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Case Number: S200200010

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ACTION MCT-03

INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 CIAE-00
NSCE-00 ARA-00 NSAE-00 SSO-00 SY-06 L-03 TRSE-00
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O 162317Z SEP 85
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6639
INFO USAF SO HOWARD AFB PN
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
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AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY PANAMA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

SECTION 01 OF 03 LIMA 10542

DIA FOR IR BRANCH

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, SHUM, PE
SUBJECT: MASSACRE ALLEGATIONS PROMPT SIGNIFICANT
DEVELOPMENTS IN GOP TERRORISM/HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES

REFS: (A) LIMA-10098, (B) LIMA 10418

1. SUMMARY: ACCUSATIONS THAT ARMED FORCES
PERSONNEL MASSACRED 69 VILLAGERS IN ACCOMARCA
(AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE) HAVE LED TO SIGNIFICANT

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DEVELOPMENTS IN ANTI-TERRORIST/HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR
DATE/CASE ID: 16 JUL 2002 S200200010

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ON SEPTEMBER 13, PRESIDENT GARCIA ORDERED THE ARMED FORCES TO REPORT EXPEDITIOUSLY ON EVENTS IN ACCOMARCA AND AS WELL AS RECENTLY DISCOVERED MASS GRAVES IN PUCAYACU. ON SEPTEMBER 14, GARCIA MADE HIGH-VISIBILITY SPEECH INTRODUCING NEWLY NAMED PEACE COMMISSION MEMBERS. ON SEPTEMBER 15, GOP ANNOUNCED IT HAD FIRED ARMED FORCES CHIEF GENERAL CESAR ENRICO, AND THAT ARMED FORCES REPORT ON PUCAYACU HAD IMPLICATED FOUR MILITARY PERSONNEL. GARCIA IS TACKLING EXTREMELY SENSITIVE AREA IN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS; WE EXPECT HIM TO PROCEED PRUDENTLY AND TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO DISTINGUISH MILITARY AS INSTITUTION FROM POSSIBLS COMMITTED BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) THE PUBLICATION ON SEPTEMBER 11 OF ALLEGED EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS THAT SECURITY FORCES MASSACRED 69 VILLAGERS ON AUGUST 14 HAS SPURRED THE GOP TO IMPLEMENT MAJOR ELEMENTS IN ITS ANTI-TERRORIST AND HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES. ACCORDING TO ACCOUNTS PUBLISHED FIRST IN THE COMMUNIST DAILY "EL DIARIO MARKA" AND ECHOED BY THE UNITED LEFT (IU) IN CONGRESS, ON AUGUST 14 SECURITY FORCES ENTERED THE VILLAGE OF ACCOMARCA (VILCASHUAMAN PROVINCE, AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT) IN THE AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE. THE SOLDIERS ALLEGEDLY ROUNDED UP 69 INHABITANTS, AND PLACED MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN IN THREE SEPARATE HUTS; LATER THEY SUPPOSEDLY OPENED FIRE ON THE VILLAGERS WITH MACHINE GUNS AND GRENADES, AND THEN BURNED THEIR BODIES. ACCORDING TO THE TWO SURVIVORS, CLEMENTE AND VICTOR BALDEON, THE SOLDIERS THEN STOLE PERSONAL BELONGINGS AND LIVESTOCK. THE WITNESSES REPORTEDLY

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OFFERED A DIFFERENT STORY TO THE RESPECTED NEWS WEEKLY "CARETAS," STATING THIS TIME THAT THE SOLDIERS HAD ROUNDED UP ABOUT 60 PERSONS IN THE VILLAGE OF LLOCLLAPAMPA (TWO HOURS WALK AWAY) AND HAD TAKEN THEM TO ACCOMARCA WHERE THEY WERE KILLED. VISITS TO THE TWO VILLAGES ON SEPTEMBER 13 AND 14 BY DEPUTY FERNANDO OLIVERA, MILITARY REPRESENTATIVES, AND THE LOCAL FISCAL, FAILED TO CLARIFY THE SITUATION. THE TEAM FOUND BOTH VILLAGES IN RUINS AND ALMOST TOTALLY

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ABANDONED; THEY ALSO FOUND TWO ELDERLY WOMEN IN ACCOMARCA, ALONG WITH FIVE BODIES (FOUND IN INDIVIDUAL GRAVES) WITH BULLET WOUNDS, INCLUDING ONE CHILD. THEY ALSO EXHUMED TWO BODIES FROM A CEMETERY IN LLOCLLAPAMPA FOR FURTHER EXAMINATION. "EL DIARIO" HAS ALREADY SUGGESTED THE ARMED FORCES HAD CONCEALED EVIDENCE AT THE SITES BEFORE THE GROUP'S ARRIVAL.

