTROL, AND THE ICRC POINTED TO THE XENOPHOBIC RONDAS OF THE PALMAPAMPA JUNGLE AREA 100 KILOMETERS EAST OF AYACUCHO ON THE APURIMAC RIVER. THESE RONDAS WERE INVOLVED IN PROVIDING PROTECTION TO DRUG TRAFFICKING, WERE HEAVILY ARMED, AND ONLY TOLERATED THE ARMY IN A COUNTER-TERRORISM ROLE. (COMMENT: THE LAST ATTEMPT BY PNP DRUG POLICE TO RAID NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING OBJECTIVES IN PALMAPAMPA, IN 1992, RETIRED DUE TO MASS OPPOSITION BY ARMED RONDAS. END COMMENT.) ANOTHER CONTACT WORRIED THAT PALMAPAMPA WAS DEVELOPING ALONG THE "COLOMBIAN MODEL" -- THE NARCOS WERE BUYING THE LOYALTY OF THE POPULATION BY INVESTING LAVISHLY ON HOUSING AND INFRASTRUCTURE. THIS HAS NOT GENERALLY OCCURED IN MANY OTHER PERUVIAN COCA-BOOM TOWNS. GIVEN THE GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO COMPETE WITH NARCO-DOLLAR INVESTMENT, THE PEOPLE MAY EVENTUALLY PLEDGE ALLEGIANCE TO THE NARCOS INSTEAD OF THE GOP.

NARCOTICS: THE DRUG WAR COMES TO AYACUCHO

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 20. (C) DRUG TRAFFICKING IS INCREASING SHARPLY IN THE AYACUCHO JUNGLE AREAS OF LA MAR AND HUANTA PROVINCES ALONG THE ENE AND APURIMAC RIVER VALLEYS, ACCORDING TO SEVERAL CONTACTS, INCLUDING THE AYACUCHO REGIONAL NARCOTICS UNIT CHIEF. THE RELATIVE CALM IN AYACUCHO, THE RONDAS' (VICE SL'S) EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THE LA MAR JUNGLE, THE DISTANCE OF THE AREA AWAY FROM THE U.S.-SUPPORTED SANTA LUCIA BASE IN THE HUALLAGA AND THE U.S.-PROVIDED RADARS IN YURIMAGUAS, AND THE MIGRATION OF COCA CULTIVATION AWAY FROM THE HUALLAGA VALLEY, ALL CONTRIBUTE TO THE "SPECTACULAR GROWTH" OF COCA GROWING AND NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING IN THE AREA. (COMMENT: USG 1992 COCA SURVEY SHOWED CULTIVATION IN THE APURIMAC INCREASED MODERATELY, FROM AN ESTIMATED 12,000 HECTARES IN 1991 TO 12,500 IN 1992. HOWEVER, DATA ON YIELDS AND GROUND VALIDATION OF IMAGERY-BASED ESTIMATES ARE

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MORE SCANT IN THE APURIMAC THAN IN OTHER MAJOR COCA CULTIVATION AREAS. END COMMENT.)

21. (C) AYACUCHO CITY HAS BECOME A MAJOR TRANSSHIPMENT POINT FOR PRECURSOR CHEMICALS ON THEIR WAY TO COCA PROCESSING LABS IN THE JUNGLE AREAS NEAR SAN FRANCISCO AND PALMAPAMPA. THE NARCOTICS UNIT CHIEF CLAIMED TO HAVE FILED CHARGES AGAINST WHOLESALE SHIPPERS INVOLVING OVER EIGHT TONS OF SULFURIC ACID IN THE MONTH-AND-A-HALF SINCE ARRIVING IN AYACUCHO. THESE CHARGES WOULD ALLEGEDLY CONSTITUTE THE FIRST

