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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	

-----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

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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, SENDERO'S BIRTHPLACE, THE CITY ITSELF WAS EXPERIENCING

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: APPEALS REVIEW PANEL
 CLASSIFICATION: UNCLASSIFIED
 APPEAL ACTION: RELEASED IN FULL
 DATE/CASE ID: 22 NOV 2010 200605715

n/a

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

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("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 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

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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 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

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ACTION ARA-00

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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 3692
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
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AMEMBASSY QUITO
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
DEAHQS WASHDC
USIA WASHDC 9617
DIA WASHDC

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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

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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 CARLOS VALDEZ 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 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.

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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 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 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

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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 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

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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
 AND 30 WERE WOUNDED BY BUCKSHOT. ACCORDING TO
 FATHER SCHMIDT 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,
 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

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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

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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 RPC, 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 RPC 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

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SAID THEY WERE GOING UNDERGROUND IN SEPTEMBER; THE THIRD -- MENTIONED ONLY BY [SCHMIDT] -- IS PROBABLY APRA AS WELL.)

11. VIRTUALLY EVERYONE WE INTERVIEWED REPORTED THAT BOTH SL AND THE RFC WERE ISSUING GREATER NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUAL THREATS. PREFECT MONTES DE OCA HAD BEEN THREATENED REPEATEDLY BY SL AND HAD HIS FAMILY EVACUATED TO LIMA. [VICE MAYOR] [JAIME URRUTIA] WHO HAD SURVIVED EIGHT YEARS OF VIOLENCE, HAD ALSO BEGUN TO GET DEATH THREATS FROM SL AND HAD DECIDED TO GET HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY OUT, AT LEAST FOR A YEAR. [AGRICULTURE] [DIRECTOR ARAUJOS] HAD JUST RECEIVED AN SL THREAT TO CLOSE HIS OFFICE WHEN WE VISITED -- HIS FIRST EVER -- AND WAS AGONIZING WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT (LIMA WAS LEAVING IT UP TO HIM). [CESAR PRADO]

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R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

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SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

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

SUBJECT: VISIT TO AYACUCHO: NOVEMBER 17-19, 1988

AND MARIO CAVALCANTI, THE DEAN AND VICE DEAN
 OF THE LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION, HAD RECENTLY
 LEFT OWING TO THREATS FROM THE RFC. A VARIETY
 OF OTHERS HAD ALSO BEEN THREATENED BY THE RFC,
 INCLUDING THE STRINGER FOR THE PRO-SL LIMA DAILY,
 "EL DIARIO." BITTERNESS AT BEING CAUGHT

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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
 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

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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
IS TO ACCOMODATE THE CONTINUING INFLUX OF
CAMPEBINOS 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 MARCO MONEY IN AYACUCHO, THE
PROCEEDS FROM COCA CULTIVATION IN THE APURIMAC
RIVER VALLEY. VICE MAYOR URRUTIA 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 MARCO 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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ACTION ARA-00

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-07	SS-00	CIAE-00	EB-00
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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

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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
 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. ESCOBAR
 ATTRIBUTED THE DISAPPEARANCES TO THE ARMY

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OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THAT AREA; SO DID URRUTIA AND SCHMIDT. URRUTIA 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.

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. 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.

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17. (NOTE: WE RAISED THIS SUBJECT ON THE MARGINS OF A SOCIAL EVENT NOVEMBER 19 WITH THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE CESAR DELGADO BARRETO AND WITH DR. PEDRO MENDEZ, CHIEF OF THE PENAL SECTION OF THE SUPREME COURT. MINISTER DELGADO BARRETO SAID HE WAS PERSONALLY DISTURBED BY THE OFFICE'S CLOSURE, INDICATED THAT HE DID NOT ACCEPT THE NOMINAL REASON AS THE REAL ONE AND SAID HE HAD ALREADY SPOKEN ABOUT IT TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL. DR. MENDEZ SAID THE OFFICE WOULD BE REOPENED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, BUT PROBABLY WITHOUT AN EXCLUSIVE MANDATE TO PURSUE HUMAN RIGHTS CASES AND VERY LIKELY UNDER A DIFFERENT INDIVIDUAL. MENDEZ COMMENTED THAT THE MATTER WOULD HAVE TO BE HANDLED VERY CAREFULLY TO AVOID INJURY TO ESCOBAR'S CAREER, INDICATING THAT ESCOBAR HAD TAKEN ON AN INSTITUTION TOO POWERFUL FOR HIM OR THE JUDICIAL BRANCH TO HANDLE.)

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n/a

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 OUTSIDE THE EZ). GAMBOA SAID THE ARMY HAS YET

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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

R 291521Z NOV 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3696
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 9621
DIA WASHDC

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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

SAN SALVADOR FOR MCFARLAND

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

n/a

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n/a

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

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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 HUANCABELICA 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.

SCHMIDT 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.

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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H-01 NSCE-00 NSAE-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10

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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 3697
 INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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 DEAHQS WASHDC
 USIA WASHDC 9622
 DIA WASHDC

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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. THE UNIVERSITY RECTOR COMPLAINS THAT THE STUDENT DEATH MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVOIDED IF
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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. NO ONE, APPARENTLY EVEN THE VICE MAYOR, CONSIDERS THE MAYOR WORTH TALKING TO. 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

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UNCOMMUNICATIVE.

23. UNIVERSITY RECTOR ALBERTO MOROTE, SL LEADER
OSMAN MOROTE'S FIRST COUSIN, 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. RECALLING THE UNIVERSITY'S PRE-SL,
"GOLDEN" YEARS, HE SEEMS OVERWHELMED BY THE
DISTRUST HIS FAMILY RELATIONS CREATE FOR HIM
OUTSIDE THE UNIVERSITY AND FOR THE UNIVERSITY
ITSELF; CURIOUSLY, HE WAS THE ONLY AYACUCHANO
TO MAKE A PLEA FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE.

B1, B6

AUXILIARY
ARCHBISHOP MONSEÑOR CIPRIANI, INTELLIGENT,
WELL-EDUCATED, IN HIS MID-40'S, AND AN OPUS DEI
MEMBER, IS GIVEN GOOD MARKS BY SCHMIDT FOR
SUPPORTING THE ARCHDIOCESE SOCIAL ACTION OFFICE
WITH CIVIL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES. HE
DESCRIBES THE SITUATION AS TOO DIFFICULT AND
CHURCH PERSONNEL RESOURCES AS TOO THIN

B6

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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. HE SAYS THE
POLICY IS NOT TO TAKE SIDES AND TO KEEP A PRUDENT
LOW PROFILE. 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. 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 BECAUSE OF SL THREATS, FOR
AT LEAST A YEAR'S STUDY IN FRANCE, ON A FRENCH
GOVERNMENT SCHOLARSHIP.

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

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

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