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EXCISE

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PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /050 W
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R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3691
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
DEAHQS WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 9616
DIA WASHDC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IS/FPC/CDR *WAS* Date: *2/3/96*

- RELEASE
- EXCISE
- DENY
- DELETE Non-Responsive Info
- FOIA Exemptions *21*
- PA Exemptions
- DECLASSIFY
- DECLASSIFY IN PART

MR Cases Only: _____
 EO Citations: _____
 _____ TS authority to
 CLASSIFY as S or
 DOWNGRADE TS to S or

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, SNAR, PE
SUBJECT: VISIT TO AYACUCHO: NOVEMBER 17-19, 1988

REF: (A) LIMA 6324
(B) LIMA 8141

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF WHAT
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PASSES FOR TRANQUILITY IN AYACUCHO, **SENDER'S DEPT OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)**

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FOIA/PA	Mandatory Review
<input type="checkbox"/> Release	<input type="checkbox"/> Declassify
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Excise	<input type="checkbox"/> Declassify in Part
<input type="checkbox"/> Deny	<input type="checkbox"/> Class. Ret/Renew

Exemptions *21*
ARP Action Cert. *WJL* Date *02/17/98*

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BIRTHPLACE, THE CITY ITSELF WAS EXPERIENCING SIGNIFICANT UNREST AND VIOLENCE JUST BEFORE AND DURING THIS VISIT. THE MAJOR CHANGES SINCE OUR LAST VISIT, IN MARCH, ARE THE EMERGENCE OF THE RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND (RFC) AND POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC DOWNTURN. [

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] THE RFC IS BEING USED IN PART TO COUNTER SL'S NEW TACTIC OF THE "ARMED STRIKE." IT IS ALSO TARGETING THE LEGAL LEFT, SOME OF WHOM ARE LEAVING AYACUCHO. IT DYNAMITED THE MAYOR'S HOUSE NOVEMBER 17, INJURING TWO, BUT HAS NOT KILLED ANYONE YET. CAUGHT BETWEEN SL AND THE RFC, AYACUCHANOS ARE BITTER AT BEING DEPRIVED OF THE SURVIVAL STRATEGY THEY HAVE USED SINCE SENDERO BEGAN ITS ARMED STRUGGLE EIGHT YEARS AGO -- NOT TAKING SIDES.

3. EXCEPT FOR NARCO-FUELED HOUSING CONSTRUCTION AND A GROWING INFORMAL SECTOR CAUSED BY CONTINUING MIGRATION FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE, THERE IS LITTLE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ARE SERIOUSLY UNDERFUNDED. THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED. AS AN OFFSHOOT OF THE CAYARA MASSACRE LAST MAY, THE OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR, CARLOS ESCOBAR, HAS BEEN CLOSED. IT MAY BE REOPENED, BUT PROBABLY WITHOUT ESCOBAR OR A SPECIAL MANDATE. THE ICRC STILL HAS NO ACCESS. HUANTA, [

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([-- THEY ALL USE PSEUDONYMS), REPORTED 100 DISAPPEARANCES IN JUNE-JULY. a

4. ARMY OFFICERS SAY THE WAR IS GOING BADLY AND THAT SL IS A SERIOUS THREAT IN ALL SEVEN AYACUCHO PROVINCES UNDER EMERGENCY CONTROL. THE SITUATION IN HUANCVELJCA AND APURIMAC DEPARTMENTS IS PROBABLY NO BETTER, BUT AYACUCHO IS AS REMOVED FROM THOSE AREAS AS LIMA IS FROM

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AYACUCHO. THE OVERALL IMPRESSION LEFT BY THIS
TWO-DAY VISIT IS THAT THE SECURITY, POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AYACUCHO IS GETTING
WORSE. END SUMMARY.

WHO WE SAW:

5. ACCOMPANIED BY RICARDO CABALLERO, AN EMBASSY
CONTRACT GUARD WHO SERVED IN AYACUCHO AS A
CIVIL GUARD SERGEANT 1982-1983, POLCOUNS PAID
A 48-HOUR VISIT TO AYACUCHO NOVEMBER 17-19.
THOSE HE MET WITH INCLUDED [

