

[REDACTED]
n/a
Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(D), B6

[REDACTED]
PAGE 01 LIMA 16252 01 OF 08 291538Z
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	
-----216013						292218Z /72	

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

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

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

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

1. [REDACTED] - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF WHAT
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 16252 01 OF 08 291538Z

PASSES FOR TRANQUILITY IN AYACUCHO, SENDERO'S

n/a
[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR
DATE/CASE ID: 29 JUL 2002 S200200010
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 25X6
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 25 NOV 2014

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

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. ALTHOUGH IT COULD ALSO BE THE POLICE OR APRA, IN AYACUCHO THE RFC IS PROBABLY THE ARMY. 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, UNDER THE CONTROL OF A PARTICULARLY HARSH MILITARY OFFICER

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 16252 01 OF 08 291538Z

("COMANDANTE LANDA DUPONT" -- THEY ALL USE PSEUDONYMS), REPORTED 100 DISAPPEARANCES IN JUNE-JULY.

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 HUANCVELICA AND APURIMAC DEPARTMENTS IS PROBABLY NO BETTER, BUT AYACUCHO

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

IS AS REMOVED FROM THOSE AREAS AS LIMA IS FROM 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

[REDACTED]

B6

POLCOUNS PAID

A 48-HOUR VISIT TO AYACUCHO NOVEMBER 17-19. THOSE HE MET WITH INCLUDED PASTOR NUNEZ MONTES DE OCA, THE 84-YEAR OLD APRA PREFECT; ARMY OFFICERS "NORIEGA" AND "GAMBOA," GAMBOA BEING AN ACQUAINTANCE FROM LIMA; ING. ALBERTO MOROTE, THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HUAMANGA; MONSEÑOR CIPRIANI, THE NEWLY-ARRIVED AUXILIARY ARCHBISHOP; HUGO NED, THE "CARETAS" STRINGER; CARLOS VALDEZ, THE "LA REPUBLICA" STRINGER; FATHER CARLOS SCHMIDT, A U.S. CITIZEN JESUIT PRIEST; FERMIN AZPARRENT, THE IU MAYOR OF AYACUCHO (INTRODUCED ONLY); JAIME URRUTIA, THE

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 16252 02 OF 08 291539Z
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	

-----216014 292218Z /72

R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3692
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
 DEAHQS WASHDC
 USIA WASHDC 9617
 DIA WASHDC

[REDACTED] SECTION 02 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

UNITED LEFT VICE MAYOR; ING. CESAR GUZMAN,
 MANAGER OF ELECTRO CENTRO; JUAN ANTONIO ARAUJO,
 DIRECTOR OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE'S
 REGIONAL OFFICE; AND NESTOR TINEO, LEADER OF
 FADA, THE AGRARIAN FEDERATION OF AYACUCHO
 DEPARTMENT. HE ALSO MET WITH THE DEPUTY
 [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 16252 02 OF 08 291539Z

COMMANDER OF THE CIVIL GUARD. HE MET WITH
 CARLOS ESCOBAR IN LIMA NOVEMBER 16.

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 [REDACTED]

B6

[REDACTED] WE SAW PRIVATE VIDEO TAPES (IN A GENERATOR-
 POWERED STUDIO IN THE LABYRINTHINE BASEMENT OF
 THE UNIVERSITY OF HUAMANGA) 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

[REDACTED]
n/a

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

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 [REDACTED] AND LASTED EIGHT HOURS, IS REGARDED AS THE APOGEE OF PRO-SL FEELING IN AYACUCHO.

NO LONGER POSSIBLE NOT TO TAKE SIDES:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 16252 02 OF 08 291539Z

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 NONETHELESS DIFFICULT TO AVOID CONCLUDING THAT THE OVERALL SECURITY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AYACUCHO IS GETTING MUCH WORSE. GIVEN THE NATIONAL 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

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

SYMPATHIZERS, ORGANIZING A DEMONSTRATION NOVEMBER 11 TO PROTEST NATIONAL GOVERNMENT CUTS IN THE UNIVERSITY BUDGET. CITING SL INFILTRATION, THE POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMAND DENIED AUTHORIZATION FOR THE DEMONSTRATION AN HOUR BEFORE IT WAS TO BEGIN AND POLICE MOVED TO PREVENT IT. IN THE BATTLE THAT ENSUED, A STUDENT WAS

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 16252 03 OF 08 291541Z ACTION ARA-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00
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	PRS-01	DS-01	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/050 W	

-----216017 292219Z /72

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

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 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

KILLED FROM BEING HIT WITH A TEAR GAS CANISTER

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

AND 30 WERE WOUNDED BY BUCKSHOT. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED]

B6

PAGE 02 LIMA 16252 03 OF 08 291541Z

WAS A CIVIL GUARD VEHICLE 15 KILOMETERS OUTSIDE OF AYACUCHO NOVEMBER 14. ELEVEN MEN, 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. CAMPESINOS 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 WITH REGIONAL AGRICULTURE DIRECTOR JUAN ANTONIO ARAUJOS, WHO SYMPATHIZED WITH THEIR SITUATION BUT HAD NO SOLUTION TO OFFER.

