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PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z

ACTION SCT-03

DEAHQS WASHDC DIA WASHDC USUN NEW YORK

ACDA-05 ADS-00 INFO LOG-00 AID-01 AMAD-01 ARA-01 A-01 CCO-00 CG-00 CIAE-00 SJK-01 COME-00 CTME-00 CA-02 DOEE-00 DS-01 EB-01 FAAE-00 FBIE-00 IMMC-01 INRE-00 INR-05 IO-05 L-02 M-01 NRCE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 SS-01 OIC-02 OIS-01 PA-01 PM-01 P-02

TRSE-00 USIE-00 USSS-00 ZOVD-00 /039W

P 201656Z DEC 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3947
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
R1

RELEASED IN PART B1, 1.5(D)

201703Z /38

USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

USMISSION GENEVA 1558 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM

SECTION 01 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC JUSTICE FOR ICITAP USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

COMP IDEA

TALTE

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP
REPORT, PART I

REF: A) LIMA 18734 B) LIMA 03978

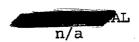
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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Page: 1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: SAM A. MOSKOWITZ DATE/CASE ID: 28 FEB 2001 200004442

UNCLASSIFIED



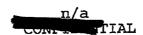
- SUMMARY: POLITICAL DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES IN THE CITY OF AYACUCHO HAVE DECREASED DURING 1990. THE MILITARY SAID THAT IT HAS DEFEATED SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) ON THE BATTLEFIELD; ALL THAT REMAINS IS SL'S POLITICAL AND SUPPORT STRUCTURE. OTHERS DISAGREED. AN SL-CALLED ARMED STRIKE COMPLETELY SHUT DOWN THE CITY THE DAY BEFORE POLOFFS' THREE-DAY VISIT. TWO "RUMORED" ARMED STRIKES SINCE HAVE FAILED TO MATERIALIZE. POLOFFS OBSERVED A TOWN WHICH ENTIRELY CLOSES ITS DOORS AFTER DARK. COUNTRYSIDE VIOLENCE APPEARS ABOUT THE SAME AS LAST YEAR, THOUGH ARMY-SPONSORED CIVIL DEFENSE GROUPS ("RONDAS CAMPESINAS") ARE TAKING A GREATER ROLE IN FIGHTING SL. PEASANT LEADERS COMPLAINED TO POLOFFS THAT THE RONDAS ARE LARGELY RUN BY THUGS AND NARCO-TRAFFICKERS, AND NOW COMMIT ABUSES IN THE ARMY'S STEAD. POLOFFS WERE ALSO TOLD OF SPECIFIC VILLAGES WHERE RONDAS LEADERS WERE ACTUALLY SL COMMANDERS.
- 3. AS ELSEWHERE IN RURAL PERU, THE ARMY AND POLICE ARE FEARED BY MUCH OF THE POPULATION. BUT MOST PEASANTS DO CONFIDE. TAL

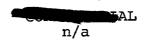
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z

NOT SUPPORT SL, EXCEPT PASSIVELY. THREE CITY LEADERS
TOLD US THAT THE POLICE KIDNAP YOUNG MEN, ACCUSE THEM OF
TERRORISM, AND COLLECT RANSOM FROM THE PARENTS FOR THE
STUDENTS' RELEASE. THE VIOLENCE IN AYACUCHO HAS TAKEN
ITS TOLL ON ELECTED LEADERS. THE LAST ELECTED MAYOR WAS
KILLED BY SL IN SEPTEMBER, 1989; THE ACTING MAYOR IS ONE
OF THE SIX REMAINING (OF 21) COUNCILMEMBERS. AYACUCHO
DEPARTMENT - THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE SENDERO "REVOLUTION" IS IMPORTANT TO BOTH SL AND THE GOVERNMENT FOR
PSYCHOLOGICAL, NOT STRATEGIC, REASONS. BUT THAT DOES NOT
MAKE THE BATTLE TO CONTROL IT ANY THE LESS SAVAGE ON
EITHER SIDE. END SUMMARY.

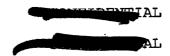
- 4. THE CITY OF AYACUCHO HAS OFTEN PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF PERU AND SOUTH AMERICA. IT WAS THE CAPITAL OF THE CONTINENT'S FIRST EMPIRE, THE PRE-INCA WARI CIVILIZATION. IT WAS THE BATTLE SITE THAT FINALLY DETERMINED THE PIZARRO BROTHERS' CONTROL OF THE PERUVIAN VICEROYSHIP. AND IN 1824, GENERAL JOSE DE SUCRE DEFEATED THE ROYALISTS IN THE BATTLE OF AYACUCHO, THE LAST GREAT BATTLE LEADING TO SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN.
- 5. IF THE HOSTS OF ABIMAEL GUZMAN HAVE THEIR WAY THE CITY OF AYACUCHO WILL ALSO BE KNOWN TO ADMIRING FUTURE





Page: 3

GENERATIONS AS THE BIRTHPLACE OF SENDERO LUMINOSO. POLOFFS SPENT THREE DAYS (DECEMBER 4-6) IN AYACUCHO CITY, SURROUNDING THE DECEMBER 5 VISIT OF THE AMBASSADOR. THEY OBSERVED A CITY ENJOYING AN UNUSUAL PERIOD OF RELATIVE CALM. BUT NEARLY EVERYONE THEY SPOKE WITH PREDICTED THAT A STORM LURKS ON THE NEAR HORIZON.

