

X15

PAGE 01 LIMA 07333 01 OF 07 032139Z  
ACTION AFA-00

2507

LIMA 07333 01 OF 07 032139Z

2507

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	SS-00	CIAE-00	DINT-05
	M-01	MSC-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	HA-00	L-03	TRSE-00
	PH-10	PA-01	OHB-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	C-01	PRS-01	DS-00	DSE-00	SCT-07	P-02
	T-01	/052 V					

MATERIAL AND PERSONNEL RESOURCES.

B1,A5

A BRIGHT SPOT IS THE HEAD OF THE AGRICULTURE MINISTRY'S REGIONAL OFFICE -- A WIDELY RESPECTED AND HARD-WORKING BUREAUCRAT WITH TOO FEW FINGERS TO PLUG THE DIKE. END SUMMARY.

R 032131Z JUN 88  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9091  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS FM  
DIA WASHDC

PE φ

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 07 LIMA 07333

DIA FOR DA-5/OS-1D/DE-602/JSI-1B/DB-3C1

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PCOV, PTER, PE  
SUBJECT: PUNO APPEARS HEADED FOR RENEWED CONFLICT

REF: (A) 85 LIMA 9720  
(B) 87 LIMA 12922

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY:

THE DEPARTMENT OF PUNO, BORDERING BOLIVIA AND ENCOMPASSING LAKE TITICACA, HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET FOR THE LAST YEAR, BUT APPEARS NOW ON THE VERGE OF RENEWED LAND TENURE DISPUTES AND TERRORIST VIOLENCE. THE GOVERNMENT'S "AGRARIAN RESTRUCTURING," WHICH ENDED IN JUNE, 1987, HAS FAILED TO DEFUSE THE DEMANDS OF PEASANT COMMUNITIES FOR MORE LAND. THE COMMUNITIES ARE WELL ORGANIZED INTO A CAMPESIÑO CONFEDERATION (FCOP) THAT IS AFFILIATED WITH THE RADICAL LEFTIST UNITED MARIATEQUIST PARTY (PUM). THE FCOP CARRIED OUT LARGE-SCALE LAND INVASIONS LAST MAY AND JUNE; IT IS REPORTEDLY PLANNING FOR JUNE A NEW SERIES OF MASSIVE INVASIONS OF LANDS BELONGING TO BUSINESS-ORIENTED COOPERATIVES. THE PUNO CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORT THE PEASANT COMMUNITIES. SENDERO LUMINOSO, DEALT A SIGNIFICANT SETBACK IN 1986-1987, RESURFACED IN FEBRUARY. ON MAY 5 IT CARRIED OUT A BARBARIC MURDER OF SIX POLICEMEN AND A JUDGE IN CRUCERO, A SITE OF INTENSE LAND CONFLICT ABOUT 2 HOURS NORTH OF THE CITY OF PUNO. THAT AND OTHER INCIDENTS HAD EVERYONE WE TALKED TO DURING A MAY 17-18 VISIT ON EDGE.

4. SOURCES FOR THIS REPORT:

POLICONS PAID TWO-DAY VISIT TO THE CITY OF PUNO, CAPITAL OF PUNO DEPARTMENT, MAY 17-18. HE MET WITH ING. FRANCISCO LOAYZA, THE APRA VICE-MAYOR OF PUNO AND A CORPUS OFFICIAL; GENERAL JOSE SERPA MENESES, COMMANDER OF THE CIVIL GUARD; COLONEL LUIS MALASQUEZ, OF THE CIVIL GUARD; DRA. MARTHA GIRALDA AND DRA. LUZ MERVINO, DIRECTOR AND DIRECTOR OF LEGAL COUNSEL, RESPECTIVELY, OF THE PUNO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION; PADRE LUIS ZAMBRANO, HEAD OF A CATHOLIC CHURCH HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION (VICARIA DE SOLIDARIDAD); RAUL RODRIGUEZ, DIRECTOR OF RADIO ONDA AZUL, THE CHURCH RADIO STATION; FELIX PALACIOS, A PUNO NATIVE AND ANTHROPOLOGIST WHO WORKS PRIMARILY IN THE AYMARA COMMUNITIES; GREGORIO TRICOMA GOMEZ, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE RADICAL CAMPESIÑO FEDERATION OF PUNO DEPARTMENT (FCOP); AND WALTER MERCADO, HEAD OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE'S REGIONAL OFFICE. EFFORTS TO SEE THE LOCAL ARMY COMMANDER WERE UNSUCCESSFUL.