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PRS-01	DS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/050 W		
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USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
DEAHQS WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 9617
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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6. EXCEPT FOR A DRIVE TO AN OVERLOOK OUTSIDE TOWN, WE STAYED IN AYACUCHO CITY, AT THE TURISTA HOTEL, WHICH, ALTHOUGH LARGELY EMPTY, WAS ABOUT THE ONLY NON-MILITARY PLACE IN TOWN WITH LIGHTS. WE SAW THE TOMB OF SL MARTYR EDITH LAGOS, DYNAMITED BY THE RFC IN AUGUST, AND HAPPENED ON THE FUNERAL OF SOME OF THE CAMPESINOS KILLED BY SL NOVEMBER 14. AT THE INVITATION OF [] WE SAW PRIVATE VIDEO TAPES []

[] ON DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE EIGHT YEARS OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN AYACUCHO. ANTI-ARMY AND PRO-UNIVERSITY RATHER THAN PRO-SL, THESE INCLUDED MUTILATED CORPSES OF DISAPPEARANCE VICTIMS, [] A PROMOTIONAL FILM ON THE UNIVERSITY (STUDENTS TAKING FINAL EXAMS AS HELICOPTERS WHIRL OVERHEAD) [] CAMPESINO "RONDEROS" ARMED WITH WOODEN SPEARS MARCHING GOOSESTEP TO SERRANO DRUM AND FIFE, AND A TAPE OF THE SEPTEMBER 1982 FUNERAL OF EDITH LAGOS, WHO IS REMEMBERED WITH A DEGREE OF REVERENCE EVEN BY PEOPLE WHO ARE CLEARLY ANTI-SL. THE FUNERAL PROCESSION, WHICH ATTRACTED 15,000-20,000 (VALDEZ'S ESTIMATE) AND LASTED EIGHT HOURS, IS REGARDED AS THE APOGEE OF PRO-SL FEELING IN AYACUCHO.

NO LONGER POSSIBLE NOT TO TAKE SIDES:

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7. THIS WAS POLCOUNS' FIRST VISIT TO AYACUCHO. THAT LACK OF PERSONAL REFERENCE, PLUS THE FACT THAT THE VISIT COINCIDED WITH AN UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE THAT MAY BE ONLY TEMPORARY, PROBABLY SKEWED IMPRESSIONS TO SOME EXTENT. MOREOVER, NO ONE SAID THE CURRENT SITUATION IS COMPARABLE IN INTENSITY TO THE VIOLENCE AND UNCERTAINTY OF 1982-84. IT IS NONE THELESS DIFFICULT TO AVOID CONCLUDING THAT THE OVERALL SECURITY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AYACUCHO IS GETTING MUCH WORSE. GIVEN THE NATIONAL

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GOVERNMENT'S PREOCCUPATION WITH THE UNRAVELING
NATIONAL ECONOMY AND ITS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES.
THERE WAS A SENSE OF RESIGNED DESPONDENCY THAT
THERE WOULD BE NO HELP FROM LIMA. WITH THE
EMERGENCE OF THE RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND AND THE
NEW SL TACTIC OF "ARMED STRIKES," THERE WAS
ALSO A SENSE OF BITTER FOREBODING THAT THE SURVIVAL
STRATEGY MOST AYACUCHANOS HAVE USED FOR EIGHT
YEARS -- NOT TAKING SIDES -- WOULD NO LONGER
WORK.

CURRENT WAVE OF VIOLENCE:

8. THE CURRENT UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE BEGAN WITH
UNIVERSITY OF HUAMANGA STUDENTS, NOT SL
SYMPATHIZERS, ORGANIZING A DEMONSTRATION NOVEMBER 11
TO PROTEST NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CUTS IN THE
UNIVERSITY BUDGET. CITING SL INFILTRATION,
THE POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMAND DENIED AUTHORI-
ZATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION AN HOUR BEFORE
IT WAS TO BEGIN AND POLICE MOVED TO PREVENT
IT. IN THE BATTLE THAT ENSUED, A STUDENT WAS

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PA-01	OMB-01	INM-07	INRE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	C-01	
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R 291521Z NOV 88
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3693
 INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
 DEAHQS WASHDC
 USIA WASHDC 9618
 DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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KILLED FROM BEING HIT WITH A TEAR GAS CANISTER
 AND 30 WERE WOUNDED BY BUCKSHOT. [

] SEVERAL OF THE LATTER HAVE
 SINCE DIED IN LIMA HOSPITALS, BUT THIS IS
 UNCONFIRMED. SEEKING TO CAPITALIZE ON STUDENT
 ANGER, SL BLEW-UP WHAT IT APPARENTLY THOUGHT

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WAS A CIVIL GUARD VEHICLE 15 KILOMETERS
 OUTSIDE OF AYACUCHO NOVEMBER 14. ELEVEN MEN;

