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ACTION SCT-02

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-05 CIAE-00 EB-00 SS-00 NSCE-00 ARA-00 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 L-02AMAD-01 . TRSE-00 PM-05 PA-02 FAAE-00 CCO-00 INRE-00 CA-02 USSS-00 USIE-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 OC-02 DOEE-00 M - 01NRC-02 FAIM-01 DS-01 DSE-00 ZOVD-00 P-02 T-01 /029 W

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P 112325Z MAY 88 ZDK ADDING ADDEE

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8547

INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY QUITO

AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

AMEMBASSY CARACAS

USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM

USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

DEAHQS WASHDC

DIA WASHDC

AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR



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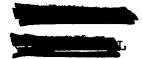
TERREP

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

DEA FOR OF, PS, OC, OI

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

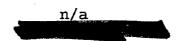
ASUNCION FOR GARLAND DENNETT



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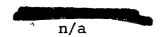
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE **REVIEW AUTHORITY: JOHN L. MILLS** DATE/CASE ID: 17 JUN 2002 200103011

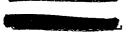
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TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, ASEC, SNAR, PE SUBJECT: EMBASSY VISIT TO AYACUCHO: A CLOSER - LOOK AT THE INSURGENCY

REF: 87 LIMA 0711

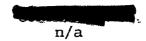
- 1. L ENTIRE TEXT
 - STRICTLY PROTECT ALL SOURCES.
- SUMMARY: AS PART OF OUR PERIODIC COVERAGE OF PERU'S EMERGENCY ZONES, POLOFF VISITED AYACUCHO--SENDERO LUMINOSO'S (SL) BIRTHPLACE--ON MARCH 22-25. CONTACTS RANGING FROM POLICE TO SL SYMPATHIZERS DISCUSSED SL, THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. VIOLENCE IN AYACUCHO CITY IS DOWN, BUT PARTS OF THE COUNTRY-SIDE REMAIN CONVULSED. INFORMATION ABOUT THE COUNTRYSIDE IS STILL HARD TO COME BY, REFLECTING AYACUCHO'S TRADITIONAL ISOLATION AND GOP NEGLECT. THERE IS AN AIR OF STALEMATE: SL HAS BEEN UNABLE TO RETURN TO THE LIBERATED ZONES OF 1980-82, AND HAS TO RELY MORE ON ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MILITARY INTIMIDATION. APPARENTLY IS DOING LITTLE. IT CONTINUES TO LACK MOBILITY AND MOTIVATION. CIVIC ACTION AND PSYOPS PROGRAMS ARE NEARLY ABSENT. ECON-OMIC DEVELOPMENT -- IN THEORY A KEY PART OF GOP COUNTERINSURGENCY STRATEGY--IS ALMOST PARALYZED BY SL ASSASSINATIONS OF PERSONNEL; REAL ASSISTANCE LEVELS HAVE DROPPED. ON BALANCE, CONDITIONS FAVOR SL.



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3. CREDIBLE ALLEGATIONS CONTINUE OF EXECUTIONS, DISAPPEARANCES, AND TORTURE BY THE SECURITY FORCES. IN TALKS WITH PEASANTS FROM DIFFERENT PROVINCES, A KEY CONCERN WAS ROBBERY BY THE SECURITY FORCES; THEY SAW SL, IN CONTRAST, AS A LESSER THREAT. THE LOCAL PROSECUTOR CONTINUES TO PURSUE HUMAN RIGHTS CASES, AND THE MILITARY HAS PERMITTED THE RED CROSS (ICRC) TO RESUME ACTIVITIES. SEVERAL PERSONS EMPHASIZED THE





INCREASE IN PRODUCTION OF COCA AND PASTA BASICA IN THE NEARBY APURIMAC RIVER VALLEY. CLAIMS ABOUND OF MILITARY AND POLICE COLLUSION WITH TRAFFICKERS. THE POLICE CHIEF COMPLAINED THE MILITARY WOULD NOT PERMIT ACTION AGAINST SOME 15 CLANDESTINE AIR STRIPS IN THE APURIMAC. END SUMMARY.

POLOFF VISITED AYACUCHO MARCH 22-25 FOR FIRST-HAND INFORMATION ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION (THE OSTENSIBLE PURPOSE OF THE VISIT), THE INSUR-GENCY, AND THE GOP COUNTERINSURGENCY EFFORT. AYACUCHO CITY WAS ENJOYING A LULL IN SL ATTACKS, AND THERE WAS LESS TENSION AND MILITARY PRESENCE THAN IN PREVIOUS VISITS (87 LIMA 0711). MIGRATION FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE CONTINUES. A VISIT TO THE NEARBY TOWN OF QUINUA AND THE RUINS OF WARI WAS UNEVENTFUL. WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS, CONTACTS WERE WARY. HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SYMPATHETIC TO SL WERE ACCESSIBLE THIS TIME, AND IN FACT ACTIVELY SOUGHT OUT POLOFF TO QUESTION HIM ON THE MILITARY DID NOT RESPOND HIS ACTIVITIES. TO OUR REQUESTS FOR A MEETING, AND THE POLICE WERE MORE CAUTIOUS THAN IN PREVIOUS VISITS.