5. BACKGROUND: THE VELASCO AND GARCIA AGRARIAN

3. HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE CREDIBLE EVIDENCE OF CONTINUING POLICE (AND SOME ARMY) ABUSES, MANY INVOLVING POLICE EFFORTS TO DISCLOSE SOURCES. BUT THE LEVEL OF SERIOUS ABUSE IS NOT GREAT (RELATIVE TO AYACUCHO, FOR EXAMPLE). APRA PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY HAS DROPPED OFF, AND THERE IS SOME COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CHURCH/HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND THE POLICE. THE POLICE COMMANDER, A QUECHUA SPEAKER, IS IMPRES- SIVE; HE HAS A FAMILIAR TALE OF INADEQUATE

United States Department of State  
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review  
Review Authority: MOSKOWITZ, SAM  
Date: 04/24/95  
Case ID: 93006854

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

90 D45  
14943

UNCLASSIFIED  
Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 LIMA 07333 02 OF 07 032141Z  
ACTION ARA-90

2509

LIMA 07333 02 OF 07 032141Z

2509

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DINT-05  
R-01 NSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-00 L-03 TRSE-00  
PH-10 PA-01 ONR-01 INRE-00 AGRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02  
SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-00 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02  
T-01 /052 V

-----047621 042019Z /72

R 032131Z JUN 88  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0092  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PH  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 07 LIMA 07333

DIA FOR DA-5/OS-10/DB-602/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, FIER, PE  
SUBJECT: PUNO APPEARS HEADED FOR RENEWED CONFLICT

REFORMS

THE VELASCO REFORM: DESPITE TWO REFORMS IN THE LAST SEVENTEEN YEARS, CONFLICT OVER LAND CONTINUES TO DRIVE POLITICS IN PUNO. THE VELASCO GOVERNMENT EXPROPRIATED ALL THE LARGE HACIENDAS IN THE EARLY 1970'S, TRANSFERRING TITLE TO THE CAMPESINO FAMILIES WHO WORKED ON THE HACIENDAS AT THAT TIME. TODAY THERE ARE NO SINGLE-OWNER LARGE HOLDINGS OF LAND. TO AVOID "MINIFUNDIZATION" AND TO MAINTAIN ECONOMIES OF SCALE, HOWEVER, THE VELASCO REFORM DID NOT BREAK UP THE HACIENDAS. INSTEAD, IT CONSOLIDATED THEM INTO 46 BUSINESS-ORIENTED COOPERATIVES (EMPRESAS ASOCIATIVAS). THERE ARE THREE FORMS OF THESE COOPERATIVES, KNOWN LOCALLY BY THEIR ACRONYMS: SAIS (SOCIEDAD AGRICOLA DE INTERES SOCIAL); ERPS (EMPRESA RURAL DE PROPIEDAD SOCIAL); AND CAP (COOPERATIVA AGRARIA DE PRODUCTORES). VELASCO THUS IGNORED THE CLAIMS OF THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES THAT THEIR ANCESTRAL LANDS BE RETURNED TO THEM.

6. THE VELASCO CONCEPT WAS THAT THE COOPERATIVES WOULD BE MANAGED TO THE BENEFIT OF PUNO AS A WHOLE: SURPLUS PRODUCTION WOULD GO TO LOCAL MARKETS; PROFITS WOULD BE INVESTED LOCALLY; AND THERE WOULD BE A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COOPERATIVES AND THE PEASANT COMMUNITIES (COMUNIDADES CAMPESINAS). THE PEASANT COMMUNITIES EXISTED OUTSIDE THE HACIENDA SYSTEM AND DID NOT BENEFIT DIRECTLY FROM THE VELASCO REFORM. INSTEAD, HOWEVER, AND ACCORDING TO APRA AND MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AS WELL AS FDCP AND CHURCH SOURCES, THE COOPERATIVES HAVE COME, OVER TIME, UNDER THE CONTROL OF A NEW CLASS OF TECHNICIANS -- AGRONOMISTS, ACCOUNTANTS, VETERINARIANS AND LAWYERS -- WHO OPERATE THE COOPERATIVES TO THEIR OWN BENEFIT. THEY DO THIS BY MAKING ALLIANCE WITH FOUR OR FIVE KEY CAMPESINO FAMILIES OF THE 100 OR SO THAT MAKE UP EACH COOPERATIVE. THESE TECHNICAL PROFESSIONALS ARE OFTEN THE FIRST GENERATION OF CAMPESINOS

TO RECEIVE MORE THAN A SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION AND MANY ARE FORMER LEFTIST POLITICAL ACTIVISTS. ACCORDING TO THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE'S MERCADO, THE VELASCO REFORM WAS DRAWN UP WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF ACCURATE CENSUS DATA AND THE POPULATION OF THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES WAS SERIOUSLY UNDERESTIMATED. SINCE THE EARLY 1970'S THESE COMMUNITIES HAVE GROWN RAPIDLY AND HAVE BECOME HARDELY POLITICIZED.