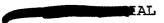


PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z URBAN DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES ARE DOWN

6. SINCE THE FIRST SL ACT OF TERROR IN 1980, THE DEPARTMENT OF AYACUCHO ANNUALLY HAS SUFFERED MORE TERRORIST INCIDENTS AND POLITICAL DEATHS THAN ANY OTHER PERUVIAN DEPARTMENT. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE FIRST TIME THAT IN 1990 ANOTHER DEPARTMENT (JUNIN) MAY PASS AYACUCHO IN BOTH CATEGORIES. ACCORDING TO THE POLICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS, IN THE GREATER URBAN AREA OF AYACUCHO



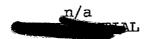
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PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 02 OF 07 201706Z ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00 CA-02 DOEE-00 INR-05 OIC-02 TRSE-00	ACDA-05 CCO-00 DS-01 IO-05 OIS-01 USIE-00	ADS-00 CG-00 EB-01 L-02 PA-01 USSS-00	AID-01 CIAE-00 FAAE-00 M-01 PM-01 ZOVD-00	AMAD-01 SJK-01 FBIE-00 NRCE-00 P-02 /039W 3 2017072	ARA-01 COME-00 IMMC-01 NSAE-00 SSO-00	A-01 CTME-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SS-01
				ZDZJA.	J 201/0/2	- / 20	N.

P 201656Z DEC 90 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3948 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA AMEMBASSY CARACAS AMEMBASSY LA PAZ AMEMBASSY QUITO DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC



n/a

DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1559
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM



L SECTION 02 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC JUSTICE FOR ICITAP USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

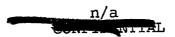


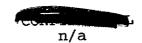
PAGE 02 TERREP LIMA 19145 02 OF 07 201706Z

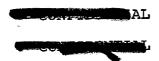
E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

CITY THE NUMBER OF DEATHS IS MARKEDLY DOWN THIS YEAR OVER 1989. ACCORDING TO THE CHIEF ICRC DELEGATE, THE NUMBER OF DISAPPEARANCES ATTRIBUTED TO THE MILITARY AND POLICE ARE ALSO DOWN IN THE CITY.

- 7. GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA ARGUES, AND THE RECENT NUMBERS SUPPORT HIM, THAT SL IS ON THE RUN IN AYACUCHO CITY (REF A). HE CLAIMED THAT SL'S MILITARY STRUCTURE IS DISMANTLED DEPARTMENT-WIDE AND THAT ONLY THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE SUPPORT GROUPS REMAIN. OTHER INTERLOCUTORS AGREED THAT SL ATTACKS IN AND AROUND AYACUCHO CITY ARE DOWN. BUT THESE NON-MILITARY OBSERVERS OF SL DO NOT AGREE WITH THE GENERAL THAT SL IS WEAK IN THE DEPARTMENT. THEY POINT TO SOME DISTURBING FACTS.
- 8. ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2, TWO DAYS BEFORE POLOFFS' ARRIVAL, A COLUMN OF 50 SL ATTACKED A GAS STATION IN THE CITY. THE FIFTY WERE HEAVILY ARMED. WITNESSES DESCRIBED AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, DOUBLE BANDOLEROS AND NEW UNIFORMS. THE ATTACK WAS AT 1900 HOURS, IN DAYLIGHT, SIX BLOCKS FROM THE CENTRAL PLAZA. THERE WAS NO MILITARY OR POLICE RESPONSE. THE STATION BURNED TO THE GROUND AND SL LEFT WITHOUT A LOSS. THE ICRC DELEGATE TERMED THE ATTACK THE MOST BRAZEN HE HAD SEEN IN THE CITY ALL YEAR.