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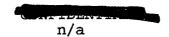
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P 112325Z MAY 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8548
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
DEAHOS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC

L SECTION 02 OF 09 LIMA 06324

TERREP

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

DEA FOR OF, PS, OC, OI

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

ASUNCION FOR GARLAND DENNETT

E.O. 12356:DECL:OADR

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TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, ASEC, SNAR, PE SUBJECT: EMBASSY VISIT TO AYACUCHO: A CLOSER

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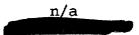
1986. MANY AYACUCHO OFFICIALS ARE SURPRISINGLY UNAWARE OF WHAT GOES ON IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. FROM CONTACTS WITH A VARIETY OF SOURCES, HOWEVER, INCLUDING CAMPESINOS THEMSELVES, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO UPDATE OUR INFORMATION ON AYACUCHO.

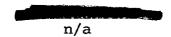


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- SENDERO: SL DOCTRINE FOLLOWS MAO TSE TUNG'S 6. PRECEPTS ON GUERRILLA WAR--GOING FROM GUERRILLA ZONES TO LIBERATED ZONES, FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE TO THE CITY. NOTWITHSTANDING INCREASED ATTENTION TO LIMA, IN AYACUCHO SL'S FOCUS REMAINS ON THE COUNTRYSIDE, PARTICULARLY THE PROVINCES OF LA MAR (BOTH THE JUNGLE AND SIERRA), HUANTA, AND IN LATE 1987 SL MASSACRED SEVERAL VILCASHUAMAN. VILLAGES' SELF-DEFENSE FORCES IN THESE AREAS, IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO REAFFIRM CONTROL. SOME OBSERVERS DEDUCED FROM THESE ATTACKS NOT ONLY A MORE AGGRESSIVE SL, BUT ALSO AN ADMISSION BY SL THAT INTIMIDATION WAS INCREASINGLY NECESSARY TO RETAIN CONTROL.
- 7. SL CONTINUES TO SEVER THE TIES BETWEEN THE GOP AND THE COUNTRYSIDE. SL ROUTINELY STOPS VEHICLES ON THE MAIN ROADS, ESPECIALLY AT NIGHT, AND EXECUTES GOP OFFICIALS AND "TRAITORS." IN ADDITION TO THE USUAL VICTIMS--MAYORS AND GOVERNORS--SINCE DECEMBER 1987 SL HAS KILLED AT LEAST SEVEN GOP EMPLOYEES IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS.





THE POLICE CONTINUE TO BE PICKED OFF; MOST RECENTLY TWO WERE KILLED AT AN SL ROADBLOCK AT NIGHT OUTSIDE AYACUCHO CITY. THE MILITARY APPEARS TO HAVE FEWER CASUALTIES, BUT IT ALSO TENDS TO SEEK SAFETY IN NUMBERS, AND LARGELY AVOIDS NIGHT OPERATIONS. SL'S ARMAMENT APPARENTLY REMAINS WHAT THEY CAPTURE FROM THE SECURITY FORCES, PLUS DYNAMITE FROM THE MINES. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE OF MORE SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS FROM THE NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS OR SL'S BRETHREN IN THE UHV. SOURCES WHO INTERVIEWED RESIDENTS OF VILLAGES WHERE SL HAS GONE

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ADS-00 AID-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 INFO LOG-00 INR-05 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 L-02 NSCE-00 ARA-00 INRE-00 CA-02 TRSE-00 PM-05 PA-02 FAAE-00 CCO-00 USSS-00 USIE-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 OC-02 DOEE-00 M-01 DS-01 DSE-00 ZOVD-00 P-02: NRC-02 FAIM-01 T - 01/029 W

P 112325Z MAY 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8549
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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DIA WASHDC

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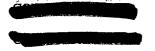
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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

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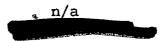


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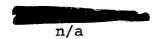
LIMA 06324 03 OF 09 112329Z

TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, ASEC, SNAR, PE SUBJECT: EMBASSY VISIT TO AYACUCHO: A CLOSER IN SAY SL FOLLOWS UP INCURSIONS BY THREATENING THE LOCAL LEADERS TO RESIGN (OR KILLING THEM), AND BY ORGANIZING THE POPULACE ALONG SL LINES. SL EMPHASIZES PROPAGANDA AND EDUCATION, UNLIKE THE GOP.