7. LEFT OUT AND INCREASINGLY DISGRUNTLED ARE THE 195 OR SO ILLITERATE CAMPESINO FAMILIES WHO ACTUALLY HOLD TITLE TO THE COOPERATIVE LAND AND SOME 700 CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES. THE LATTER CONSIST OF ABOUT 150 FAMILIES EACH. AT FIVE PER FAMILY, THERE IS THUS A TOTAL POPULATION OF ABOUT 325,000 PEOPLE -- A LITTLE MORE THAN HALF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF PUNO DEPARTMENT -- IN THE LAND-POOR CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES. BEFORE THE GARCIA REFORM, THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES TENDED TO HAVE ABOUT ONE HECTARE OF LAND PER FAMILY -- FOR A TOTAL OF ROUGHLY 105,000 HECTARES. THE SITUATION OF THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH THAT OF THE BENEFICIARIES OF THE COOPERATIVE SYSTEM. THERE ARE 46 COOPERATIVES AND SOME 200 CAMPESINO FAMILIES PER COOPERATIVE FOR A TOTAL OF ABOUT 9,200 LAND-OWNING FAMILIES (AND A TOTAL POPULATION ON THE COOPERATIVES OF ABOUT 46,000). PRIOR TO THE GARCIA REFORM, THE COOPERATIVES HELD ABOUT 1,700,000 HECTARES OF LAND, OR ABOUT 185 HECTARES PER FAMILY. THIS COMPARISON IS PORTRAYED IN THE TABLE BELOW.

LAND TENURE SITUATION AS OF LATE 1985:

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNCLASSIFIED  
Department of State

INCOMING  
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 LIMA 07333 03 OF 07 032142Z  
ACTION AR4-00

2513

LIMA 07333 03 OF 07 032142Z

2513

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DINT-05  
H-01 MSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 NA-00 L-03 TRSE-00  
PM-10 PA-01 ORB-01 INRE-00 AGRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02  
SNP-01 C-01 PMS-01 DS-00 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02  
T-01 /052 V

-----047623 042022Z /72

R 032131Z JUN 88  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0093  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USCINCSO QUARRY NTS PM  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 07 LIMA 07333

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-10/DB-602/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PE  
SUBJECT: PUNO APPEARS HEADED FOR RENEWED CONFLICT

A. COOPERATIVES

COOPERATIVES	46
CAMPESINO FAMILIES PER COOP	200
TOTAL CAMPESINO FAMILIES	9,200
TOTAL POPULATION	46,000
TOTAL LAND HOLDINGS	1,700,000 HECTARES
HOLDINGS PER FAMILY	185 HECTARES

B. CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES

CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES	700
FAMILIES PER COMMUNITY	150
TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES	105,000
TOTAL POPULATION	525,000
TOTAL LAND HOLDINGS	105,000 HECTARES
HOLDINGS PER FAMILY	1

FIGURES FOR THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES PROBABLY EXCLUDE SOME DRY PASTURE AND OTHER LANDS OF MARGINAL UTILITY.

8. THE GARCIA "AGRARIAN RESTRUCTURING:" THIS MANIFEST INEQUALITY OF LAND TENURE WAS BEING EXPLOITED POLITICALLY BY BOTH THE RADICAL LEFT (NOTABLY THE UNITED MARIATEGUIST PARTY, OR PUM) AND BY SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL): SENDERO BEGAN ORGANIZING IN PUNO AROUND 1982 BUT DID NOT BEGIN MAJOR VIOLENT ACTIVITY UNTIL 1985. IN DECEMBER, 1985, PRESIDENT GARCIA IN A THREE-DAY MEETING WITH THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES IN PUNO ("RIMANACUY" -- QUECHUA FOR DIALOGUE) PROMISED TO CARRY OUT AN "AGRARIAN RESTRUCTURING" TO REDISTRIBUTE 1,100,000 HECTARES OF LAND HELD BY THE COOPERATIVES. THAT PROMISE PUT AN END TO LARGE-SCALE LAND INVASIONS FOR THE BETTER PART OF A YEAR, AS THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES WAITED TO SEE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN. IT ALSO GAVE A SIGNIFICANT BOOST IN THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

OF NOVEMBER, 1986 (A NUMBER OF TITLES WERE HANDED OVER SHORTLY BEFORE THE ELECTIONS). IN PUNO ITSELF, FOR EXAMPLE, APRA WON BACK CONTROL OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL WITH 11 OF THE 17 POSITIONS. WHEN THE PROGRAM ENDED IN JUNE, 1987, THE GOP ANNOUNCED THAT OVER 1,000,000 HECTARES OF LAND HAD BEEN REDISTRIBUTED.

