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Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION MCT-03

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| INFO | LOG-00  | COPY-01 | ADS-00 | AID-00  | INR-10  | SS-00   | OIC-02 |
|      | CIAE-00 | H-01    | IO-16  | NSCE-00 | ARA-00  | NSAE-00 | SSO-00 |
|      | SY-06   | HA-08   | L-03   | TRSE-00 | PM-10   | PA-01   | OMB-01 |
|      | INRE-00 | CA-02   | A-02   | SYE-00  | USIE-00 | SP-02   | SNP-01 |
|      | PRS-01  | SLPD-01 | SPD-01 | /072 W  |         |         |        |

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O 182307Z SEP 85  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6705  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PN  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMEMBASSY PANAMA  
DIA WASHDC  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 03 LIMA 10652

DIA FOR IR BRANCH  
ARA PASS AMB. JORDAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: MILI, PFER, PGOV, PE, PHUM  
SUBJECT: PUCAYACU/ACCOMARCA AFTERMATH: TWO GENERALS  
RELIEVED OF COMMAND

REF: LIMA 10542

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1. [REDACTED] - ENTIRE TEXT.

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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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2. SUMMARY: ON SEPTEMBER 17, NEW ARMED FORCES JOINT COMMAND CHIEF GENERAL ABRAM RELIEVED FROM COMMAND TWO SENIOR ARMY OFFICERS--GENERALS JARAMA AND MORI--RESPONSIBLE FOR AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE. MOVE FOLLOWED ARMY INVESTIGATION THAT BLAMED ARMY LIEUTENANT FOR MASSACRE OF 40 PERSONS IN ACCOMARCA. MORI HAS BEEN GRANTED REQUEST FOR RETIREMENT; JARAMA REMAINS ON ACTIVE DUTY FOR NOW, BUT HIS FUTURE IS UNCERTAIN. THESE STEPS WILL HEIGHTEN CONCERN WITHIN THE MILITARY ABOUT INTENTIONS OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CONGRESS. WHILE WE CANNOT PREDICT SERIOUS CIVILIAN-MILITARY CONFRONTATION AT THIS TIME, STAKES DEFINITELY HAVE BEEN RAISED. PUCAYACU/ACCOMARCA EVENTS HAVE THUS BECOME AN IMPORTANT TEST OF PERUVIAN DEMOCRACYP SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

3. IN THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 18, NEW ARMED FORCES JOINT COMMAND CHIEF GENERAL LUIS ABRAM RELIEVED GENERAL SINESIO JARAMA, COMMANDER OF THE SECOND MILITARY REGION, AND GENERAL WILFREDO MORI, POLITICAL/MILITARY COMMANDER OF THE AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE (EZ). THE MOVE FOLLOWED THE DETERMINATION BY ARMY INVESTIGATORS THAT AN ARMY SUB-LIEUTENANT (TELMO HURTADO) WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE OF ABOUT 40 CAMPESINOS ON AUGUST 14 AT ACCOMARCA, WHICH THE LIEUTENANT SUBSEQUENTLY HAD ATTEMPTED TO COVER UP. BECAUSE OF THE COVER-UP, ACCORDING TO AN ARMED FORCES COMMUNIQUE, JARAMA AND MORI WERE UNAWARE OF ARMY INVOLVEMENT IN THE MASSACRE AND HAD TESTIFIED TO THAT EFFECT EARLIER IN THE DAY BEFORE THE SENATE

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HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. (HEARING WAS POSTPONED FROM SEPTEMBER 16 TO FOLLOWING DAY.)

4. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS AND TO AN APRISTA SOURCE PRESENT AT THE JARAMA/MORI HEARING, JARAMA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ARMY UNITS HAD BEEN NEAR ACCOMARCA AT THE TIME OF THE ALLEGED MASSACRE, BUT STATED THAT OFFICIAL AFTER ACTION REPORTS ("PARTES") DID NOT INDICATE ANY SKIRMISHES THERE. ACCORDING TO OUR

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SOURCE, HOWEVER, JARAMA DID MENTION THAT THE ARMY WAS INVESTIGATING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE "PARTES" HAD BEEN WRITTEN SO AS TO COVER UP ANY MISDEEDS. IRONICALLY, WE UNDERSTAND THAT SENATOR JAVIER VALLE Riestra, AN OUTSPOKEN HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCATE WHO PRESIDES THE SENATE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, WAS VERY IMPRESSED BY JARAMA'S PRESENTATION. IN ADDITION, OUR SOURCE STATED THAT POSTPONEMENT OF THE HEARING ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 16 WAS RESULT OF DIRECT ORDER BY PRESIDENT GARCIA TO THE TWO GENERALS. WHEN THE SENATE COMMISSION TELEPHONED GARCIA TO ASCERTAIN SITUATION, GARCIA REPORTEDLY TOLD VALLE Riestra THAT HE DID NOT WANT THE TWO GENERALS TO BE "HUMILIATED" BY THE COMMIS

5. COMMENT: EVEN MORE THAN THE SEPTEMBER 15 REMOVAL OF GENERAL ENRICO (REFTEL), THE OUSTER OF JARAMA AND MORI IS A VERY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT WITH IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR CIVILIAN-MILITARY RELATIONS AND COUNTERTERRORIST/HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES. UNLIKE ENRICO, THESE TWO GENERALS ARE ARMY OFFICERS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COUNTER-TERRORIST EFFORT (JARAMA HAD THE TINGO MARIA/HUANUCO EZ UNDER HIS JURISDICTION AS WELL AS THE AYACUCHO EZ.) BOTH WERE HIGHLY REGARDED WITHIN THE

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|      | CIAE-00 | H-01    | IO-16  | NSCE-00 | ARA-00  | NSAE-00 | SSO-00 |
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|      | INRE-00 | CA-02   | A-02   | SYE-00  | USIE-00 | SP-02   | SNP-01 |
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O 182307Z SEP 85  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6706  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY QUITO

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USAFSO HOWARD AFB PN  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMEMBASSY PANAMA  
DIA WASHDC  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PN  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 03 LIMA 10652

DIA FOR IR BRANCH  
ARA PASS AMB. JORDAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: MILI, PTER, PGOV, PE, PHUM  
SUBJECT: PUCAYACU/ACCOMARCA AFTERMATH: TWO GENERALS

ARMY--MORI WAS FIRST IN HIS YEAR GROUP--ALTHOUGH NOT  
WITHOUT RIVALS.

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6. WE STILL LACK FULL INFORMATION ON THE BACKGROUND OF  
THE STEPS AND THE FULL EXTENT OF THEIR FALLOUT.  
NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE TRIED TO ORDER OUR  
SPECULATION ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES, BASED ON  
LIMITED INFORMATION AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME:

7. CAUSE: ALTHOUGH GENERAL ABRAM SIGNED THE ORDER,  
WE BELIEVE PRESIDENT GARCIA ORDERED THE REMOVALS IN  
ORDER TO MAKE A CLEAN BREAK WITH ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS  
VIOLATIONS IN COUNTERTERRORIST EFFORT. WE BELIEVE  
HE SECURED THE AGREEMENT OF WAR MINISTER GENERAL  
FLORES AND ARMY COMMANDING GENERAL GENERAL RUIZ  
BEFOREHAND. ALTHOUGH HIGHLY SPECULATIVE, WE BELIEVE  
GARCIA WAS ABLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF INCREASING  
DIVISION AMONG ARMY SENIOR OFFICERS THAT HAS EMERGED  
SINCE ADVENT OF FLOZ LEADERSHIP ON JULY 28.

8. TIMING: ALTHOUGH AGAIN VERY SPECULATIVE, WE  
BELIEVE THAT GARCIA MAY HAVE DECIDED UPON THESE TWO  
CHANGES SEVERAL DAYS AGO, BEFORE INVESTIGATION OF

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ACCOMARCA ACKNOWLEDGED ARMY OFFICER'S BLAME. GARCIA'S REPORTED PERSONAL EFFORT TO POSTPONE JARAMA'S AND MORI'S TESTIMONY BEFORE CONGRESS, ORIGINALLY SLATED FOR SEPTEMBER 16, COMBINED WITH THE PRESENCE IN LIMA ON SEPTEMBER 16 OF AN UNUSUALLY HIGH NUMBER OF SENIOR ARMY GENERALS (CONFIRMED BY ASSISTANT ARMY ATTACHE) SUGGEST SOMETHING WAS BREWING AS EARLY AS THE WEEKEND OF SEPTEMBER 14-15.