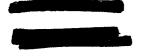
- 8. NUMBERS ARE HAZY--POLICE CHIEF (PIP) HUGO TELLO CLAIMED "50,000" SL IN AYACUCHO DEPT, INCLUDING SUPPORT GROUPS ("BASES DE APOYO"). THAT FIGURE MIGHT BE CORRECT IF IT INCLUDED PERSONS IN VILLAGES WHERE SL HAS RELATIVELY FREE REIN. OUR SOURCES CONCURRED THAT SL OFTEN RECRUITS BY FORCE. MEMBERS ARE VERY YOUNG (DOWN TO 14) AND INCLUDE MANY WOMEN. (ONE CONTACT WHO WAS STOPPED LAST MONTH AT AN SL ROADBLOCK SAID THAT THE LEADER OF THE 6-PERSON GROUP WAS A PROBABLE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE IN HIS TWENTIES; THE OTHERS (INCLUDING ONE WOMAN) WERE 18 OR UNDER, FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE NEAR AYACUCHO.) THERE IS NO INFORMATION ON THE IDENTITIES OF THE TOP LEADERS IN THE AYACUCHO AREA (SL'S "COMITE REGIONAL DEL CENTRO").
- 9. COUNTERINSURGENCY--GOING THROUGH THE MOTIONS: WE WERE UNABLE TO GET FIRSTHAND INFORMATION ON







THE WAR FROM THE MILITARY. WHAT WE HEARD FROM OTHER SOURCES, HOWEVER, WAS CONSISTENT WITH WHAT WE AND OTHERS HAVE PICKED UP BEFORE: THE MILITARY IS DOING LITTLE. THE DECLINE IN MILITARY SUMMARY EXECUTIONS AND DISAPPEARANCES, MOST OBSERVERS CLAIM, IS DUE TO LESS ACTIVITY

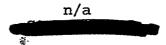


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RATHER THAN A CHANGE OF OPERATING PROCEDURES. JOURNALIST HUGO NED CLAIMS THAT MILITARY FORCE LEVELS REMAIN AT THE 4,000 LEVEL (PLUS 1,000-1,400 POLICE), WITH ABOUT 50 COUNTERGUERRILLA BASES OF ABOUT 70 MEN EACH. THERE IS LITTLE PATROLLING, AND ALMOST NONE AT NIGHT. SEVERAL OBSERVERS CLAIMED MORALE PROBLEMS OCCURRED AT ALL LEVELS: THE TROOPS ARE CONSCRIPTS FROM OTHER REGIONS, AND THE OFFICERS BELIEVE THEY LACK A MANDATE FOR ACTION, AND THAT THEY ARE BETTER OFF WAITING OUT THEIR TOURS (USUALLY ONE YEAR) IN SAFETY. THERE IS ALMOST NO AIR MOBILITY, WITH ONLY FOUR BELL 212 HELICOPTERS (POLOFF SAW THREE) FOR THE ENTIRE EMERGENCY ZONE (40,000 SQUARE KILOMETERS). RUGGED TERRAIN LIMITS THE USE OF TRUCKS, AND MAKES THEM SUSCEPTIBLE TO AMBUSH.

- 10. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THEORY IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE MILITARY'S COUNTER-INSURGENCY DOCTRINE. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, THERE IS LITTLE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES, TO THE POINT THAT THE AGENCIES' PERSONNEL AND PROJECTS USUALLY LACK PROTECTION FROM SL ATTACKS.
- 11. THERE ARE FIVE MAJOR GOP DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS IN AYACUCHO. THEY ARE: THE AYACUCHO DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (CORFA); THE CACHI RIVER IRRIGATION PROJECT; THE PROYECTO ESPECIAL SIERRA CENTRO SUR (PESCS); THE AGRARIAN BANK; AND THE AGRICULTURE MINISTRY'S TECHNICAL COOPERATION SERVICE CIPA. CORFA SPENDS MOST OF ITS MONEY IN AYACUCHO CITY AND PROVINCE CAPITALS; IT HAS BEEN BURDENED BY



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P 112325Z MAY 88

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8550

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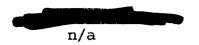
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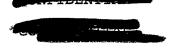
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ASUNCION FOR GARLAND DENNETT

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INTERNAL APRA INFIGHTING AND THE REMOVAL OF



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ITS PRESIDENT FOR ALLEGED CORRUPTION. LACK OF SECURITY IS A MAJOR PROBLEM: THE SHOWPIECE CACHI PROJECT AND THE AGRARIAN BANK LOST SEVEN EMPLOYEES RECENTLY TO SL ATTACKS. CACHI NOW IS PARALYZED BY THE LACK OF A DIRECTOR (NO VOLUNTEERS), AND THE AGRARIAN BANK HAS CURTAILED MOST TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE IMMEDIATE AYACUCHO AREA. CIPA, WHICH HAS ALSO LOST PERSONNEL TO SL, IS ALSO CUTTING BACK ON TRAVEL. PESCS HAS NOT LOST PERSONNEL; IT ATTRIBUTES THIS TO ITS WORKING DIRECTLY WITH CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES (THEY PRESUME SL WOULD NOT WANT TO RISK ALIENATING THE COMMUNITIES). PESCS'S BUDGET, HOWEVER, IS ONLY ABOUT ONE MILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR FOR THE ENTIRE EMERGENCY ZONE PLUS PARTS OF TWO OTHER DEPARTMENTS. CORFA WILL GET ABOUT 4 MILLION IN 1988--ABOUT 15 PERCENT LESS THAN 1987 IN REAL TERMS.