9. THAT CLAIM IS FLATLY DISPUTED BY THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES AND THEIR ALLIES -- THE CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. ACCORDING TO THESE, THE GOP REDISTRIBUTED NO MORE THAN A HALF MILLION HECTARES. THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES FURTHER COMPLAIN THAT THE LAND THAT HAS BEEN REDISTRIBUTED IS DISPERSED IN SMALL PLOTS AND TENDS TO BE ROCKY AND THE LEAST FERTILE. THE DIRECTOR OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE'S REGIONAL OFFICE IN PUNO, WALTER MERCADO, SAYS "BOTH SIDES ARE RIGHT." THE GOVERNMENT DID IN FACT CHANGE TITLE TO MORE THAN A MILLION HECTARES, MERCADO SAYS, BUT A SIGNIFICANT PORTION, NEARLY 500,000 HECTARES, DID NOT GO TO THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES. IT WAS INSTEAD SIPHONED OFF TO THREE TYPES OF RECIPIENTS: STATE ENTITIES (FOR AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH STATIONS AND THE LIKE); A SPECIAL CATEGORY OF LANDLESS PEASANTS, LEGALLY DISTINCT FROM THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES CALLED AGRICULTURAL GROUPS WITHOUT LAND (KNOWN BY THE SPANISH ACRONYM GASAJ); AND TO CAMPESINO FAMILIES THAT ARE COOPERATIVE MEMBERS (I.E. A REDISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE COOPERATIVE SYSTEM). MERCADO NOTES THAT THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES ARE UNWILLING TO COUNT THE REDISTRIBUTION OF LAND TO THESE RECIPIENTS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT'S PLEDGE.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LIMA 07333 #4 OF 07 032143Z  
ACTION ARA-00

2514

LIMA 07333 #4 OF 07 032143Z

2514

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DINT-05  
H-01 NSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-00 L-03 TRSE-00  
PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 AGRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02  
SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01 DS-00 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02  
T-01 /052 W

-----047624 042022Z /72

R 032131Z JUN 88  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9094  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USCINGSO QUARRY HTS PH  
DIA WASHDC

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION #4 OF 07 LIMA 07333

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-10/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

USCINGSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PE  
SUBJECT: PUNO APPEARS HEADED FOR RENEWED CONFLICT

10. LAND INVASIONS AND DISLODGINGS:  
THE WILLINGNESS OF THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES TO SUSPEND LAND INVASIONS AND OTHER FORMS OF PRESSURE ENDED IN MAY, 1987, ON THE EVE OF THE REFORM'S TERMINATION. ON MAY 19, THE FDCP INVADDED NEARLY 150,000 HECTARES OF LAND; A MONTH LATER, ON JUNE 24, MORE INVASIONS UPPED THE TOTAL OF ILLEGALLY-OCCUPIED LANDS TO 350,000. WITH THE HELP OF THE POLICE AND IN SOME INSTANCES THE ARMY, THE COOPERATIVES HAVE OVER THE COURSE OF THE LAST YEAR PUSHED THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES OFF SOME 200,000 HECTARES OF THE 350,000 OCCUPIED. THE PROCESS HAS BEEN OFTEN VIOLENT. ON MAY 22, AN FDCP LEADER, PEDRO LAURA OCHOCHOQUE, WAS SHOT BY AN ARMY SERGEANT (AND DIED HOURS LATER) AS HE AND OTHER LEADERS WITHDREW FROM A CONFRONTATION WITH THE ARMY AND THE LEADER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COOPERATIVES, HAROLD CHAVEZ. MORE THAN THE POLICE OR ANY GOVERNMENT FIGURE, CHAVEZ IS THE SINGLE PERSON WHO SYMBOLIZES WHAT THE FDCP, CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS CALL THE "STRUCTURE OF INJUSTICE." ACCORDING TO CHURCH SOURCES, MORE THAN 300 PEASANTS HAVE BEEN DETAINED FOR PROLONGED PERIODS AND SEVERAL DOZEN SHOT AND WOUNDED IN THE PROCESS OF DISLODGING THE LAND INVADERS.