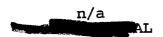
02 OF 07 PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 THE NEXT DAY, MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, SL ORDERED AN ARMED THE CITY STRIKE IN HONOR OF ABIMAEL GUZMAN'S BIRTHDAY. OF AYACUCHO SHUT DOWN. ALL PRIVATE BUSINESSES CLOSED. SO DID SCHOOLS, BANKS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICES, INCLUDING THE MUNICIPALITY. THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO TRANSPORTATION, PUBLIC OR PRIVATE. ACCORDING TO THE MAYOR, THE MILITARY AND POLICE WERE ALSO LARGELY ABSENT. BUT SEVERAL POLICE POLOFFS SPOKE WITH EXPLAINED THE REASONS WHY THEY STAY OFF THE STREETS DURING ARMED THERE ARE ACTUALLY FEW SECURITY INCIDENTS STRIKES. INSTEAD, SL TARGETS STRIKE-BREAKERS IN DURING STRIKES. THE WEEKS AFTER THE STRIKE. POLICE PATROLS ONLY INVITE UNNECESSARY SL RETALIATION.

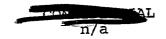
COMMENT: AYACUCHO ARCHBISHOP FREDERICO RISTER OBSERVED, AND OTHERS AGREED, THAT SL ARMED STRIKES HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED BY AYACUCHO'S CITIZENS INTO A KIND OF COMMUNITY CELEBRATION. EVERYONE STAYS HOME. THERE IS NO ELECTRICITY BECAUSE SL BLOWS DOWN THE POWER LINES. INSTEAD OF WATCHING TV THE CITY MOVES ONTO THE STREETS FOR SOCCER, VOLLEYBALL AND VISITING NEIGHBORS. THE ART OF STREETCORNER STORYTELLING HAS BEEN REVIVED. BUT THE THREAT IS EXPLICIT AND UNDERSTOOD. SL RETALIATES AGAINST ANY OFFICIAL OR COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY. IT MAY BE A COMMUNITY CELEBRATION, BUT THERE ARE NO SHOPS OPEN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE VACATIONING POPULATION. COMMENT.

11. (POST-TRIP UPDATE: TWO SUBSEQUENT "RUMORED" ARMED STRIKES CALLED IN THE 10 DAYS FOLLOWING POLOFFS' VISIT FAILED JO MATERIALIZE. WERE TOLD BY VISITORS FROM

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PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 02 OF 07 201706Z
AYACUCHO THAT THE CITY'S RESIDENTS CONCLUDED THAT THE
STRIKES HAD NOT BEEN CALLED BY SL. A POLICE OFFICIAL AND
MAYOR RIVERA TOLD POLOFFS DURING THE VISIT THAT THE ARMY
REGULARLY CALLS "ARMED STRIKES" WHICH FAIL, PART OF ARMY
ANTI-SL PSY OPS. THE MAYOR STATED THAT IT IS NORMALLY
EASY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN AN "ARMY ARMED STRIKE" AND AN
AUTHENTIC ONE, EVEN THOUGH "SUBVERSIVE FLYERS" ARE





RIVERA STATED THAT WHEN THE ARMY DISTRIBUTED IN BOTH. CALLS A STRIKE THE RUMOR BEGINS IN THE CENTRAL PLAZA AND SPREADS OUTWARD. WHEN SL CALLS A STRIKE THE RUMOR BEGINS IN THE OUTLYING SLUMS AND FILTERS INWARD.)

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201709Z 03 OF 07 LIMA 19145 PAGE 01

ACTION SCT-03

A-01ARA-01 AMAD-01 ADS-00 AID-01 ACDA-05 INFO LOG-00 CTME-00 SJK-01 COME-00 CIAE-00 CG-00 CCO-00 CA-02 INRE-00 IMMC-01 FBIE-00 EB-01 FAAE-00 DS-01 DOEE-00 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 NRCE-00 M - 01IO-05 L-02 INR-05 SS-01 SSO-00 P-02 OIS-01 PA-01 PM-01 OIC-02 USIE-00 USSS-00 ZOVD-00 /039W TRSE-00 201710Z /38

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P 201656Z DEC 90 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3949 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA AMEMBASSY CARACAS AMEMBASSY LA PAZ AMEMBASSY QUITO DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC DEAHQS WASHDC DIA WASHDC USUN NEW YORK USMISSION GENEVA 1560 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

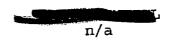
L SECTION 03 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC JUSTICE FOR ICITAP USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD



201709Z 03 OF 07 19145 PAGE 02 LIMA TERREP

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

12. AT POLOFFS' ARRIVAL, THE CITY WAS IN ITS FIFTH STRAIGHT DAY OF NO ELECTRICITY. BOTH NIGHTS OF THEIR STAY, BY 2030 HOURS, THE BUSY TOWN HAD BECOME A VIRTUAL GHOST TOWN. NO ONE WALKED THE STREETS. FOLKS POLOFFS SOUGHT APPOINTMENTS WITH, INCLUDING THE ICRC, WOULD NOT WALK SIX BLOCKS TO THE TOURIST HOTEL (JUST OFF THE PLAZA DE ARMAS) FOR APPOINTMENTS AFTER DARK. BY 2200 HOURS, POLICE AND MILITARY PATROLS HAD ALSO CEASED. STRANGE BEHAVIOR IN A CITY WHERE SL IS REPORTEDLY ON THE RUN.