3. (U) NOTWITHSTANDING POSSIBLE HOLES IN THE WITNESSES' STORY, THE ACCUSATIONS, COUPLED WITH THE DISON AUGUST 29 OF A MASS GRAVE IN PUCAYACU (REF A), HAD A PROFOUND IMPACT. ON SEPTEMBER 12, THE GOP TOOK THE UNUSUAL STEP OF ISSUING A COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH IT ORDERED THE JOINT COMMAND OF THE ARMED FORCES TO REPORT ON THE PUCAYACU AFFAIR WITHIN 72 HOURS, AND ON EVENTS IN ACCOMARCA WITHIN SEVEN DAYS. FURTHERMORE, THE COMMUNIQUE NOTED THAT TWO KEY OFFICERS (COLONEL WILFREDO MORI, COMMANDER OF THE AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE AND HIS SUPERIOR, GENERAL SINESIO JARAMA, HEAD OF THE SECOND MILITARY REGION) HAD BEEN ORDERED TO TESTIFY ON SEPTEMBER 16 BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL DEFENSE COMMISSION AND THE SENATE HUMAN RIGHTS

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
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DIA FOR IR BRANCH

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, SHUM, PE
SUBJECT: MASSACRE ALLEGATIONS PROMPT SIGNIFICANT

COMMISSION.

4. (U) GARCIA FOLLOWED UP ON SEPTEMBER 14 BY NAMING THE MEMBERS OF THE PEACE COMMISSION, WHICH WILL SEEK A DIALOGUE WITH TERRORISTS AND REVIEW PARDONS FOR SOME ACCUSED TERRORISTS, FOLLOWING WEEKS OF [REDACTED]

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DELAY (REF B; ADDITIONAL MATERIAL ON COMMISSION TO FOLLOW SEPTTEL). GARCIA CHOSE TO GIVE HIGH VISIBILITY TO THE EVENT, AND GAVE A TEN MINUTE SPEECH IN WHICH HE LAUDED REPEATEDLY THE ARMED FORCES AS AN INSTITUTION, SAID ABUSES HAD OCCURRED IN THE PAST BUT WERE RESPONSIBILITY OF INDIVIDUALS, NOT INSTITUTIONS, SUGGESTED ADVERSE PUBLICITY ON MATTER SERVED FOREIGN INTERESTS, CONDEMNED SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) TERRORISM, AND REPUDIATED BELAUNDE ADMINISTRATION'S ABANDONMENT OF THE EMERGENCY ZONE AREAS.

5. (U) LATEST DEVELOPMENT OCCURRED ON SEPTEMBER 15, WHEN GOP ANNOUNCED THE FIRING OF ARMED FORCES JOINT COMMAND CHIEF GENERAL CESAR ENRICO. THE GOP COMMUNIQUE ALSO STATED THAT THE ARMED FORCES ON PUCAYACU HAD IMPLICATED THREE SOLDIERS AND ONE DRIVER (NO NAMES PROVIDED) WHO WOULD FACE CHARGES. THE STATEMENT CRITICIZED SHARPLY THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF NOT PUBLICIZING CASUALTIES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SL, WHICH NEW GOP

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SAID HAD DAMAGED THE "INTERNATIONAL IMAGE" OF THE ARMED FORCES.

6. COMMENT: NUMEROUS QUESTIONS SURROUND THE INITIAL REPORTS OF THE MASSACRE AT ACCOMARCA AND LLOCLLAPAMPA. THESE INCLUDE THE FATE OF ITS INHABITANTS (WERE THEY KILLED, DID SOME FLEE, DID SOME JOIN OR PREVIOUSLY BELONG TO SL) AND THE IDENTITY OF THE ASSAILANTS (WERE THEY SOLDIERS, SENDERISTAS, OR "RONDEROS" - CAMPESINO SECURITY FORCES - FROM A NEIGHBORING VILLAGE). SOME OF THESE ISSUES MAY BE CLARIFIED BY THE FORTHCOMING ARMED

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FORCES INVESTIGATION, AS WELL AS BY THE VISIT OF THE SENATE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO THE AREA SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 18.