11. ACCORDING TO THE CHURCH, THE PUNO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND THE FDCP, SINCE MAY-JUNE, 1987 THE COOPERATIVES HAVE PROVIDED THE POLICE "BASES" ON THE COOPERATIVES THEMSELVES AND ARE GIVING THE POLICE FOOD AND CLOTHING. CIVIL GUARD COMMANDER CERPA AND MERCADO DO NOT DENY THAT THIS IS HAPPENING IN SOME INSTANCES, BUT SAY ITS EXTENT IS EXAGGERATED. IN PROTESTING POLICE AND COOPERATIVE VIOLENCE AGAINST THE INVADING CAMPESINOS, CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS POINT OUT THAT THE LAND INVASIONS HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT "PEACEFULLY," I.E. WITHOUT WEAPONS. THEY ADMIT, HOWEVER, THAT THE INVASIONS EMPLOY FORCE, THAT THERE IS NO LEGAL

BASES FOR THEM AND THAT THE COOPERATIVES HAVE LEGAL RIGHT TO SEEK POLICE PROTECTION. FOR THESE CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, HOWEVER, THE INJUSTICE OF CURRENT LAND DISTRIBUTION JUSTIFIES THE INVASIONS.

12. MORE INVASIONS NOW LOOM:  
FDCP SECRETARY GENERAL GREGORIO TRICOMA GOMEZ GAVE THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT MORE INVASIONS ARE BEING PLANNED FOR THE NEAR FUTURE. MERCADO REINFORCED THIS, SAYING THAT FDCP INVASIONS FOR JUNE ARE "STRONGLY RUMORED." ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT TALK ABOUT INVASIONS PER SE, TRICOMA DID SAY THAT THE FDCP GOAL IS TO SEE ALL THE COOPERATIVES DISMANTLED AND THEIR LANDS GIVEN TO THE PEASANT COMMUNITIES. HIS TONE AND MANNER CONVEYED IMPATIENCE. TRICOMA WAS BITTERLY CRITICAL OF THE GARCIA AGRARIAN REFORM BUT GAVE MERCADO GRUDGING CREDIT AS WELL-INTENTIONED. LAST OCTOBER, FOLLOWING AN INVASION OF THE BUENAVISTA COOPERATIVE (NEAR JULIACA) AND A LARGE FDCP RALLY IN PUNO (ATTENDED BY PUNO SENATOR JAVIER DIEZ CANSECO), TRICOMA, DIEZ CANSECO AND UNITED LEFT DEPUTY ALBERTO QUINTANILLA SIGNED A JOINT STATEMENT WITH MERCADO AND THE PREFECT OF PUNO AGREEING TO SET UP A WORKING GROUP TO SEEK NON-VIOLENT SOLUTIONS. THE WORKING GROUP IS IN THE PROCESS OF RESOLVING THE BUENAVISTA INVASION ON TERMS FAVORABLE TO THE INVADERS (THE OWNERS ARE APPARENTLY WILLING TO CEDE LARGE SECTIONS OF THEIR LAND), BUT IS NOT OTHERWISE MAKING ANY SUCCESS.

13. SENDERO RESURFACES WITH A VENGEANCE:

PAGE 01 LIMA 07333 05 OF 07 032145Z  
ACTION ARA-00

2515

LIMA 07333 05 OF 07 032145Z

2515

INFO LDG-00 ADS-00 AIO-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00 DINT-05  
H-01 MSC-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-00 L-03 TPSE-00  
PH-10 PA-01 OMB-01 INRE-00 AGRE-00 USIE-00 SP-02  
SNP-01 C-01 PPS-01 DS-00 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02  
T-01 /052 V

-----#47625 042022Z /72

R 032131Z JUN 88  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9895  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USCINCSO QUARPY HTS PH  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 07 LIMA 07333

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

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOUKE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, FTER, PE  
SUBJECT: PUNO APPEARS HEADED FOR RENEWED CONFLICT

ALTHOUGH THERE WAS A DEGREE OF VIOLENCE ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONFLICT OVER LAND IN PUNO IN 1987, TERRORIST VIOLENCE DROPPED OFF TO NOTHING AFTER THE APRIL 27, 1987 SHOOT-OUT AT CUTUWU THAT KILLED THE SEVEN TOP SENDERO LEADERS IN PUNO THAT RESPIRE CAME TO A HALT FEBRUARY 24, 1988, WHEN A SENDERO COLUMN STOPPED A CORPUNO VEHICLE NEAR SANTA ROSA AND KILLED OSCAR CAVIESES TORRE, ONE OF ITS PASSENGERS. (ALSO, A BOLIVIAN NATIONAL WAS WOUNDED.) CAVIESES WAS A CORPUNO EMPLOYEE BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT HIS JOB WAS; HE MAY HAVE BEEN A SECURITY OFFICIAL. SCUTTLEBUTT AMONG CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS HAD HIM AS PREVIOUSLY ACTIVE IN APRA PARA-MILITARY GROUPS.