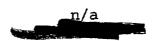
A RURAL CIVIL DEFENSE STRATEGY GONE AWRY

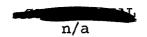
13. IN THE COUNTRYSIDE THERE IS A DIFFERENT ATMOSPHERE AND AN ADDITIONAL PLAYER, THE ARMY-SPONSORED "RONDAS CAMPESINAS" (VILLAGE CIVIL DEFENSE PATROLS). IN POLOFFS' MEETINGS WITH AYACUCHO RESIDENTS, EVERY DISCUSSION ON TERRORISM, HUMAN RIGHTS, OR NARCOTICS IN RURAL AYACUCHO CENTERED ON THE RONDAS. ON BALANCE, ALL NON-MILITARY CONTACTS WE SPOKE WITH IN AYACUCHO (INCLUDING THE COPS) SAID THAT THE MILITARY STRATEGY TO MOBILIZE CIVILIANS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE HAD GONE DANGEROUSLY AWRY.

14. POLOFFS MET WITH THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF A NEWLY

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 03 OF 07 201709Z
FORMED CAMPESINO UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION, CODECSA.
CONSTITUENT MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDE CAMPESINO
FEDERATIONS, VILLAGE COMMUNITY KITCHENS, RURAL WOMEN'S
CLUBS, AND SEVERAL AYACUCHO-BASED HUMAN RIGHTS
ORGANIZATIONS (INCLUDING ONE KNOWN TO HAVE SL TIES).
DURING A WIDE-RANGING TWO HOUR DISCUSSION THESE MEN
ARGUED THAT THE RONDAS CAMPESINAS ARE REPLACING THE ARMY
AS THE MAJOR SOURCE OF EXTRA-LEGAL KILLINGS AND
DISAPPEARANCES IN RURAL AYACUCHO.

15. ACCORDING TO CODECSA SECRETARY GENERAL FRANCISCO MENDOZA, THE RONDAS LEADERS IN RURAL AYACUCHO ARE NOT LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS, BUT ARE MEN WHOSE AUTHORITY IS BASED SOLELY ON THE ARMY'S SUPPORT. MOST, HE SAID, ARE





CRIMINALS AND THUGS. IN THE PROVINCES OF LA MAR AND HUANTA THESE LEADERS CONTROL COCA LEAF PRODUCTION AND ARE SUPPORTED BY THE MILITARY LARGELY IN RETURN FOR SHARING COCA PROFITS.

16. A FEW RONDAS LEADERS IN THE SIERRA ARE SENDERO LUMINOSO MILITARY COMMANDERS. MENDOZA AND THE CODECSA HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINATOR RELATED TO POLOFFS THE STORY OF ANCOS VINCHOS VILLAGE, A SMALL TOWN EAST OF AYACUCHO. THE ARMY LEARNED THERE WAS AN SL BASE CAMP NEARBY AND THAT VINCHOS VILLAGERS WERE USED AS FORCE MULTIPLIERS IN ATTACKS AGAINST POLICE STATIONS AND ARMY PATROLS. THE CODECSA LEADERS ADMITTED THAT MANY IN VINCHOS WERE SL SYMPATHIZERS. THE ARMY ATTACKED THE VILLAGE IN EARLY 1990, KILLING SEVERAL MEN WHO REFUSED TO DIVULGE THE LOCATION OF THE SL BASE CAMP.



201709Z 03 OF 07 LIMA 19145 17. THE LOCAL SL COMMANDER GOT WISE. HE ROUNDED UP FOUR VINCHOS MEN AND HAULED THEM OFF TO THE MILITARY BASE AT HUANTA. "THESE ARE SL TERRORISTS," THE VINCHOS LEADER STATED TO THE BASE COMMANDER. "IF YOU WILL LEAVE MY VILLAGE ALONE I WILL CONTINUE TO BRING YOU TERRORISTS." AS THEY HAVE IN DOZENS OF OTHER VILLAGES, THE ARMY AGREED, IN THIS CASE NOT KNOWING THAT THEY WERE SUPPORTING AN SL MILITARY CELL LEADER WHO WAS BRINGING VINCHOS IS NOW DESCRIBED BY THE THEM NON-SL PRISONERS. ARMY AS A PACIFIED VILLAGE. OTHER VILLAGES HAVE NOT SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED WITH THE MILITARY. IN IQUICHEZ, HUANTA PROVINCE, 134



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PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 04 OF 07 201713Z ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00 CA-02 DOEE-00		CG-00 EB-01	CIAE-00	FBIE-00	COME-00 IMMC-01	
	TNR-05	Tr-02	M-01	NRCE-00	NOAE-UU	M2CE-00	OTD OT