10. IT WAS THE PROSPECT OF THE ARMED STRIKE [REDACTED]

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

PAGE 03 LIMA 16252 03 OF 08 291541Z

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 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 BY [REDACTED] -- IS PROBABLY APRA AS WELL.)

B6

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

[REDACTED]

B1

00 EB-00

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

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	
-----216020				292219Z /72		

R 291521Z NOV 88
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3694
 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 9619
 DIA WASHDC

[REDACTED] SECTION 04 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
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[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] A VARIETY OF OTHERS HAD ALSO BEEN THREATENED BY THE RFC.

[REDACTED] BITTERNESS AT BEING CAUGHT

B1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 16252 04 OF 08 291542Z

IN BETWEEN SURFACED IN ALMOST EVERY CONVERSATION.

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. ALTHOUGH THE

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

RFC COULD BE EITHER THE POLICE OR APRA, OUR GUESS IS THAT IT IS THE ARMY. 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. THAT LEAVES THE ARMY, WHICH IS THE ONLY INSTITUTION THAT, GIVEN ITS LEGAL AND POLITICAL AUTHORITY, IS CONFIDENT OF BEING ABLE TO ACT WITH IMPUNITY.

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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 16252 04 OF 08 291542Z

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 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

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

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. [REDACTED] 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.

B6

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION WORSE:

[REDACTED]
NNNN
[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 16252 05 OF 08 291544Z
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	

-----216022. 292219Z /72

R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3695
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 9620
DIA WASHDC

[REDACTED]
n/a
[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

SECTION 05 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

15. THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HAD WORSENERED 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

PAGE 02 LIMA 16252 05 OF 08 291544Z

SHOVE THE MILITARY IS BEYOND THE LAW. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS IS 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. [REDACTED] ATTRIBUTED THE DISAPPEARANCES TO THE ARMY OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THAT AREA; SO DID

B6

[REDACTED] MADE THE COMMENT THAT, IN THE ABSENSE 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.

B6

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.

n/a

[REDACTED]

n/a

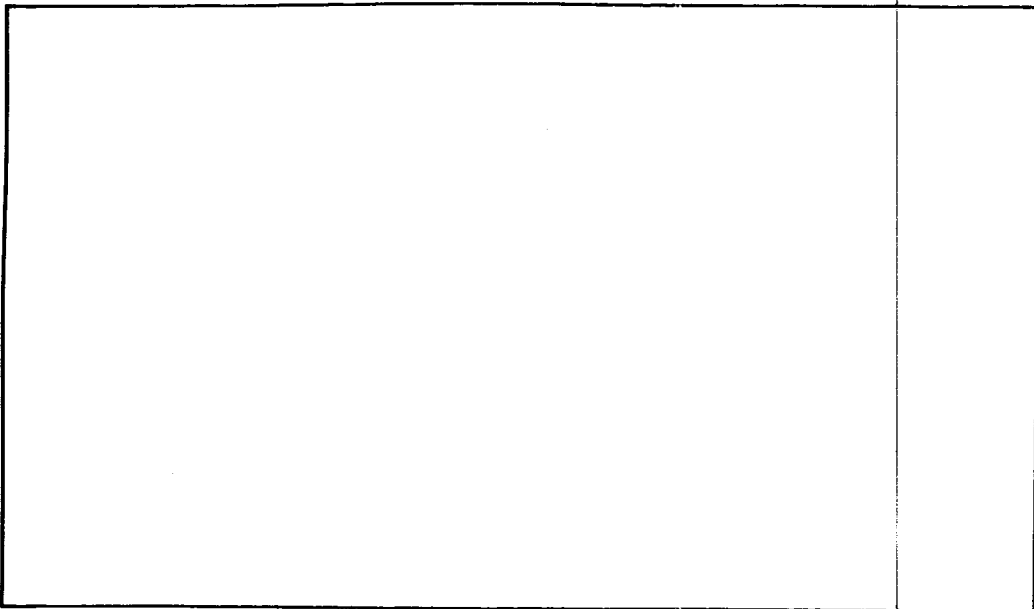
Case Number: S200200010

ESCOBAR'S INVESTIGATION OF THE CAYARA INCIDENT LED HIM TO CONCLUDE THAT THE ZONE COMMANDER, GENERAL JOSE VALDIVIA, WAS DIRECTLY AND PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE AND HIS REPORT RECOMMENDED INDICTMENT. ESCOBAR TOLD US NOVEMBER 16 HE IS CONVINCED THAT HIS INVESTIGATION IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CLOSURE OF HIS OFFICE.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 16252 05 OF 08 291544Z