14. CRUCERO INCIDENT: ON MAY 5, SENDERO CARRIED OUT A BRUTAL ATTACK AGAINST A POLICE STATION IN CRUCERO, A MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY EIGHT HOURS NORTH OF PUNO. THERE, A SENDERO GROUP OF ABOUT 30 INDIVIDUALS ATTACKED WITH DYNAMITE AND GUNS A POLICE STATION, KILLING SOME AND WOUNDING OTHERS OF THE SIX POLICE INSIDE. THE STATION WAS THEN SET AFIRE; SEVERAL OF THE WOUNDED RAN OUT WITH CLOTHING AFLAME AND LATER DIED OF THEIR GUNSHOT WOUNDS AND BURNS. THE SL COLUMN ALSO SEARCHED OUT A LOCAL JUDGE, MURDERING HIM IN HIS BED. THE SAME NIGHT, THE COLUMN ATTACKED A NEARBY COOPERATIVE, DESTROYING EQUIPMENT BUT NOT KILLING ANYONE. OTHER INCIDENTS FOLLOWED, INCLUDING A CAR BOMB IN PUNO MAY 13 THAT FAILED TO EXPLODE AND THE MURDER OF TWO POLICEMEN SEVERAL DAYS AFTER OUR VISIT.

15. THE CRUCERO INCIDENT IN PARTICULAR WAS ON THE MINDS OF EVERYONE WE TALKED TO IN OUR TWO-DAY VISIT. NOT ONLY DID IT SIGNAL THE RETURN OF SENDERO WITH RENEWED BRUTALITY, BUT IT ALSO REVEALED THE INTENT OF SL TO INVOLVE ITSELF AGAIN IN LAND DISPUTES. AT THE TIME

OF THE CRUCERO INCIDENT, THE FDCP WAS AGITATING AGAINST A COOPERATIVE THERE, SAYS AGRICONA, WHOSE DIRECTOR IS HAROLD CHAVEZ, THE LEADER OF THE COOPERATIVES ASSOCIATION. THE POLICE RESPONSE TO THE SL ATTACK WAS TO ARREST FIVE FDCP LEADERS. THEIR DETENTION HAS SINCE BECOME A CAUSE FOR THE CHURCH, FDCP AND HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS; RECEIVING SOME NATIONAL-LEVEL ATTENTION.

16. POLICE COMMANDER SERPA WAS RELUCTANT TO BE DRAWN INTO DISCUSSING THE PARTICULARS OF THE CRUCERO INCIDENT, WHICH HE NOTED IS STILL UNDER INVESTIGATION. HE DID COMMENT MORE GENERALLY THAT SL HAS BEEN QUIETLY REBUILDING ITS INFRASTRUCTURE DURING THE LAST YEAR (SERPA HAS BEEN IN HIS POSITION FOR THREE MONTHS). TRICONA SAID THAT THE FDCP WAS AWARE OF THE SL COLUMN'S EXISTENCE PRIOR TO THE INCIDENT -- IT HAD BEEN IN AZANGARO PROVINCE, HE SAID. TRICONA CLAIMED THAT THE FDCP AND SL ARE MUTUALLY ANTAGONISTIC AND WAS BITTER THAT THE POLICE HAD REACTED TO THE CRUCERO INCIDENT AS HE CLAIMS SL INTENDED BY CRACKING DOWN ON THE FDCP. TRICONA SAYS THE SL COLUMN FLED TOWARD MADRE DE DIOS DEPARTMENT FOLLOWING THE INCIDENT.

17. HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION: THE CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF PUNO WERE BOTH STRONGLY CRITICAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE POLICE AND ARMY. THEY HAD WELL-DOCUMENTED ACCOUNTS OF FOUR DEATHS THEY WERE ATTEMPTING TO PURSUE LEGALLY -- TWO INVOLVING THE POLICE/ ARMY ON DUTY, TWO INVOLVING DRUNK POLICEMEN

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LIMA 07333 06 OF 07 032146Z  
ACTION ARA-00

2517

LIMA 07333 06 OF 07 032146Z

2517

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	IHR-10	SS-00	CIAE-00	DINT-05
	H-01	HSC-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	HA-00	L-03	TRSE-00
	PH-10	PA-01	ONB-01	IHRE-00	AGRE-00	USIE-00	SP-02
	SNP-01	C-01	PRS-01	DS-00	DSE-00	SCI-02	P-02
	T-01	/052 W					

-----047651 042022Z /72

R 032131Z JUN 88  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9096  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PH  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 07 LIMA 07333

DIA FOR OA-S/OS-10/DB-602/J51-4B/00-3C1

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PE  
SUBJECT: PUNO APPEARS HEADED FOR RENEWED CONFLICT

OFF DUTY: THEY ALSO CLAIMED THAT THERE WERE SOME THREE HUNDRED INSTANCES OF CAMPESINOS DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGES AND A HALF DOZEN TO A DOZEN INSTANCES OF CAMPESINOS BEING WOUNDED DURING POLICE ACTIONS TO DISLODGE LAND INVADERS. THEY CITED A FAMILIAR LIST: POLICE ARROGANCE, LACK OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING, CORRUPTION AND INVOLVEMENT IN CONTRABAND. SOME OF THESE POINTS WERE VOLUNTARILY CONFIRMED BY POLICE COMMANDER SERPA, WHO COMPLAINED THAT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF HIS POLICE PERSONNEL MADE THEM VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO TRAIN IN RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