12. THE MILITARY CONTINUES TO CREATE LOCAL SELF-DEFENSE FORCES, KNOWN LOCALLY AS "DEFENSA CIVIL," "RONDAS CAMPESINAS," OR "MONTONERAS." RONDAS ARE A TEST OF LOYALTY; THE SECURITY FORCES PRESUME THAT VILLAGES THAT REFUSE TO ORGANIZE RONDAS ARE PRO-SL. WE TALKED WITH RONDEROS (MEMBERS OF RONDAS) FROM THE VILLAGES OF YURAQCRUZ (QUISPILLACTA DISTRICT, CANGALLO PROVINCE) AND MUSUCCLAQTA (HUAMANGUILLA DISTRICT, HUANTA PROVINCE). IN BOTH CASES THE RONDEROS WERE ARMED ONLY WITH MACHETES, SPEARS, AND SLINGS. (THIS IS THE RULE THROUGHOUT AYACUCHO, ALTHOUGH IN SOME CASES THE RONDEROS HAVE SHOTGUNS OR .22 RIFLES,



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ESPECIALLY IN THE JUNGLE.) SERVICE IN THE RONDAS IS SET BY EACH COMMUNITY; USUALLY ALL





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ABLE-BODIED MEN MUST SERVE, ROTATING EACH MONTH. THE RONDEROS' PRIMARY DUTY IS TO GUARD VILLAGE ENTRANCES BETWEEN 5 P.M. AND 5 A.M. IN YURAQCRUZ, WHERE THERE ARE 30 FAMILIES, EIGHT RONDEROS SERVED EACH NIGHT. DISTRICT CAPITALS USUALLY CALL UPON OUTLYING VILLAGES TO SHARE GUARD DUTY OF THE CAPITAL.

NEITHER MEMBER OF THE VILLAGES MENTIONED ABOVE ACKNOWLEDGED CONFLICTS WITH SL. BOTH CLAIMED SL OFTEN MOVED IN THE NEARBY HIGHLANDS, BUT HAD KEPT A LOW PROFILE SINCE THE MILITARY ENTERED AYACUCHO IN 1983. QUISPILLAQTA, HOWEVER, SUFFERED AT LEAST EIGHT DEAD IN 1983 WHEN THE RONDAS FROM NEIGHBORING CHUSCHI ATTACKED THEIR TRADITIONAL RIVAL. ALL THE VICTIMS WERE COMMUNAL LEADERS OF YURAQCRUZ. URRUTIA UNDERSCORED TO US THE IMPORTANCE AND FREQUENCY OF INTERVILLAGE RIVALRIES, WHICH DATE TO BEFORE THE SPANISH CONQUEST. (FOLLOWING THEIR CONQUEST OF THE NATIVE CHANCAS IN THE 1400'S, THE INCAS KEPT TABS ON THE REGION BY SENDING ENTIRE VILLAGES FROM ECUADOR AND BOLIVIA AS COLONISTS -- "MITIMAES" TO AYACUCHO.) RIVAL VILLAGES WERE INCLINED TO USE EITHER THE SECURITY FORCES OR SL TO HURT THEIR RIVALS. OTHER EXAMPLES OF RIVALRIES ARE SACSAMARCA AND HUANCASANCCOS (DESCRIBED BY RAY BONNER IN "THE NEW YORKER"), HUAMANGUILLA AND QUINUA, AND HUAMANQUIQUIA, SARHUA, AND



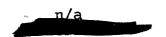
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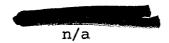
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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8551
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC

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TERREP

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DEA FOR OF, PS, OC, OI

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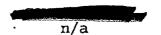
INTERNAL APRA INFIGHTING AND THE REMOVAL OF

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ITS PRESIDENT FOR ALLEGED CORRUPTION. LACK OF SECURITY IS A MAJOR PROBLEM: THE SHOWPIECE UCHU.

14. THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION REMAINS AS DESCRIBED IN OUR 1987 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT. CREDIBLE CLAIMS CONTINUE OF GOP VIOLATIONS, INCLUDING SUMMARY EXECUTIONS, EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE, DISAPPEARANCES, ARBITRARY DETENTIONS, AND TORTURE. SEVERAL OBSERVERS CALLED ATTENTION TO THE DEATHS OF 22 PERSONS TRAVELLING TO A FAIR NEAR ANCHICASA ON JANUARY 10. ALL ALLEGEDLY WERE KILLED BY SOLDIERS FOR NO APPARENT REASON. THE ARMY REPORTEDLY BURIED THE VICTIMS IMMEDIATELY AND FORBADE FURTHER

n/a



INVESTIGATION BY THE LOCAL CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES;
THE CORONER RULED THE CAUSE OF DEATH OF ONE
VICTIM, WAS "A HEART ATTACK."