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Page: 9

PA-01 PM-01 P-02 SSO-00 SS-01 TRSE-00 USIE-00 USSS-00 ZOVD-00 /044W

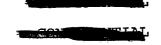
P 201656Z DEC 90

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3950
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1561
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

SECTION 04 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC JUSTICE FOR ICITAP USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD



PAGE 02 TERREP LIMA 19145 04 OF 07 201713Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

VILLAGERS HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED SINCE FEBRUARY, 1989. A REFUGEE FROM IQUICHEZ TOLD POLOFFS THAT THE ARMY AND RONDAS ARE KILLING HIS PEOPLE. HE CLAIMED THAT SEVERAL IN THE TOWN WERE SL AND PARTICIPATED IN AN ATTACK ON AN ARMY PATROL NEAR THEIR VILLAGE IN JANUARY, 1989. SINCE THEN THE ARMY HAS BEEN COMING BACK EVERY TWO OR THREE WEEKS. EACH TIME FOUR OR FIVE MEN DISAPPEAR. THE VILLAGER LEFT US SEVERAL SHEETS BEARING THE HAND-WRITTEN NAMES OF ALL 134 VICTIMS.

19. THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE CODECSA BOARD LAUGHED WHEN ASKED ABOUT RECENT REPORTS OF SL "DESERTIONS" TO THE ARMY. THESE NUMBERS, MENDOZA CLAIMED, ARE THE

n/a TIAL

n/a

POPULATIONS OF VILLAGES "PACIFIED" BY THE ARMY. WHEN A RONDAS GROUP IS ORGANIZED IN A PREVIOUSLY UNORGANIZED VILLAGE, THAT POPULATION IS SAID TO HAVE "DESERTED" SL. SOME OF THESE VILLAGES WERE UNDER SL CONTROL, MENDOZA ADMITTED. BUT HE STATED FLATLY THAT MOST AYACUCHO PEASANTS DO NOT SUPPORT SL, EXCEPT PASSIVELY. HE ALSO DENIED THAT ANY REAL SL ARE DESERTING TO THE ARMY.

CODECSA IS PLAINLY ANTI-RONDAS AND IS COMMENT: CONSIDERED BY THE ARMY TO BE PRO-SL. THE PRESENCE OF AT LEAST ONE SL FRONT-GROUP IN THE ORGANIZATION LENDS CREDENCE TO THAT CLAIM. BUT THE CODECSA LEADERSHIP WAS EVIII IAL

LIMA 19145 04 OF 07 201713Z PAGE 03 AS HARSH IN ITS CRITICISM OF SL AS IT WAS OF THE POLICE AND ARMY. THE MEETING WITH POLOFF WAS ORIGINALLY TO SEEK FUNDING FROM THE EMBASSY FOR SEVERAL CODECSA PROJECTS. ONE OF THE ISSUES DISCUSSED WAS HOW TO CHANNEL THE MONEY SO AS TO AVOID TOO CLOSE AN IDENTIFICATION WITH THE USG AND THUS BRING DOWN THE WRATH OF SL. POLOFFS JUDGE THE GROUP TO BE DEMOCRATIC, BUT INDISCRIMINATE IN ITS CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP. END COMMENT.

THE ICRC'S VIEW, AS IT PREPARES FOR WORSE TIMES AHEAD

21. IN A SIMULTANEOUS MEETING ACROSS TOWN WITH A SECOND POLOFF, INDEPENDENTLY

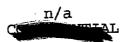
B1, 1.5(D)

CONFIRMED MUCH OF WHAT THE CODECSA LEADERSHIP RELATED. THE RONDAS LEADERS ARE CHOSEN BY THE MILITARY. MANY OF THEM ARE LOCAL TOUGHS OR NARCOS (E.G., COMANDANTES "HUAYHUACO" AND "CARDENAS" ARE THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE RONDAS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO VALLEY ALONG THE RIO APURIMAC IN LAR MAR PROVINCE.

B1, 1.5(D)

HUAYHUACO IS SYSTEMATICALLY KILLING OFF LOCAL OPPONENTS TO THE RONDAS. CARDENAS USES HIS BASE IN PALMAPAMPA TO CONTROL THE VALLEY'S COCA TRAFFIC. IN BOTH CASES, THE MARINES KNOW, BUT LOOK THE OTHER WAY. REFTEL B ON HUAYHUACO'S TERRORIST AND NARCOTICS BACKGROUND.)

opined that the rise of the rondas allowed the $\,\mathrm{B1,\,1.5(D)}$ MILITARY TO STEP BACK FROM DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE



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Page: 11



04 OF 07 PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 THE WAR IS CIVILIAN POPULATION (AND SENDERO). "DEMILITARIZED" AS THE ARMY DISENGAGES AND THE CIVILIANS TAKE OVER. ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE LARGELY REDIRECTED AWAY FROM THE MILITARY AND DIFFUSED PARTICIPATION WAS AGAINST THE MORE AMORPHOUS "RONDAS." "VIRTUALLY OBLIGATORY" IF A VILLAGE (OR A VILLAGER) B1, 1.5(D) WANTED TO ESCAPE MILITARY RETALIATION. THAT GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA'S MISSION FOR 1990 HAD BEEN TO SPEED UP THE ORGANIZATION OF THE RONDAS AND SCALE BACK B1, 1.5(D)THE MILITARY'S PROFILE. IN LARGE PART, THE GENERAL HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN THIS MISSION. ALSO TOLD OF CASES WHERE THE B1, 1.5(D) 23.