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 DRUG-RELATED CASES TO BE BROUGHT IN AN AYACUCHO COURT IN ABOUT A YEAR. ANOTHER CONTACT CLAIMED CHEMICALS WERE BEING CONCEALED AND SHIPPED IN BEER BOTTLES, EXPLAINING THAT BEER FROM LIMA COSTS LESS IN AYACUCHO THAN IT DOES IN LIMA DESPITE HIGH TRANSPORTATION COSTS -- THE CHEMICALS SUBSIDIZE THE BEER. THE POLICE ADMITTED PRIVATELY THAT THE CONTROL OF THE PRECURSOR CHEMICALS WAS PURPOSEFULLY LAX, AS ARMY, POLICE AND PROSECUTORS WERE "BENEFITING" FROM THE TRADE. NEW POLICE EFFORTS ARE UNDERWAY TO MATCH UP ORDERS FOR THE CHEMICALS WITH ACTUAL NEED AND CONSUMPTION, WITH AN AIM TO INVESTIGATE UNUSUALLY LARGE ORDERS OR ORDERS MADE BY DUMMY COMPANIES. A POLICE COMMANDER SAID REGULATIONS PROHIBITING "STOCKING" OF LARGE SUPPLIES OF CHEMICALS WOULD HELP GREATLY. BUT POLICE IN AYACUCHO COMPLAINED THAT THEY RECEIVED LITTLE HELP FROM LIMA FOR THEIR EFFORTS.

22. (C) CONTACTS LAMENTED THAT THE NARCO-DOLLARS WERE BEGINNING TO BE FLASHED AROUND TOWN IN AN OSTENTATIOUS MANNER THAT WOULD NEVER HAVE OCCURRED WHILE SENDERO WAS THE DOMINANT FORCE.

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	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	EXIM-06	OIGO-01
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	L-03	ADS-00	M-01	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02
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 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
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 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 USMISSION GENEVA
 AMEMBASSY ROME
 CIA WASHDC
 DEAHQS WASHDC
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(COMMENT: ACTUALLY THIS COMPLAINT SURFACED DURING EMBASSY VISITS IN THE MID 1980'S WHEN SL WAS STRONGER THAN IT IS NOW. END COMMENT.) THE REAL-ESTATE MARKET WAS STRONG AND PRIME HOMES WERE GOING FOR UNREALISTIC PRICES. THERE WERE A FEW NEW CARS AND MANY NEW MOTORBIKES THAT HAD THE UNFORTUNATE EFFECT OF LURING LOCAL YOUTH INTO THE DRUG BUSINESS. THE LOCAL DOLLAR EXCHANGE WAS THRIVING. EVEN LOCAL SPORTS COMPETITIONS WERE BEING "RUINED." A SOCCER CHAMPIONSHIP SPONSORED BY THE LOCAL POWER COMPANY FEATURED TEAMS FROM

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MANY NEARBY COMMUNITIES. THE PALMAPAMPA TEAM, DRESSED IN FLASHY NEW SWEATSUITS AND UNIFORMS, WAS RUMORED TO INCLUDE AT LEAST TWO COLOMBIAN PLAYERS EARNING USD 1,000 PER GAME.

23. (C) THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE IS UNIMPRESSIVE. ITS SEEMINGLY MEDIOCRE PERSONNEL ARE CLEARLY NOT INTERESTED IN PURSUING CASES VERY AGGRESSIVELY, ESPECIALLY CASES INVOLVING NARCO-TRAFFICKING.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION

24. (C) VIRTUALLY EVERYONE WE SPOKE WITH RECOGNIZED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE

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 AUTHORITIES HAD DECREASED IN 1993. THE LOCAL DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE (WHICH HAS BEEN THE RECIPIENT OF A PICKUP TRUCK AND A RADIO DONATED BY USAID) WAS AT PAINS TO SHOW THAT THE NUMBERS OF DISAPPEARANCES AND EXTRA-JUDICIAL EXECUTIONS HAD DROPPED DRAMATICALLY SINCE LAST YEAR (A TREND THAT HAS OCCURRED NATIONALLY). TERRORISM TRIALS ARE HELD IN HUANCAYO, SO DETAINEES ARE NOT KEPT IN AYACUCHO -- THUS THERE ARE FEW REPORTS OF MISTREATMENT OF DETAINEES.

POVERTY REMAINS ENDEMIC

25. (LOU) DESPITE THE SETBACKS SUFFERED BY SL, THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HAS DONE LITTLE TO IMPROVE THE SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE INSURGENCY TOOK ROOT. WHILE SOME PUBLIC WORKS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED -- MOSTLY AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE PREFECT, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE NEARLY-BANKRUPT CITY GOVERNMENT -- AYACUCHO LACKS BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE AND REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST NEGLECTED AND IMPOVERISHED PLACES IN PERU. ACCORDING TO MAYOR WALTER ASCARZA, THE CITY'S POPULATION HAS BOOMED FROM ABOUT 20,000 IN 1981 TO AN ESTIMATED 120,000 TODAY. HALF OF THOSE LIVE IN SHANTYTOWNS AND HAVE NO ACCESS TO RUNNING WATER OR ELECTRICITY.