18. THE OVERALL LEVEL OF SERIOUS ABUSE, HOWEVER, DID NOT APPEAR TO BE GREAT RELATIVE TO OTHER AREAS OF PERU, AND APRRA PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY -- A PROBLEM IN 1986 -- HAD NOT RETURNED. THERE WAS ALSO A MINOR BRIGHT SPOT. LAST NOVEMBER THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAD ORGANIZED A SEMINAR FOR 120 POLICE OFFICIALS. COMMISSION PRESIDENT GIRALDA SAID THAT SHE AND HER COLLEAGUES HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY TWO THINGS: THE DEPTH OF POLICE IGNORANCE OF THE LAW AND THE PRESSURES, FEARS AND "PERSONAL ANGUISH" TO WHICH THE POLICE ARE SUBJECT. GIRALDA AND ZAMBRANO HAD FOLLOWED UP BY MAINTAINING COMMUNICATIONS WITH SERPA, BUT WERE CAREFUL NOT TO EXAGGERATE PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE SHORT TERM.

19. STRONG SUPPORT FOR REGIONALIZATION: SEVERAL PEOPLE SAID THERE IS STRONG SUPPORT IN PUNO FOR THE GARCIA GOVERNMENT'S REGIONALIZATION PROJECT. THIS SUPPORT APPARENTLY EXTENDS ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. THERE IS NOT YET AGREEMENT ON WHICH DEPARTMENTS WILL JOIN WITH PUNO. MOST LIKELY, THE NEW REGION WILL COMBINE PUNO, MADRE DE DIOS, MOQUEGUA AND TACNA DEPARTMENTS. AREQUIPA WILL CERTAINLY NOT BE INCLUDED. PUNO HAS LONG BEEN ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENT ON AND RESENTFUL TOWARD AREQUIPA. ONE HEARS THE COMMENT

THAT ABSENTEE HACIENDA OWNERS USED TO LIVE IN AREQUIPA AND THAT PROFITS FROM COOPERATIVE OPERATIONS ARE INVESTED THERE INSTEAD OF LOCALLY. RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, PUNO RESIDENTS TEND TO SEE THE REGIONALIZATION SCHEME AS A WAY TO BREAK AWAY FROM THE ECONOMIC EMBRACE OF AREQUIPA AND AS AN EXIT FROM ITS POVERTY AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT. THE EXPECTATION IS FOR FEDERAL LEGISLATION TO BE APPROVED IN THE AUGUST-DECEMBER CONGRESSIONAL SESSION.

20. DIFFERENCE IN THE AYMARAS AND QUECHUA SPEAKING COMMUNITIES:

CORNELL-TRAINED ANTHROPOLOGIST FELIX PALACIOS, A PUNO NATIVE, HAD INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS ON THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE AYMARAS AND QUECHUA COMMUNITIES. (NOTE: PALACIOS WORKS PRINCIPALLY WITH THE AYMARAS AND CLEARLY PREFERS THEM.) THE QUECHUAS TEND TO BE MUCH MORE SUSPICIOUS OF AND CLOSED TO OUTSIDERS THAN THE AYMARAS, FOR WHOM HOSPITALITY TO STRANGERS IS A CULTURAL IMPERATIVE. THE AYMARAS HAVE STRONG COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION, PALACIOS SAYS, BUT ARE ESSENTIALLY INDIVIDUALISTIC IN THEIR OUTLOOK. THEY HAVE SUBSTANTIAL PRIDE IN THEIR OWN CULTURE AND ARE OPEN TO OUTSIDE INFLUENCES. "BORN MERCHANTS," THE AYMARAS ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN CONTRABAND WITH BOLIVIA. SIMILARLY, THEY ARE READY TO COLLABORATE WITH THE MORE THAN 35 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FOREIGN AID AGENCIES THAT HAVE OR HAVE HAD PROJECTS IN PUNO IN RECENT YEARS. THEY ARE DEMANDING IN NEGOTIATING THE TERMS OF PROJECT AGREEMENTS AND QUICKLY ADJUST TO THE TERMINATION OF ONE PROJECT AND INITIATION OF ANOTHER. THEY

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LIMA 07333 07 OF 07 032147Z  
ACTION ARA-00