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WOMEN AND CHILDREN WERE KILLED, ALL CAMPESINOS. THE NEXT DAY SL DYNAMITED 11 ELECTRICAL TOWERS AND TWO SUBSTATIONS, BLACKING OUT AT LEAST THE DEPARTMENT OF AYACUCHO. ELECTRO CENTRO WAS HOPING TO HAVE POWER RESTORED BEFORE AN SL ARMED STRIKE BEGAN NOVEMBER 21. ON NOVEMBER 16, SL MURDERED A MEMBER OF THE APRA YOUTH MOVEMENT, ENTERING HIS HOME TO KILL HIM. THE NEXT NIGHT, SL ENTERED A HOME WHERE THE APRA MAYOR OF TOTOS, IN CANGALLO PROVINCE, WAS VISITING HIS FAMILY IN AYACUCHO. THEY MURDERED HIM AND HIS TEENAGE DAUGHTER AS SHE SOUGHT TO PROTECT HIM.

9. TO PROTEST FORTHCOMING NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AUSTERITY MEASURES, THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL HEADED BY UNITED LEFT MAYOR FERMIN AZPARRENT ORGANIZED A CITYWIDE STRIKE NOVEMBER 17-18, WHICH HAD SHUT THE CITY MARKET AND DAMPENED COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY. THE RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND RESPONDED BY DYNAMITING THE OUTSIDE OF THE MAYOR'S HOUSE NOVEMBER 17. A TWO-DAY STRIKE COINCIDING WITH THE MAYOR'S HAD THE UNIVERSITY OF HUAMANGA CLOSED DURING OUR VISIT. CAMPESINUS ORGANIZED IN THE AGRARIAN FEDERATION OF AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT (FADA) HAD BEEN ON STRIKE FOR THE LAST MONTH. WE CHANCED ON 40 OF THESE DURING A VISIT

WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH THEIR SITUATION BUT HAD NO SOLUTION TO OFFER.

10. IT WAS THE PROSPECT OF THE ARMED STRIKE
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CALLED BY SL FOR NOVEMBER 21-27, HOWEVER, THAT WAS WORRYING RESIDENTS THE MOST. A WEEK-LONG ARMED STRIKE IN JULY HAD SUCCEEDED IN CLOSING THE CITY DOWN. BUT A TWO-WEEK EFFORT IN AUGUST HAD FAILED, APPARENTLY BECAUSE OF COUNTER-THREATS FROM THE RFC, WHICH HAD ANNOUNCED ITS APPEARANCE BY DYNAMITING THE TOMB OF EDITH LAGOS AUGUST 8. SL WAS GIVING WIDE CIRCULATION DURING OUR VISIT TO A FLYER THREATENING "DRASTIC MEASURES" AGAINST ANYONE NOT COMPLYING WITH THE STRIKE. THE RFC RESPONDED NOVEMBER 18 WITH A FLYER THREATENING

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ANYONE WHO DOES COMPLY. (WE NOTE THAT SEVERAL OTHER CLANDESTINE ARMED GROUPS, INCLUDING THE "BRAULIO ZAGA BRIGADE," "BASILIO AUGUI" AND "BLACK CONDOR" HAVE ANNOUNCED THEIR PRESENCE IN AYACUCHO BUT HAVE NOT YET TAKEN ANY ACTIONS. THE FIRST TWO ARE APRA YOUTH GROUPS, WHICH SAID THEY WERE GOING UNDERGROUND IN SEPTEMBER; THE THIRD -- MENTIONED ONLY [] -- IS PROBABLY APRA AS WELL.)

11. VIRTUALLY EVERYONE WE INTERVIEWED REPORTED THAT BOTH SL AND THE RFC WERE ISSUING GREATER NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUAL THREATS. [

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R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

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[

OF OTHERS HAD ALSO BEEN THREATENED BY THE RFC,

[

] BITTERNESS AT BEING CAUGHT

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IN BETWEEN SURFACED IN ALMOST EVERY CONVERSATION.