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LOCAL INDUSTRY IS ALMOST NON-EXISTENT AND THEREFORE UNEMPLOYMENT IS RAMPANT SINCE THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN UNABLE TO ABSORB THE NEW

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MIGRANTS. EIGHTY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE CITY'S ROADS ARE UNPAVED. IN THE PROVINCES, FIELDS LIE FALLOW AFTER THOUSANDS OF FAMILIES FLED THE VIOLENCE IN THE AREA IN THE LAST DECADE. ONE CONTACT CLAIMED THAT COCA CULTIVATION IS THE ONLY THING KEEPING THE ECONOMY GOING THESE DAYS.

26. (U) ASCARZA GAINED THE MAYOR'S SEAT LAST JANUARY ON PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S "NEW MAJORITY/CHANGE 90" TICKET, DEFEATING THE INCUMBENT "POPULAR ACTION" CANDIDATE BY A SLIM MARGIN (ASCARZA'S PARTY ALSO WON MOST OF THE CITY COUNCIL SEATS). ASCARZA NOTED THAT THREE OF HIS FOUR PREDECESSORS HAD BEEN ASSASSINATED BY SL, AND THAT HE HAD RECEIVED NUMEROUS THREATS. NONETHELESS, THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS HAD TAKEN PLACE WITH THE LARGEST FIELD OF CANDIDATES IN MANY YEARS, AND ASCARZA BELIEVED HE HAD A MANDATE TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS TO THE CITY. HIS FIRST PRIORITY IS TO PROVIDE RUNNING WATER TO ALL THE CITY RESIDENTS AND HE PRESENTED PROJECTS WORTH OVER USD ONE MILLION FOR AID CONSIDERATION. ASCARZA OPTIMISTICALLY DISCUSSED AYACUCHO'S POTENTIAL FOR TOURISM AS A SOURCE OF INCOME, BUT

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	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-01	EUR-01	EXIM-06	OIGO-01
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R 042043Z AUG 93
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0305
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ROME
CIA WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
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ACKNOWLEDGED THAT INFRASTRUCTURE IMPROVEMENTS AND TRAINING OF PEOPLE IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRY WOULD HAVE TO COME FIRST.

THE CHURCH: STRAINS IN THE CLOTH

27. (C) APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR MSGR. CIPRIANI HAS BEEN WAITING TO BE CONFIRMED AS ARCHBISHOP OF AYACUCHO FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS. SOME CHURCH OFFICIALS IN LIMA THINK HE MAY HAVE TO WAIT SOME MORE, AS THE ACERBIC AND OPINIONATED CIPRIANI IS BECOMING DISLIKED EVEN BY HIS FELLOW OPUS DEI BISHOPS. AN OUTSPOKEN CONSERVATIVE, CIPRIANI HAS BECOME CLOSELY IDENTIFIED THROUGH THE MEDIA WITH PRESIDENT FUJIMORI AND HIS POLICIES, INCLUDING SUPPORT FOR THE DEATH PENALTY AND ATTACKS ON HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS FOR SLANDERING PERU'S IMAGE ABROAD. IN PERSON, HOWEVER, CIPRIANI CAN PACKAGE HIS MESSAGE TO SUIT HIS

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AUDIENCE. HIS SUPPORT FOR THE DEATH PENALTY IS A PERSONAL POSITION, AND, HE OPINES, THE PENALTY ITSELF WOULD BE INVOKED "PERHAPS ONCE A YEAR" AND ONLY AFTER A THOROUGH LEGAL PROCESS HAS REVIEWED THE SENTENCE. ON HUMAN RIGHTS, CIPRIANI BEAMED AS HE SAID HE WILL NOT ALLOW THE EPISCOPAL COUNCIL'S HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE, "CEAS," TO SET UP

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 AN OFFICE IN HIS DIOCESE.