7. WHATEVER THEY UNCOVER, IT IS CLEAR THAT ACCOMARCA AND PUCAYACU ALLEGATIONS HAVE TOUCHED A RAW NERVE. PERCEPTIONS MAY BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN HARD FACTS IN THIS AREA; PERCEPTION MANY OBSERVERS SHARE IS THAT ARMED FORCES MEMBERS HAVE COMMITTED NUMEROUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE EMERGENCY ZONE, WHICH ARMED FORCES LEADERSHIP AND PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION WERE WILLING TO ACCEPT AS PRICE TO BE PAID TO COMBAT TERRORISM. THE DECLINE IN ALLEGED VIOLATIONS DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF THE BELAUNDE GOVERNMENT, AND THE ADVENT OF THE GARCIA ADMINISTRATION, COMMITTED TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS, SUGGESTED (APPARENTLY ERRONEOUSLY) THAT SUCH PRACTICES WOULD CEASE.

8. LAST WEEK'S DEVELOPMENTS, CAPPED BY THE FIRING OF GENERAL ENRICO, HAVE PROPELLED GARCIA INTO AN EXTREMELY DELICATE PHASE IN CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONS. AS IN OTHER LATIN COUNTRIES, THE PERUVIAN MILITARY CONSIDERS ITSELF A CORNERSTONE OF THE STATE, AND IS SENSITIVE TO ANY ALLEGATIONS OF WRONGDOING. MOREOVER, IT BELIEVES IT HAS MADE THE BEST OF AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK IN COMBATTING TERRORISM IN THE EMERGENCY ZONE. GARCIA IS FULLY COGNIZANT OF THESE FACTORS. HE HAS EMPHASIZED IN RECENT STATEMENTS (INCLUDING THE SEPTEMBER 14 SPEECH) HIS SUPPORT FOR THE MILITARY AS AN INSTITUTION, AND HAS

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UNDERScoreD THAT ANY BLAME FOR EXCESSES MUST BE
BORNE BY INDIVIDUALS AND NOT THE MILITARY

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INSTITUTIONS. (APRA SECRETARY GENERAL AND SENATE
DEFENSE COMMISSION CHAIRMAN ARMANDO VILLANUEVA
MADE SAME OBSERVATIONS DAY EARLIER AT AMBASSADOR'S
LUNCHEON FOR AMBASSADOR SHLAUDEMAN.) GARCIA ALSO
SAID PRECEEDING ADMINISTRATION SHARED
RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY EXCESSES THAT RESULTED FROM

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ITS FLAWED POLICIES.

9. [REDACTED] WE BELIEVE THE DRAMATIC GESTURE TO DISMISS ENRICO RESULTED FROM A DESIRE TO FLAG PRESIDENTIAL AUTHORITY OVER THE MILITARY, AND TO BLUNT--THROUGH THIS BOLD STEP--CALLS FOR MORE SWEEPING ACTION (IT ALSO WILL TEND TO BOOST HIS IMAGE WHEN HE GOES TO THE UNGA LATER THIS MONTH). OTHER UNRELATED REASONS MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO ENRICO'S FIRING, INCLUDING HIS REPORTED LACK OF INTEREST IN SUPPORTING GOP ANTI-NARCOTICS DRIVE AND POSSIBLE PERSONALITY CONFLICTS. IN ADDITION, WE NOTE THAT ENRICO IS AN AIR FORCE OFFICER, WHO IN PRACTICE WAS FAR REMOVED FROM ANTI-TERRORIST FIGHT; HIS REMOVAL DOES NOSARILY CONSTITUTE A SLAP AT THE ARMY, THE MOST POWERFUL OF THE THREE SERVICES AND THE MOST INVOLVED IN COUNTERTERRORISM.

10. [REDACTED] ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE GARCIA WILL ACT PRUDENTLY IN THIS SITUATION, HE HAS MADE CLEAR THAT GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE UNACCEPTABLE UNDER HIS ADMINISTRATION, AND, WE BELIEVE, WILL INSIST UPON PUNISHMENT AT SOME LEVEL IN CASES OF PUCAYACU AND (DEPENDING UPON INVESTIGATION) ACCOMARCA. AT THIS TIME, WE BELIEVE THE MILITARY WILL NOT SEEK TO BLOCK SUCH A SCENARIO. WE STILL LACK, HOWEVER, A FULL UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT HAPPENED AT THESE EMERGENCY ZONE VILLAGES, AND MORE DAMAGING REVELATIONS MAY SURFACE THAT COULD AFFECT GARCIA'S OPTIONS. FINALLY, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT EFFECT THESE EVENTS MAY HAVE ON OTHER ISSUES IN THE CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING MILITARY SPENDING AND ARMS ACQUISITIONS, MILITARY LEADERSHIP

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CHOICES, AND COOPERATION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST NARCOTICS. JORDAN

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