B1

AGREED THAT THE FEBRUARY
4 MURDER OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR RAFAEL ALARCON
TIPE PROBABLY WAS NOT THE WORK OF SL.

B1

TIPE PROBABLY WAS NOT THE WORK OF SL.

SAID ALARCON WAS KNOWN AS A LEFTIST, AND PROBABLY
WAS KILLED BY POLICE PARAMILITARY PERSONNEL IN
RETALIATION FOR SL'S MURDER DAYS EARLIER OF
THREE POLICE

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THREE POLICE. BELIEVED THAT UNDER THE

.B1

NEW POLITICAL MILITARY COMMANDER, GENERAL VALDIVIA, VIOLATIONS HAD DECREASED A LITTLE.
THE MORE RADICAL

В1

DISAGREED. IN ANY CASE, THE STRUCTURE THAT PERMITS VIOLATIONS--THE NEAR ABSENCE OF MILITARY ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM--CONTINUES IN FORCE. THE MILITARY, FOR

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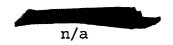
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EXAMPLE, DO NOT GIVE CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES ANY ACCOUNT OF PERSONS CAPTURED OR KILLED. NOR ARE ANY OUTSIDERS PERMITTED INSIDE MILITARY DETENTION CENTERS.

INTERVIEWED SEPARATELY, THE SIX CAMPESINOS ALL COMPLAINED BITTERLY THAT MEMBERS OF THE POLICE OR ARMY WOULD ROB ANIMALS, EXTORT MONEY, AND RAPE OR ABUSE VILLAGE WOMEN. OBSERVERS, INCLUDING AGREED THIS PHENOMENON WAS COMMON. THE CAMPESINOS HAD ALMOST NO COMPLAINTS ABOUT SL (BUT WE DID NOT GET TO TALK WITH MEMBERS OF VILLAGES ATTACKED BY SL). IN GENERAL, SL APPEARS TO BEHAVE ITSELF BETTER IN THE VILLAGES: IT ASKS FOR LITTLE (FOOD AND SHELTER), SOMETIMES PAYS FOR FOOD, AND LEAVES THE WOMEN ALONE. EVEN ASCARZA AND CCALLOCCUNTO ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WAS AN IMPLICIT THREAT WHEN SL ENTERED A VILLAGE. IN ADDITION, SL OFTEN FORCIBLY RECRUITS YOUNG CAMPESINOS. THE OVERALL IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, IS THAT CAMPESINOS FEAR THE SECURITY FORCES MUCH MORE THAN SL. SL IS BRUTAL, BUT SELECTIVE, WHILE THE MILITARY IS

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الما المشواع يراض مراهاتها كالما المماكي

LESS DISCRIMINATE. IN MUCH OF AYACUCHO, SL PLAYS BY RULES THE CAMPESINOS CAN LIVE WITH.

16. DURING 1987 THERE WERE NUMEROUS COMPLAINTS ABOUT ABUSES ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CANGALLO ARMY BASE COMMANDER "BUTLER," WHOSE REAL NAME IS FLORENCIO EGUIA DAVALO. IN FEBRUARY, THE AYACUCHO FISCAL ACCUSED EGUIA OF THE DISAPPEARANCES AND PRESUMED DEATHS IN 1987 OF FOUR PERSONS IN PAMPAMPUQUIO AND FIVE IN CUCHUCANCHA. TWO

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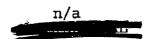
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ACTION SCT-02

AID-00 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00 INR-05 ADS-00 INFO LOG-00 L-02 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-00 AMAD-01 NSCE-00 ARA-00 INRE-00 CA-02 PA-02 CCO-00 FAAE-00 TRSE-00 PM-05 DOEE-00 M-01 USSS-00 USIE-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 OC-02 DSE-00 T-01FAIM-01 DS-01 ZOVD-00 P-02 NRC-02 /029 W

P 112325Z MAY 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8552
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC



CONFIDENTIAL ...

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TERREP

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

DEA FOR OF, PS, OC, OI

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ITS PRESIDENT FOR ALLEGED CORRUPTION. OF SECURITY IS A MAJOR PROBLEM: THE SHOWPIECE CAMPESINOS FROM CUCHUCANCHA CONFIRMED TO POLOFF THE ATTLEGATIONS OF VIOLATIONS, CLAIMING THAT EGUIA OFTEN PERSONALLY THREATENED AND ORDERED THE ARREST OF INNOCENT PERSONS. THEFT AND RAPE BY SOLDIERS UNDER EGUIA'S COMMAND WAS ALSO FREQUENT, ACCORDING TO SOURCES FROM THE AREA. EGUIA REPORTEDLY WAS TRANSFERRED IN JANUARY; WE DO NOT KNOW IF THE ARMY TOOK DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST HIM. SAID A JUDGE IN CANGALLO INITIALLY THREW OUT THE CASE AGAINST EGUIA, BUT FISCAL ESCOBAR MANAGED TO HAVE A JUDGE IN AYACUCHO TAKE JURISDICTION. ADMITTED THE CASE INEVITABLY WOULD PASS TO THE MILITARY JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND PROBABLY NEVER SEE THE LIGHT OF DAY; STILL, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT ABUSES.