28. (C) A STRONG CRITIC OF AMERICA'S "DECADENT AND PERMISSIVE" SOCIETY, CIPRIANI INDULGED IN A LENGTHY DIATRIBE OF THE USG'S "HYPOCRITICAL" EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS. REFERRING TO SEVERAL "LAMENTABLE PUBLIC OUTBURSTS" BY CHARGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN PERU, CIPRIANI ALLUDED TO CONVERSATIONS WITH UNNAMED SENIOR POLITICAL FIGURES IN THE FUJIMORI GOVERNMENT AND SAID THAT, BASED ON THESE TALKS, HE WOULD COUNSEL CHARGE TO "SHUT UP AND BE PATIENT." POLOFFS REMINDED CIPRIANI OF THE USG'S OFFICIAL POLICY OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, REVIEWED PROBLEMS IN PERU'S HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE RECENT PAST, ACKNOWLEDGED RECENT IMPROVEMENTS, AND STRESSED THAT CHARGE HAD SPOKEN ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON.

29. (C) CIPRIANI IS TRYING TO BUILD AN OPUS DEI BASTION IN AYACUCHO. WITH ONLY 25 PRIESTS TO COVER HIS REGION, AND ONLY SEVEN OF THESE UNDER AGE 60, HE IS REPORTEDLY "IMPORTING" SEVEN OPUS DEI PRIESTS FROM SPAIN WHILE AT THE SAME TIME REFUSING TO EXTEND AN AGREEMENT WITH THE JESUITS TO LET THREE PRIESTS STAY IN AYACUCHO AND HAVING A SIMILAR FIGHT WITH THE FRANCISCANS. THREE SEMINARIANS HAVE BEEN SENT TO SPAIN FOR TRAINING AND NINE ARE IN THE CONSERVATIVE SEMINARY IN NEARBY ABANCAY. LOCAL CLERGY ARE PRONE TO VISCERAL REACTIONS WHENEVER SPEAKING ABOUT CIPRIANI.

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30. (C) NEVERTHELESS, EVEN HIS CRITICS ADMIT THAT CIPRIANI HAS USED HIS CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH FUJIMORI TO OBTAIN SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. CIPRIANI HAS GOTTEN HIMSELF APPOINTED TO THE BOARD OF FONCODES, THE GOP'S ASSISTANCE AND DEVELOPMENT FUND, AND OPENLY SAYS HE SLANTS HIS VOTE TO HELP OUT AYACUCHO. HE HAS PUT THE NEW OPUS DEI PRIESTS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CITY'S STRONGEST SENDERO DISTRICT AND THEIR PRESENCE IS ALREADY CREDITED WITH PROVIDING LOCAL YOUTH WITH AN ALTERNATIVE TO SENDERO LUMINOSO. WHEN A MENTION WAS MADE TO GEN. RUEDAS ABOUT HIS MEETINGS WITH CIPRIANI, THE GENERAL SHOOK HIS HEAD AND SAID "THE ARCHBISHOP IS A VERY DEMANDING MAN." IN A CITY INFAMOUS FOR SENDERO VIOLENCE, CIPRIANI IS CONVINCED THAT HIS GOOD WORKS AND TRANSPARENT NATURE KEEP SL FROM TRYING TO ASSASSINATE HIM. BUT JUST IN CASE, FOR EXTRA PROTECTION CIPRIANI CARRIES A PICTURE OF BEATIFIED OPUS DEI FOUNDER, JOSE MARIA ESCRIVA, IN HIS SHIRT POCKET.

31. (C) COMMENT: THE GOP HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT

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	SNP-00	SP-00	SSO-00	SS-00	STR-16	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	CORE-00	/111W		

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0306
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

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USMISSION GENEVA
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INROADS AGAINST SENDERO IN AYACUCHO SINCE
PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S ELECTION. INDEED, FUJIMORI
HAS PAID MORE ATTENTION TO AYACUCHO THAN MANY OF
HIS PREDECESSORS, VISITING THERE ON SEVEN
DIFFERENT OCCASIONS. NEVERTHELESS, THE
GOVERNMENT HAS ONLY PAID LIP SERVICE TO
ATTACKING THE DESPERATE SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS
AND ISOLATION THAT ASSISTED SL'S EXPANSION FROM
AYACUCHO TO THE REST OF THE COUNTRY. PERHAPS
THOSE WHO LIVE IN LIMA ARE HOPING THAT, WITH SL
IN DECLINE, AYACUCHO WILL RETURN TO ITS FORMER
STATUS OF A PROVINCIAL TOWN OF LITTLE
CONSEQUENCE. IF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
CONTINUES TO IGNORE THE GRAVE CONDITIONS FACED
BY ITS ANDEAN POPULATION, THEN IT WILL NOT HAVE
LEARNED THE REAL LESSONS OF THE 13-YEAR-OLD WAR.
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