CITALIAL

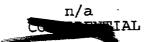
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PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 05 OF 07 201714Z ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00 CA-02 DOEE-00 INR-05 OIC-02 TRSE-00	ACDA-05 CCO-00 DS-01 IO-05 OIS-01 USIE-00	ADS-00 CG-00 EB-01 L-02 PA-01 USSS-00	AID-01 CIAE-00 FAAE-00 M-01 PM-01 ZOVD-00	AMAD-01 SJK-01 FBIE-00 NRCE-00 P-02 /039W	ARA-01 COME-00 IMMC-01 NSAE-00 SSO-00	A-01 CTME-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SS-01
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P 201656Z DEC 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3951
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1562
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM



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Page: 12

C SECTION 05 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC JUSTICE FOR ICITAP USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD



COMPANIAL

PAGE 02 TERREP LIMA 19145 05 OF 07 201714Z

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

MILITARY WAS UNWITTINGLY ORGANIZING RONDAS WHICH ARE ACTUALLY LED BY SENDERO LEADERS. MIGRATION OUT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE HAD BEEN SO GREAT THAT IN SOME AREA THE ONLY PEOPLE LEFT WERE SL "MASAS" (BASE SUPPORTERS). YET THE MILITARY HAD GONE IN AND "ORGANIZED" THEM. HUANTA AND LAMAR PROVINCES ARE THE MOST CONFLICTIVE AREAS OF AYACUCHO, AND WHERE THE RONDAS ARE MOST HEAVILY CONCENTRATED. THE LINE BETWEEN SL AND THE RONDAS IN THOSE TWO PROVINCES IS MUCH CLEARER. IN THEIR INO LONGER TRAVELED EVEN SEVERAL PEREGRINATIONS | HUNDRED YARDS BEYOND THE CONFLUENCE OF THE ENE AND MANTARO RIVERS. IT IS A "PERMANENT SL LIBERATED ZONE," COMPLETE WITH ARMED CHECKPOINTS. NO ONE ENTERS THERE, "NOT EVEN THE MILITARY."

B1, 1.5(D)

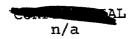
B1, 1.5(D) B1, 1.5(D)

ESTIMATED THAT 70 PERCENT OF THE PEASANTS NOW

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PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 05 OF 07 201714Z FLEEING THE AYACUCHO COUNTRYSIDE WERE MIGRATING FOR

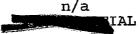
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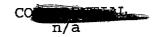
Page: 13

INDICATORS RELIED UPON TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS CLAIM THAT RURAL VIOLENCE WAS UP FROM 1989 INCLUDED: THE	l, 1.5(D)
INCREASED NUMBER OF INJURED IN HOSPITALS AND CLINICS, THE GROWTH OF "DAMNIFICADOS" (INDIVIDUALS PERSONALLY AFFECTED BY THE VIOLENCE) SHOWING UP THE BONGOING HIGH LEVELS OF MIGRATION, AND	1, 1.5(D)

B1, 1.5(D)



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Page: 14

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PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z

ACTION SCT-03

AMAD-01 A-01 AID-01 ARA-01 LOG-00 ADS-00 ACDA-05 INFO CTME-00 COME-00 SJK-01 CG-00 CIAE-00 CCO-00 CA-02 INRE-00 ·IMMC-01 FBIE-00 FAAE-00 DOEE-00 EB-01 DS-01 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 NRCE-00 L-02 M - 0110-05 INR-05 SSO-00 SS-01 P-02 PA-01 PM-01OIS-01 OIC-02 /039W USSS-00 ZOVD-00 USIE-00 TRSE-00

----2D8FE9

P 201656Z DEC 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3952
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK 2375
USMISSION GENEVA 1563
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

CONFIDENCE L SECTION 06 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC JUSTICE FOR ICITAP USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD



PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z TERREP

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Page: 14

UNCLASSIFIED

n/a

B1, 1.5(D)

CHOOSING SIDES: WHO ARE THE BAD GUYS?