17. A POSITIVE STEP WAS THE MARCH 1988 DECISION BY THE AYACUCHO POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMAND TO ALLOW THE ICRC TO RESUME ACTIVITIES IN THE ZONE. THE ICRC'S AYACUCHO DELEGATION AGAIN HAS ACCESS TO ALL PRISONS AND POLICE DETENTION CENTERS IN AYACUCHO AND THE NEIGHBORING PORTIONS OF HUANCAVELICA AND APURIMAC DEPARTMENTS UNDER THE AYACUCHO COMMAND. MILITARY DETENTION CENTERS REMAIN OFF LIMITS. IN APRIL THE ARMED FORCES

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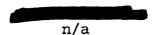
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JOINT COMMAND RATIFIED THE ICRC'S MANDATE. THE ICRC IS ONE OF THE FEW INSTITUTIONS TO TRAVEL FREELY THROUGHOUT THE ZONE. SL APPARENTLY APPROVES OF ITS ACTIVITIES, AND

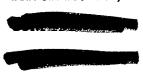


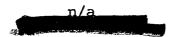
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ICRC MEMBERS HAVE NEVER BEEN BOTHERED AT SL ROADBLOCKS.

18. AN INTERLUDE WITH PROBABLE SL SYMPATHIZERS: ON PREVIOUS VISITS POLOFF HAD PUT OUT THE WORD HE WAS INTERESTED IN MEETING WITH THE MEMBERS OF AYACUCHO'S HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, BUT THERE WAS NO RESPONSE. (DESPITE ACCUSATIONS OF FAVORITISM TOWARDS SL, THESE GROUPS HAD WORKED WITH PERUVIAN AND FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ON VIOLATIONS IN AYACUCHO, ESPECIALLY DISAPPEARANCES.) THIS TIME, HOWEVER, POLOFF WAS ABLE TO MEET WITH ALL THREE REPRESENTATIVES. EVEN VISITED POLOFF'S HOTEL THREE TIMES BEFORE CONTACT WAS MADE. AFTER A SUPERFICIAL TREATMENT OF THE LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS SCENE, QUESTIONED POLOFF CLOSELY ON HIS PRESENCE IN AYACUCHO. POLOFF RESPONDED WITH A DETAILED REVIEW OF PROB-LEMS IN AYACUCHO AND OUR CURRENT CONCERNS, BACKING THIS UP WITH A COPY OF OUR LATEST HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT. APPEARED SURPRISED ABOUT OUR FAMILIARITY WITH THE SITUATION- PROBABLY HAD ASSUMED THE HUMAN RIGHTS TOPIC WAS ONLY A COVER FOR THE VISIT. QUESTIONED ABOUT SL ABUSES, BOTH PROFESSED NOT TO HAVE HEARD TOO MANY AUTHENTICATED ACCOUNTS. WITH SOME DIFFICULTY, THEY TRIED TO MAKE THE POINT THAT REPORTED SL MASSACRES OF PEASANT SELF-DEFENSE FORCES WERE REALLY CARRIED OUT BY THE MILITARY IN DISGUISE LATER TOLD US THIS MIGHT HAVE OCCURRED IN SOME CASES, BUT NOT IN ALL). THEY HASTENED TO POINT OUT THEY WERE NOT FAVORING SL, BUT THAT THEY HAD A GREATER RIGHT





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ACTION SCT-02

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TRSE-00 PM-05 PA-02 FAAE-00 CCO-00 INRE-00 CA-02

USSS-00 USIE-00 JUSE-00 FBIE-00 OC-02 DOEE-00 M-01

NRC-02 FAIM-01 DS-01 DSE-00 ZOVD-00 P-02 T-01

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P 112325Z MAY 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8553
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
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USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

L SECTION 07 OF 09 LIMA 06324

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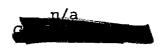
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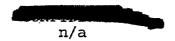
DEA FOR OF, PS, OC, OI

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

ASUNCION FOR GARLAND DENNETT

INTERNAL APRA INFIGHTING AND THE REMOVAL OF CONFIDENTIAL





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PAGE 02 LIMA 06324 07 OF 09 112334Z ITS PRESIDENT FOR ALLEGED CORRUPTION. OF SECURITY IS A MAJOR PROBLEM: THE SHOWPIECE TO DEMAND CORRECT BEHAVIOR FROM THE GOVERNMENT THAN FROM THE INSURGENTS. IN PARTICULAR GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT SYMPATHIZED WITH SL, MAKING PERSISTENCE IN MEETING POLOFF AND QUESTIONING HIM INTERESTING. 19. WAS MORE MATTER-OF-FACT IN DETAILING GOP ABUSES. CLAIMED GOP-SL CLASHES WERE HIGHEST IN THE PROVINCE OF LA MAR, WITH VICTOR FAJARDO ALSO ACTIVE, AND VILCASHUAMAN FAIRLY QUIET. ASKED WHAT COULD TURN IDEALISTIC YOUNG PEOPLE INTO DISCIPLINED KILLERS IN SL, [

LOWERED EYES AND SAID THERE WERE MANY ABUSES
BY THE SECURITY FORCES, AND THAT MANY YOUNG
PEOPLE HAD NO CHOICE FATHER WAS A
DISAPPEARANCE VICTIM). WHAT WAS THE SOLUTION?

| REPLIED THAT ONE SIDE HAD TO LOSE. WHICH ONE? | SHRUGGED, AND SAID | DID NOT KNOW, BUT THAT ONE SIDE HAD TO LOSE.