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12. ASKED WHO THEY THOUGHT THE RFC IS, MOST PEOPLE TICKED OFF THE VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES -- APRA, THE POLICE, THE ARMY, "MERCENARIES" -- AND DECLINED TO SPECULATE FURTHER. MILITARY OFFICERS SAID IT WAS PROBABLY APRA. [

] WE DOUBT THAT THE ARMY WOULD TOLERATE THE POLICE TAKING INDEPENDENT ARMED ACTION ON ITS TURF. THE APPEARANCE OF OTHER ARMED GROUPS OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGING THEIR APRA CONNECTIONS SUGGEST THAT THE RFC, WHICH HAS REMAINED SILENT ON ITS AFFILIATIONS, IS NOT APRA. [

-----]
ECONOMIC OUTLOOK GRIM, EXCEPT FOR NARCOTICS:

13. AYACUCHO CITY HAS LITTLE GOING FOR IT ECONOMICALLY, EVEN IN BETTER TIMES. GOVERNMENT, THE UNIVERSITY AND INDIAN HANDICRAFTS AND CERAMICS ARE THE MAIN SOURCES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. LIMA-IMPOSED AUSTERITY HAS REDUCED BUDGETS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE UNIVERSITY TO THE POINT OF JUST MEETING PERSONNEL PAYROLLS. THE AYACUCHO DEVELOPMENTAL CORPORATION (CORFA) HAS COME THROUGH A BRUISING POLITICAL BATTLE OVER WHO CONTROLS ITS RESOURCES JUST AS FUNDS HAVE DRIED UP. HAVING FINALLY MANAGED TO REPLACE
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THE FIVE PERUVIAN ENGINEERS MURDERED BY SL LATE LAST YEAR, THE ITALIANS ARE CONTINUING WITH THE CACHI RIVER PROJECT. A FIVE-YEAR, 100 MILLION DOLLAR WATER AND POWER PLAN (WITH SOME IRRIGATION AS AN OFFSHOOT) FOR THE AYACUCHO CITY AREA. THIS WILL BE A MAJOR BOOST ONCE CONSTRUCTION AND DISBURSEMENTS BEGIN, BUT THE PROJECT IS STILL IN THE PLANNING PHASE.

14. THERE IS A LOT OF HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IN AND AROUND AYACUCHO, HOWEVER. MUCH OF IT

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IS TO ACCOMODATE THE CONTINUING INFLUX OF CAMPESINOS FLEEING RURAL VIOLENCE. CONSTRUCTED WITH ADOBE BRICK, AYACUCHO'S PUEBLOS JOVENES SEEM LESS INSUBSTANTIAL AND DEPRESSING THAN LIMA'S, WHICH USUALLY BEGIN WITH FIBER MATS OR TIN. ACCORDING TO SEVERAL SOURCES, THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF NARCO MONEY IN AYACUCHO, THE PROCEEDS FROM COCA CULTIVATION IN THE APURIMAC RIVER VALLEY. [] ESTIMATED THAT THERE MAY BE 15-20,000 HECTARES UNDER CULTIVATION AND THAT SOME 200-300 FAMILIES BASED IN AYACUCHO OWN COCA PLANTATIONS THERE. MOST OF THE TRAFFICKERS LIVE ALONG AYACUCHO'S QUINUAPATA STREET, DUBBED "QUINAPASTA" AND "COCAPATA" FOR THE NARCO ASSOCIATION. THE CIVIL GUARD DEPUTY COMMANDER FLATLY DENIED THAT THERE'S ANY NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING GOING ON. GIVEN THE MULTIPLE REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY, HIS DENIAL WAS NOT REASSURING

.....

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION WORSE:

.....

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15. THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HAD WORSENERD
IN SEVERAL RESPECTS SINCE MARCH. THE CAYARA
MASSACRE AND ITS AFTERMATH -- ESPECIALLY THE
GOVERNMENT'S EVIDENT DECISION TO BACK THE
POLITICO-MILITARY COMMAND -- HAD LEFT THE
DEPRESSING MESSAGE THAT WHEN PUSH COMES TO
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SHOVE THE MILITARY IS BEYOND THE LAW. THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS IS

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STILL BEING DENIED ACCESS TO THE EMERGENCY ZONE. AMERICAS WATCH REPRESENTATIVE JUAN MENDEZ HAD BEEN REQUIRED TO LEAVE IN THE MIDDLE OF A VISIT IN JULY. IN JUNE-JULY, THE AREA AROUND HUANTA, 35 KILOMETERS NORTH OF AYACUCHO, REPORTED AROUND 100 DISAPPEARANCES.

MADE THE COMMENT THAT, IN THE ABSENCE OF A NATIONAL POLICY OR FIRM GUIDELINES FROM THE TOP, MILITARY POLICY IN A GIVEN AREA QUITE OFTEN REFLECTS THE PERSONALITY AND POLITICAL VIEW OF A MID-GRADE COMMANDER.