LITANY OF ALLEGED POLICE AND MILITARY CORRUPTION AND EXCESSES DURING THEIR THREE DAY VISIT. MRS. TERESA ZARATE DEL PINO, AN AYACUCHO CITY COUNCILWOMAN (APRA), TOLD US OF A POLICE SCAM IN THE CITY. THE POLICE DETAIN AN 18 TO 25 YEAR-OLD MALE, CHARGE HIM WITH TERRORISM, AND THEN CONTACT THE FAMILY TO EXTORT MONEY FOR THE RELEASE OF THE STUDENT. THOSE WHO CAN, PAY. IN THE SAME CONVERSATION, FATHER GONZALO VALVERDE, DESCRIBED IN GRAPHIC DETAIL CASES WHERE THE FAMILY COULD NOT PAY. MOST OF THE YOUNG MEN SURVIVE THE TORTURE, THE FRANCISCAN ALLEGED. HE CLAIMED TO HAVE ADMINISTERED EXTREME UNCTION TO ONE BOY WHO DIDN'T.

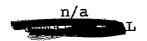
29. MRS. DEL PINO, THE PRIEST, AND HUAMANGA PROVINCE'S ACTING MAYOR MAURO RIVERA (IU) NOTED THAT SOME OF THE

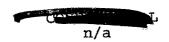
COMPANDANTA

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z
YOUTHS PICKED UP ARE ACTUALLY SL. THESE DETAINEES RAISE
THE NECESSARY MONEY RIGHT AWAY. IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE
TO THE POLICE. THIS IS NOT AN ANTI-TERRORISM EFFORT. IT
IS STRICTLY FUND-RAISING. THE NORMAL "BAIL" IS FIVE
HUNDRED DOLLARS. NONE OF THESE DETENTIONS ARE FORMALLY
DENOUNCED, THESE OBSERVERS STATED, FOR FEAR THAT THE
FAMILY MEMBER WILL NOT BE RETURNED ALIVE.

B1, 1.5(D)

30. POLOFFS OBSERVED THE SAME PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE POLICE AND MILITARY IN AYACUCHO AS IN MOST OTHER PLACES IN RURAL PERU. MOST OF THE QUECHUA-SPEAKING, RURAL PEASANTS FEAR AND DESPISE THE POLICE AND ARMY. (NOTE: AN ESTIMATED EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE AYACUCHANO PEASANTRY SPEAKS QUECHUA. GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT ONLY TEN PERCENT OF HIS TROOPS SPEAK QUECHUA - AND THAT THE PERCENTAGE OF QUECHUA-SPEAKING





OFFICERS IS MARKEDLY LOWER.) BUT THE PEASANTS' FEAR OF THE SOLDIERS AND POLICE DOES NOT NORMALLY TRANSLATE INTO SUPPORT FOR SL. POLOFFS DID NOT VISIT RURAL AYACUCHO, BUT PROFESSIONALS IN AYACUCHO WHO DO REPORTED THAT, CAUGHT BETWEEN OFFICIAL VIOLENCE AND THE DOCTRINE AND THREAT OF SL, MOST PEASANTS WILL FLEE BEFORE JOINING SL. THUS THE PHENOMENAL MIGRATION FROM THE RURAL HIGH SIERRA. THE ARMY AND POLICE ARE NOT WINNING ALLIES. BUT NEITHER IS SENDERO LUMINOSO.

31. AS IN OTHER EMERGENCY ZONE CITIES POLOFFS HAVE VISITED, MANY CIVILIAN LEADERS HAVE BEEN KILLED OR HAVE FLED THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE. SL KILLED THE CITY'S LAST



PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z
ELECTED MAYOR IN SEPTEMBER, 1989. ONLY SIX OF AYACUCHO'S
21-MEMBER CITY COUNCIL ARE STILL IN OFFICE AS OTHER
MEMBERS FOUND IT PRUDENT TO RESIGN. JUST SIX OF THE
CITY'S DOZEN OR MORE DISTRICTS HAVE MAYORS. THE SECOND
DAY OF THIS VISIT THE MAYOR OF A RURAL AYACUCHO TOWN AND
HIS FAMILY WERE SLAUGHTERED BY SL. STILL, ACTING MAYOR
RIVERA REPORTED THAT ALL ELEVEN OF THE DEPARTMENT'S
PROVINCES CURRENTLY HAVE MAYORS, EITHER ELECTED OR
APPOINTED. MANY CIVIC LEADERS WHO HAVE STAYED (THE
RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY AND THE CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR,



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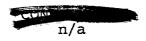


PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00 CA-02 DOEE-00 INR-05 PA-01 USSS-00	ACDA-13 CCO-00 DS-01 L-02 PM-01 ZOVD-00	ADS-00 CG-00 EB-01 M-01 P-02 /044W	AID-01 CIAE-00 FAAE-00 NRCE-00 SSO-00	AMAD-01 SJK-01 FBIE-00 NSAE-00 SS-01	ARA-05 COME-00 IMMC-01 NSCE-00 TRSE-00	A-01 CTME-00 INRE-00 OIS-01 USIE-00
		-		2D4A0	6 202335	Z /72 38	