20. NARCOTICS: SEVERAL OBSERVERS UNDERSCORED THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING IN THE APURIMAC RIVER BASIN (LA MAR PROVINCE). COCA WAS THE ONLY THING GOING FOR AYACUCHO, AND THE ONLY EXPLANATION FOR SIGNS OF CONSTRUCTION AND CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION IN AYACUCHO CITY. POLICE CHIEF TELLO SAID TRAFFICKERS FROM COLOMBIA LANDED OFTEN AT THE 15 OR SO CLANDESTINE AIRSTRIPS IN LA MAR. HE SAID THE ARMY AND MARINES (WHICH HAVE SPLIT LA MAR BETWEEN THEM) HAD FORBIDDEN ANTINARCOTICS OPERATIONS THERE,

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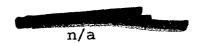
OSTENSIBLY BECAUSE THEIR MISSION WAS TO FIGHT TERRORISM. OTHER OBSERVERS ALLEGED THAT THE MILITARY PROFITS FROM THE TRAFFICKERS, AS THEY HAD IN THE UHV IN 1984.

COMPLAIN IN PRIVATE ABOUT THE CORRUPTION

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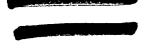
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OF MILITARY AND CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES. THERE IS NO INFORMATION ABOUT SL'S POLICY TOWARDS THE COCA GROWERS AND THE TRAFFICKERS (IN THE UHV, SL PROTECTS THE GROWERS AND RECEIVES MONEY FROM THE TRAFFICKERS).

- 21. COMMENT: IT IS DIFFICULT TO OVERSTATE HOW FOREIGN AYACUCHO IS TO THE LIMA-ORIENTED ELITE. LIKE MOST OF THE SIERRA, AYACUCHO RETAINS A DISTINCT CULTURE (VARIOUSLY CALLED ANDEAN, INDIAN, OR QUECHUA) EVIDENT IN DIFFERENCES IN RACE, LANGUAGE, ETHNIC HERITAGE, AND COMMUNITY AND FAMILY ORGANIZATION. PERUVIAN INTELLECTUALS MAKE GOOD MONEY EXPLAINING THE REASONS WHY THE ANDEAN CULTURE HAS NOT YET BEEN ASSIMILATED. IN ANY CASE RESENTMENT BASED ON CLASS, RACIAL, ETHNIC, AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES HAS BEEN A THEME OF PERUVIAN HISTORY.
- 22. IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT SL APPEARED IN AYACUCHO, EVOLVING FROM A FACTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE EARLY SIXTIES AND BEGINNING THE "PEOPLE'S WAR" IN 1980. DESPITE ITS ALIEN MAOIST IDEOLOGY, SL DID WELL IN AYACUCHO. IN ABIMAEL GUZMAN IT HAD AN EXTREMELY ABLE, PATIENT ORGANIZER AND LEADER. IN HUAMANGA UNIVERSITY IT HAD BOTH RESOURCES AND ACCESS TO THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE CAMPESINOS. UNLIKE ANY OTHER MARXIST GROUP IN PERU, SL ESTABLISHED A STUDENT-PEASANT ALLIANCE,



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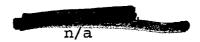
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ACTION SCT-02

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P 112325Z MAY 88

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8554
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC

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TERREP

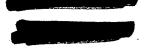
DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

DEA FOR OF, PS, OC, OI

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

ASUNCION FOR GARLAND DENNETT

INTERNAL APRA INFIGHTING AND THE REMOVAL OF



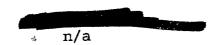
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ITS PRESIDENT FOR ALLEGED CORRUPTION. LACK OF SECURITY IS A MAJOR PROBLEM: THE SHOWPIECE AND PUT INTO PRACTICE MAOIST GUERRILLA WAR THEORY.