9. JARAMA'S FATE: UNLIKE MORI, JARAMA DID NOT REQUEST EARLY RETIREMENT. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT JARAMA, A HEAVY HITTER REPORTEDLY CLOSE TO APRA AND WHO SUPPOSEDLY WAS LINING UP APRA/GOP SUPPORT TO BE ARMY

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CG, MAY BELIEVE HE CAN SALVAGE SITUATION. BURNED BUT NOT RETIRED, HE COULD BECOME A DESTABILIZING FACTOR AND A RALLYING POINT FOR ANY FUTURE ARMY DISCONTENT.

10. FURTHER FALLOUT: WE DO NOT KNOW HOW FAR GARCIA WANTS TO SPREAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE AND OTHER ALLEGED ATROCITIES. WHILE WE NOTE HIS PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO THE MILITARY AS AN INSTITUTION, AND HAVE ASSUMED THUS FAR THAT HE WOULD APPROACH THIS SUBJECT CAUTIOUSLY, IT MAY BE THAT HE DESIRES TO CONTINUE TO CHIP AWAY AT THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. IN ANY CASE, MORE RADICAL APRISTA AND UNITED LEFT CONGRESSMEN WHO HAVE ALREADY EVIDENCED CONCERN ABOUT CURRENT AND PAST ALLEGED VIOLATIONS WILL BE EMBOLDENED AND PROBABLY WILL SEEK ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATIONS THAT COULD INCREASE POTENTIAL FOR CONFRONTATION WITH THE MILITARY. (IN ADDITION TO ARMY, NAVY COULD BE CHALLENGED FOR ALLEGED VIOLATIONS BY MARINES IN THE EZ.) CONSEQUENTLY, GARCIA MAY NOT BE ABLE TO CONTROL EVENTS FULLY. THERE ARE ADDITIONAL, IF STILL OBSCURE, RAMIFICATIONS THAT INCLUDE INTRA-MILITARY RELATIONS (FIRINGS HAGED THE PECKING ORDER AND RELATIVE STRENGTHS OF CLIQUES), OTHER CIVILIAN-MILITARY ISSUES (NARCOTICS), AND, ALMOST FORGOTTEN, THE EFFECT ON THE COUNTERTERRORIST CAMPAIGN AND THE GOP'S RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

11. A TEST CASE: BY INCREASING TENSIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY AND BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND PERU'S

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CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP, THE PUCAYACU/ACCOMARCA AFFAIR HAS PROVIDED AN EARLY TEST OF THE RESILIENCE OF PERUVIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE STRENGTH OF THE GARCIA ADMINISTRATION, AS WELL AS OF THE LATTER'S CONCERN

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|       | PRS-01  | SLPD-01 | SPD-01 | /072 W  |         |         |        |

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O 182307Z SEP 85  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6707  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PN  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
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FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. WE HAVE NOT SEEN ANY INDICATION OR SPECULATION THAT A FULL-BLOWN CIVILIAN-MILITARY

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CONFRONTATION MAY RESULT FROM LAST WEEK'S EVENTS.  
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IN ADDITION, GARCIA HAS GREAT POPULAR SUPPORT--AT  
LEAST FOR NOW--WHILE MILITARY HERETOFORE HAS APPEARED  
QUITE CONTENT TO LET CIVILIANS GOVERN COUNTRY  
DURING TIME OF ECONOMIC CRISIS. NEVERTHELESS,  
IT IS CLEAR THAT THE STAKES HAVE BEEN RAISED FOR  
MILITARY AND CIVILIANS ALIKE. YOULE  
[REDACTED]

n/a  
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