16. IN OCTOBER, THE OFFICE OF SPECIAL PROSECUTOR CARLOS ESCOBAR WAS CLOSED, OSTENSIBLY FOR BUDGETARY REASONS. OPENED IN JULY 1987 WITH A MANDATE TO PURSUE DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, THE FISCAL'S OFFICE HAD QUICKLY ESTABLISHED ITSELF AS PROFESSIONAL, OBJECTIVE AND QUITE OFTEN EFFECTIVE IN OBTAINING THE RELEASE OF PEOPLE DETAINED BY THE MILITARY.

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ARMY VIEW: THE WAR'S NOT GOING WELL:

18. [] BEGAN OUR
CONVERSATION WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT THINGS
ARE GOING BADLY ALL OVER. SINCE []
[] JULY, THE ARMY HAD SUFFERED ABOUT 25
DEATHS IN THE ZONE, FIVE OF THEM OFFICERS.
SL IS PRESENT AND ACTIVE THROUGHOUT THE SEVEN
PROVINCES (OF ELEVEN) OF AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT
UNDER A STATE OF EMERGENCY (THE FOUR WESTERNMOST
PROVINCES, BORDERING ICA AND AREQUIPA, ARE
OUTSIDE THE EZ). [] THE ARMY HAS YET

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

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TO FIGURE OUT A WAY TO BEAT SL. SENDERISTAS
ARE MOSTLY FROM AYACUCHO AND ARE QUECHUA
SPEAKING. ARMY PATROLS ALWAYS HAVE AT LEAST
ONE QUECHUA SPEAKER, HE SAID, BUT ARE STILL
REGARDED AS FOREIGNERS. THE SENDERISTAS ARE
BETTER ACCLIMATED, KNOW THE TERRITORY BETTER
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AND ARE MORE STRONGLY MOTIVATED. THE ARMY
AVOIDS ASSIGNING ANYONE FROM AYACUCHO TO

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AYACUCHO (FOR SECURITY REASONS). MOREOVER, HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE MARKING THE DAYS OF THE CALENDAR UNTIL THEY CAN LEAVE.

19. [] SL UNITS KEEP ON THE MOVE. IF THEY HAVE PERMANENT CAMPS, THEY ARE IN THE HIGH SIERRA AND QUITE POSSIBLY IN CAVES. IN ANY EVENT, NONE HAVE BEEN SPOTTED FROM THE AIR. SL TYPICALLY STAYS IN A NEW VILLAGE LONG ENOUGH TO PUT PEOPLE OF ITS CHOOSING IN CHARGE. ASSAULTS ON ARMY CAMPS, CONVOYS, ELECTRICAL TOWERS OR BRIDGES ARE USUALLY DONE WITH FORCED RECRUITS FROM THE NEAREST VILLAGE. ARMY UNITS PATROL FREQUENTLY [] AND STAY OUT FOR TEN DAYS TO TWO WEEKS. BUT LACKING SUFFICIENT C-TYPE RATIONS, THEY GO OUT WITH ONLY A FEW DAY'S OF STORE-BOUGHT PROVISIONS AND END UP APPROPRIATING FOOD FROM THE CAMPESINOS. []

[] THE ARMY WAS NOT WINNING THE LOCAL POPULATION OVER. HIS BIGGEST COMPLAINT, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE ARMY IS HAVING TO CARRY THE COUNTER-INSURGENCY PROGRAM ENTIRELY ON ITS OWN. THERE SIMPLY IS NO ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, OR PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROGRAM, AS CONTEMPLATED IN PERUVIAN ARMY DOCTRINE.

20. [] LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT THE SITUATION IN HUANCVELICA AND APURIMAC, PART OF THE AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE, AS HE PERSONALLY HAS NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR THOSE AREAS. ON

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NOVEMBER 20 THE PRESS REPORTED A MAJOR ARMY CLASH WITH A LARGE SL UNIT IN APURIMAC, IN WHICH SIX ARMY AND 10 SL WERE KILLED. OTHERS IN AYACUCHO HAD LITTLE TO OFFER ON THE SITUATION IN THOSE DEPARTMENTS, AS FAR REMOVED FROM AYACUCHO AS AYACUCHO IS FROM LIMA.

[] THE ARMY WAS REDUCING ITS PRESENCE IN PARTS OF APURIMAC AND HUANCVELICA, FOR BUDGETARY REASONS; THIS CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE AFTER THE ONE []

[] WE WERE UNABLE TO CHECK THIS POINT

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OUT.