23. SL'S SUCCESS, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER IT BEGAN THE WAR, OWED MUCH TO ITS EXPLOITATION OF AYACUCHO'S REGIONAL AND ETHNIC RESENTMENT. SL REPORTEDLY DID VERY WELL AMONG THE EDUCATED

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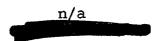
OFFSPRING OF THE MORE WELL-TO-DO PEASANTS.
UNABLE TO FIND WORK (IN PART BECAUSE OF RACIAL
DISCRIMINATION) AND NO LONGER FITTING IN BACK
ON THE FARM, MANY TURNED TO SL. DURING THE
EARLY 1980'S, SL IN EFFECT WAS THE "HOME TEAM,"
WITH A FIFTH OF AYACUCHO CITY'S POPULATION
TURNING UP FOR THE FUNERAL OF SL MEMBER
(AND AYACUCHANA) EDITH LAGOS IN 1982. MANY
PERSONS UNWILLING TO SUPPORT SL NEVERTHELESS
WERE WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH WHAT APPEARED
TO BE THE NEW POWER IN THE AREA.

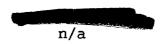
24. THE MILITARY BEGAN TO UNDERCUT SL SUPPORT IN THE 1983-84 COUNTERINSURGENCY CAMPAIGNS. SEVERAL THOUSAND PERSONS IN AYACUCHO DIED, OF WHICH RATHER FEW WERE SL MEMBERS (SL ATTACKS INCREASED DURING 1983-84). THE PEASANT COMMUNITIES THAT HAD EARLIER SUPPORTED SL BORE THE BRUNT OF THE CASUALTIES, AND BLAMED SL FOR ABANDONING THEM. EVEN SO, SL IS STILL ABLE TO CARRY ON, RELYING ON INTIMIDATION WHERE IT EARLIER RECEIVED SUPPORT VOLUNTARILY. SL IS FAR MORE ACTIVE THAN THE MILITARY, AND PEASANTS KNOW THAT SL WILL RETURN TO THEIR VILLAGE

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PERIODICALLY TO CHECK UP. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOST ACCOUNTS INDICATE SL DOES NOT KILL INDISCRIMINATELY OR ROB, WHICH IS OFTEN THE CASE WITH THE SECURITY FORCES. SL OFFERS THE PEASANTS CLEAR RULES TO LIVE WITH: DO NOT COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND YOU WILL BE LEFT ALONE. THE SECURITY FORCES OFFER NO CLEAR RULES. THE RESULT IS TO GIVE SL ROOM TO GROW.

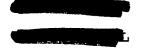
25. THIS WAS THE THIRD TRIP TO AYACUCHO THAT POLOFF HAS MADE IN THREE YEARS. AYACUCHO'S PROSPECTS ARE DEPRESSING, NOTWITHSTANDING THE TEMPORARY LULL IN SL ATTACKS. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE GOP HAS NO STRATEGY WORTHY OF THE NAME FOR COMBATTING SL. THERE IS NO IMPLEMENTATION IN PRACTICE OF THE MILITARY'S MUCH-VAUNTED MULTIDISCIPLINARY COUNTERINSURGENCY APPROACH.





CIVILIAN-MILITARY COORDINATION IS DEFICIENT,
AND CIVIC ACTION AND PSYOPS PROGRAMS WOEFULLY
INADEQUATE. IN AN AREA WHERE OVER 80 PERCENT
OF THE PEOPLE SPEAK QUECHUA--AND 30 PERCENT
SPEAK ONLY QUECHUA--THE MILITARY AND POLICE
HAVE ALMOST NO QUECHUA SPEAKING OFFICERS. THE
MILITARY IN EFFECT HAS SETTLED MOSTLY FOR THE
DEFENSE OF AYACUCHO CITY AND SELECTED PROVINCIAL
AND DISTRICT CAPITALS. THE GARCIA ADMINISTRATION.
HAS ACQUIESCED AND TACITLY ENCOURAGED THIS.

26. WE SEE REPORTS FROM TIME TO TIME THAT THE GOP IS RETHINKING ITS STRATEGY TOWARD SL IN AYACUCHO, OR INDEED NATIONWIDE. SO FAR RESULTS ARE FEW. FOR AYACUCHO IT MAY BE TOO LATE, PARTICULARLY IF THE NARCOTICS ACTIVITY THERE DEVELOPS AS IT HAS IN THE OTHER JUNGLE AREAS.



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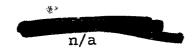
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P 112325Z MAY 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8555
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

n/a



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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC

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TERREP.

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

DEA FOR OF, PS, OC, OI

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

ASUNCION FOR GARLAND DENNETT

INTERNAL APRA INFIGHTING AND THE REMOVAL OF

PAGE 02

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ITS PRESIDENT FOR ALLEGED CORRUPTION. LACK
OF SECURITY IS A MAJOR PROBLEM: THE SHOWPIECE
IN ANY CASE, SL HAS SPREAD FROM AYACUCHO TO
OTHER AREAS, INCLUDING LIMA, WHERE ITS PRESENCE NOW
IS QUITE OPEN. STILL UNABLE TO FULLY COMPREHEND
WHAT HAS GONE WRONG UNTIL NOW, THE GOP HAS TO
DEAL WITH A DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION
IN THE UHV, MANTARO RIVER VALLEY, AND LIMA
ITSELF. THE CONSEQUENCES ARE GREAT. AS
TOLD US, ONE SIDE HAS TO LOSE.

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or reference secretally beautiful

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