P 201656Z DEC 90 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3953





Page: 17

INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1564
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM



SECTION 07 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC JUSTICE FOR ICITAP USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD



PAGE 02 TERREP LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z

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FOR EXAMPLE) HAVE SENT THEIR FAMILIES TO THE SAFER CLIMES OF LIMA. THE NEW PREFECT FOR AYACUCHO, CESAR A. SULCA, ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS ADAMANT THAT HIS WIFE AND FOUR YOUNG GIRLS MOVE TO AYACUCHO WITH HIM. THEY HAVE BEEN THERE TWO MONTHS NOW.

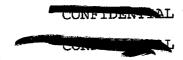
COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION

32. SENDERO TERRORISM HAS COME LATELY TO MOST OF PERU. THE "REVOLUTION" DID NOT REALLY BEGIN TO SPREAD OUTSIDE OF AYACUCHO, HUANCAVELICA AND APURIMAC DEPARTMENTS UNTIL 1983. BUT THE RESIDENTS OF AYACUCHO HAVE WITNESSED THE SL PHENOMENON SINCE ITS POLITICAL BIRTH IN THE MID-SIXTIES. THAT IS WHY THE ATTITUDE OF AYACUCHANOS TOWARD SL APPEARS MORE EVOLVED THAN ELSEWHERE IN PERU. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FOLKS WE TALKED WITH, FROM THE POLITICAL RIGHT TO THE LEFT, ADMIT THAT ONE CANNOT APPEAR NEUTRAL

n/a



IN AYACUCHO AND SURVIVE. IF YOU ARE RADICAL RIGHT, ONLY SL TRIES TO KILL YOU. IF YOU ARE A TERRORIST, ONLY THE POLICE AND MILITARY TRY TO KILL YOU. IF YOU ARE IN THE MIDDLE, BOTH THE TERRORISTS AND THE SOLDIERS WANT YOU DEAD.



PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z

33. ONE AYACUCHANO LAUGHED WHEN TOLD THAT IN HUANCAYO A CITY CURRENTLY CONVULSED BY BOTH SL AND MRTA VIOLENCE THE STREETS WERE BUSY UNTIL 11 PM. "THAT'S BECAUSE THE
VIOLENCE IS ONLY A FEW YEARS OLD THERE. THEY HAVEN'T YET
FIGURED OUT HOW TO KEEP THEIR HEADS DOWN | "

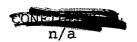
THE RURAL PEASANTS, WHO FEAR THE FORCES OF ORDER, STOICALLY ACCEPT THE ARMY AND POLICE DIRTY WAR AS LOGICAL. THE CAMPESINO SEEMS TO THINK THAT GIVEN THE LACK OF MONEY, TRAINING, AND STRATEGY, THIS IS THE ONLY WAY THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE TO FIGHT THE WAR. BY FLEEING TO THE CITIES, THE CAMPESINO IS ESSENTIALLY CHOOSING A SIDE. SOME OF THOSE WHO STAY IN THE MOUNTAINS MAY HAVE ACCEPTED SL'S LEADERSHIP. MORE LIKELY, THESE HAVE ONLY DELAYED THEIR DECISION. THEIR TIES TO THEIR LAND ARE GREATER THAN THEIR FEAR. FOR NOW. 35. MAYOR RIVERA BELIEVES THAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GIVEN UP AYACUCHO FOR LOST. AYACUCHO, BOTH THE CITY AND THE DEPARTMENT, IS UNIMPORTANT TO LIMA, HE EXPLAINED. IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN. THERE IS NO INDUSTRY, NO MINING, NO EXPORT AGRICULTURE. THE DEPARTMENT IS STRATEGICALLY OF MINOR IMPORTANCE. THE ARMY CAMPAIGN IN AYACUCHO SERVES ONE PURPOSE: TO DENY SL THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE OF WINNING THE DEPARTMENT WHERE THE SL REVOLUTION WAS BORN. THAT IS WHY THE ARMY FIGHTS. BUT THAT IS ALSO WHY IT IS RELATIVELY LESS IMPORTANT IF THE ARMY HAS TO SCORCH THE EARTH TO WIN.

36. FOR THE SAME REASON THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE HUAMANGA IS IMPORTANT, BOTH TO SL AND TO THE ARMY. IT IS THE "INDEPENDENCE HALL" OF THE SENDERO

THE NAME OF THE PARTY OF THE PA

PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z REVOLUTION. IN PART TWO OF THIS REPORT WE WILL DISCUSS





Page: 19

THE ONGOING BATTLE BETWEEN THE GOP AND SENDERO TO CONTROL THE UNIVERSITY.

QUAINTON