2521

LIMA 07333 07-OF 07 032147Z

2521

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	SS-00	GIAE-00	DINT-05
	N-01	HSC-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	BA-00	L-03	TRSE-00
	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	AGRE-00	USIE-00	SP-02
	SHP-01	C-01	PRS-01	DS-00	DSE-00	SCT-02	P-02
	T-01	/052 V					

-----047653 042022Z /72

R 032131Z JUN 88  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9097  
INFO AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
UCINCSO QUARRY HTS PH  
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 07 LIMA 07333

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-10/DB-602/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

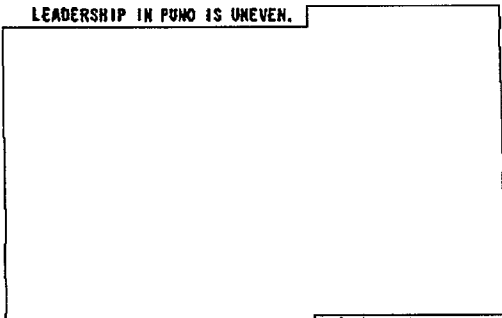
USINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DEL: OADR  
TAGS: PGDV, PTER, PE  
SUBJECT: PUNO APPEARS HEADED FOR RENEWED CONFLICT

GLADLY TAKE THE AID OF VARIOUS CHURCH MISSIONS, PALACIOS CHUCKLES, LEARNING THE HYMNS AND DOCTRINES BUT SHUKING THEM AS SOON AS THE MISSION WITHDRAWS. TH QUECHUAS, HARDER TO DEAL WITH, TEND TO GET FARLESS AID FOR THAT REASON. THE AYHARAS, SOMEWHAT MORE AFFLUENT THAN THE QUECHUAS, HAVE RESISTED SENERO EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE IN THEIR COMMUNITIE. BUT IF THE AYHARAS SHOULD EVER GO OVER TO SEDERO, PALACIOS OBSERVES, LOOK OUT.

21. INRESSIONS OF THE PUNO LEADERSHIP:

THE QUALITY O ELECTED AND OTHER GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP IN PUNO IS UNEVEN.



B1,A5

THE ARMY

COMMANDER IS UNKNOWN IN THE COMMUNITY. POLICE COMMANDER SERPA IS, ON THE OTHER HAND, IMPRESSIVE. HE IS A QUECHUA SPEAKER WHO HAS OPENED UP SOME LINES OF COMMUNICATION TO THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES AND IS KEEPING UP A DIALOGUE WITH THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS. HE HAS ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE SET UP A TRAINING CENTER FOR POLICE OUTSIDE THE CITY AND IS TRYING TO FREE UP MORE OF HIS 1500-MAN POLICE FORCE FOR PATROLLING THE COUNTRYSIDE. HE PRESENTLY HAS FOUR 30-MAN MOBILE PTROLS. HE HAS LITTLE IN THE WAY OF COMMUNICATIONS OR GROUND TRANSPORT. AGRICULTURAL OFFICE DIRECTOR MERCADO WAS ALSO IMPRESSIVE. HE WON PRAISE FROM CHURCH AND HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS AS A GOOD MAN IN AN IMPOSSIBLE JOB. HE HAD ALSO JUST COME THROUGH A COSTLY STRIKE,

WHICH HE HAD FINALLY SETTLED BY GOING STRAIGHT TO PRESIDENT GARCIA.

22. THE PUNO HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION LEADERSHIP (GIRALDA) IS EMERGETIC AND CAPABLE, AS IS THE CHURCH'S (ZAMBRANO -- HE DID NOT MEET THE BISHOP, WHO IS ALSO RESPECTED). BOTH THE COMMISSION AND THE CHURCH HAVE ACTIVE, WELL-ATTENDED PROGRAMS OF SUPPORT TO THE CAMPESINO COMMUNITIES. THE CHURCH OPERATES A RADIO STATION, RADIO ONDA AZU, THAT BROADCASTS IN SPANISH, QUECHUA AND AYHAR. ITS DIRECTOR, RAUL RODRIGUEZ, STRUCK US AS A INFORMAL COMMUNITY LEADER. THE FDCP'S TRIGONA - YOUNG AND ROUGH IN APPEARANCE -- CAME ACROSS AS BITTER, RADICAL AND UNCOMPROMISING. HIS ANALYSIS OF THE LAND TENURE SITUATION WAS THOROUGHLY MARXIST IN CONTENT AND LANGUAGE. HE GAVE US AN HOUR AND A HALF OF HIS TIME, HOWEVER, AND SEEMED ANXIOUS TO CONVEY FDCP OPPOSITION TO SENEDO. ANTHROPOLOGIST FELIX PALACIOS MAY BE ANOTHER INFORMAL COMMUNITY LEADER. HE IMPRESSED US AS MODERATE AND THOUGHTFUL.

WATSON