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REGIONALIZATION:

21. COMMENT ON THE REGIONALIZATION PROJECT FOR AYACUCHO CURRENTLY BEING DEBATED IN CONGRESS CAME UP IN SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS. LOCAL SENTIMENT LARGELY FAVORS CREATING THE "WARI REGION," TO CONSIST OF AYACUCHO, HUANCVELICA AND APURIMAC, WITH THE REGIONAL GOVERNMENT IN AYACUCHO. THE CONGRESS HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER TO ADOPT THAT CONFIGURATION, OR TO JOIN AYACUCHO WITH ICA, ON THE COAST. THE LATTER IS FAVORED BY ICA DEPUTY AND APRA OLD GUARDIST FERNANDO LEON DE VIVERO. AYACUCHANOS FEEL THAT THEY WOULD SUFFER IF ATTACHED TO ICA AND WERE BUOYED WHEN THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PACIFICATION (THE BERNALES COMMISSION) ENDORSED THEIR POSITION IN SEPTEMBER.

ELITES AND INTRA-ELITE COMMUNICATION:

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ACTION ARA-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-07 SS-00 CIAE-00 EB-00
H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10
PA-01 OMB-01 INM-07 INRE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01
PRS-01 DS-01 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /050 W
-----217000 292220Z /72

R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3697
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
DEAHS WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 9622
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, SNAR, PE
SUBJECT: VISIT TO AYACUCHO: NOVEMBER 17-19, 1988

22. FOR A TOWN WHERE MOST OFFICES ARE WITHIN
FIVE MINUTES WALKING DISTANCE OF EACH OTHER,
THERE SEEMS TO BE LITTLE CONTACT AMONG CITY
LEADERS. C

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GOT OFF
TO A GOOD START, THE MOST FREQUENTLY HEARD
COMMENT IS NOT THAT HE'S HARSH BUT THAT HE'S
UNCOMMUNICATIVE.

23.

DESCRIBES HIMSELF
AS A MODERATE LEFTIST AND AS FIRMLY ANTI-SL.
HE SAYS THAT SL PUT HIM ON NOTICE LONG AGO
THAT HE WOULD BE KILLED IF HE WENT PUBLIC
WITH HIS ANTI-SL CONVICTIONS AND HE HAS KEPT
QUIET.

CURIOUSLY, HE WAS THE ONLY AYACUCHANO
TO MAKE A PLEA FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE.

HE
DESCRIBES THE SITUATION AS TOO DIFFICULT AND
CHURCH PERSONNEL RESOURCES AS TOO THIN
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(20 PRIESTS IN THE DEPARTMENT, ALL BUT THREE
OVER 60 YEARS OLD) FOR THE CHURCH TO PLAY
MUCH OF A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.

HIS MAIN OBJECTIVE IS TO ATTRACT
A NEW GENERATION OF PRIESTS TO REPLACE THE OUT-
GOING ONES. RELUCTANT TO TALK TOO MUCH ABOUT
AYACUCHO, HE SEEMED STARVED TO DISCUSS U.S.
LATIN AMERICAN POLICY AND SOCIAL CHANGES TAKING
PLACE IN THE UNITED STATES.

24.

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25. CONCLUSION: THIS WAS A DEPRESSING VISIT. THE COMBINATION OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC DOWNTOWN AND THE UPSURGE IN VIOLENCE -- ESPECIALLY FROM RODRIGO FRANCO, A NEW QUARTER -- HAD VIRTUALLY EVERYONE WE MET WITH DISPIRITED. AYACUCHO HAS VIRTUALLY NO LOCAL ECONOMY TO SUSTAIN IT AS GOVERNMENT FINANCING DRIES UP. THERE APPEARS TO BE NOTHING LEFT OF THE GARCIA GOVERNMENT'S ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF FIGHTING SENDERO IN THE "ANDEAN TRAPEZOID" THROUGH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. INSTEAD, THE MILITARY HAS A FREER HAND THAN EVER AND, UNDER GENERAL VALDIVIA, HAS BECOME MORE REPRESSIVE THAN IT HAS BEEN FOR SEVERAL YEARS. AYACUCHO "CORNER OF THE DEAD" IN QUECHUA -- HAS BECOME THIS GOVERNMENT'S "LAND OF THE FORGOTTEN."

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ACTION ARA-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00
H-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	HA-09	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-10	
PA-01	OMB-01	INM-07	INRE-00	SP-02	SNP-01	C-01	
PRS-01	DS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/050 W		

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