B1

ARMY VIEW: THE WAR'S NOT GOING WELL:

18. OFFICERS "NORIEGA" AND "GAMBOA" BEGAN OUR CONVERSATION WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT THINGS ARE GOING BADLY ALL OVER. SINCE GAMBOA'S ARRIVAL IN 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

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

OUTSIDE THE EZ). GAMBOA SAID THE ARMY HAS YET

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 16252 06 OF 08 291545Z
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	
						-----216026	292219Z /72

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 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
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 AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
 DEAHQS WASHDC
 USIA WASHDC 9621
 DIA WASHDC

[REDACTED] SECTION 06 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

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

[REDACTED]

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

[REDACTED]
PAGE 02 LIMA 16252 06 OF 08 291545Z

AND ARE MORE STRONGLY MOTIVATED. THE ARMY AVOIDS ASSIGNING ANYONE FROM AYACUCHO TO AYACUCHO (FOR SECURITY REASONS). MOREOVER, HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE MARKING THE DAYS OF THE CALENDAR UNTIL THEY CAN LEAVE.

19. GAMBOA SAID 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, GAMBOA CLAIMED, 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. GAMBOA READILY VOLUNTEERED THAT 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. GAMBOA HAD 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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 16252 06 OF 08 291545Z

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

[REDACTED]
n/a

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

SITUATION IN THOSE DEPARTMENTS, AS FAR REMOVED FROM AYACUCHO AS AYACUCHO IS FROM LIMA.

[REDACTED] SAID HE HAD HEARD THAT THE ARMY WAS REDUCING ITS PRESENCE IN PARTS OF APURIMAC AND HUANCVELICA, FOR BUDGETARY REASONS; THIS CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE AFTER THE ONE WITH GAMBOA AND WE WERE UNABLE TO CHECK THIS POINT OUT.

B6

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:

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 LIMA 16252 07 OF 08 291621Z
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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R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

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
DEAHQS WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 9622
DIA WASHDC

[REDACTED] SECTION 07 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

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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. THE UNIVERSITY RECTOR COMPLAINS THAT THE STUDENT DEATH MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVOIDED IF

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 16252 07 OF 08 291621Z

THE POLITICO-MILITARY COMMANDER HAD CONSULTED WITH HIM IN ADVANCE. THE AUXILIARY ARCHBISHOP, WHO ARRIVED IN JULY, SAYS HE HAS ONLY BRIEFLY MET THE RECTOR. [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] THE PREFECT, WHILE SPRY FOR 84, IS REGARDED AS A NON-ENTITY. THE REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL DIRECTOR HAS BEEN THERE NINE YEARS, BUT IS NOT WELL KNOWN TO NON-APRISTAS. ALTHOUGH POLITICO-MILITARY COMMANDER VALDIVIA GOT OFF TO A GOOD START, THE MOST FREQUENTLY HEARD COMMENT IS NOT THAT HE'S HARSH BUT THAT HE'S UNCOMMUNICATIVE.

[REDACTED] n/a

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

23.

[REDACTED]

B1

AUXILIARY

ARCHBISHOP MONSEÑOR CIPRIANI, INTELLIGENT, WELL-EDUCATED, IN HIS MID-40'S, AND AN OPUS DEI MEMBER, IS GIVEN GOOD MARKS BY [REDACTED] FOR SUPPORTING THE ARCHDIOCESE SOCIAL ACTION OFFICE WITH CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES. [REDACTED]

B6

[REDACTED]

B1

24. SEE REF B FOR A FULL REPORT ON VICE MAYOR JAIME URRUTIA, A PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HUAMANGA. URRUTIA IS LEAVING AYACUCHO IN A MONTH [REDACTED] FOR AT LEAST A YEAR'S STUDY IN FRANCE, ON A FRENCH GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIP.

B1

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.

n/a

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

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."

NNNN

PAGE 01 LIMA 16252 08 OF 08 291621Z
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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R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3698
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 9623
DIA WASHDC

SECTION 08 OF 08 LIMA 16252

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

n/a

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[REDACTED]

n/a

Page: 20

Case Number: S200200010

TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PINR, SNAR, PE

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WATSON

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n/a
[REDACTED]

Page: 20

UNCLASSIFIED

[REDACTED]