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PAGE 01 LIMA 19283 01 OF 04 241544Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-05	ADS-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	ARA-01	A-01
	CA-02	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	SJK-01	COME-00	CTME-00
	DODE-00	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	OIC-02	OIS-01	PA-01	PM-01	P-02	SSO-00
	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ZOVD-00	/039W	

-----2E5AD5 241544Z /38

P 241545Z DEC 90  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4036  
 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
 USMISSION GENEVA 1569  
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 19283

JUSTICE FOR ICITAP  
 USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PHUM, PTER, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE  
 SUBJECT: IN THE CROSS HAIRS: THE UNIVERSITY OF  
 - HUAMANGA: AN AYACUCHO TRIP REPORT, PART II

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 REF: A) LIMA 19145 B) LIMA 11367 C) LIMA 19116

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ENTIRE TEXT.

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 SUMMARY OF PART 2  
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2. THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE HUAMANGA  
 (UNSC) - THE BIRTHPLACE OF SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) -

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: JAMES F COOPER  
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D)  
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 23 DEC 2015  
 DATE/CASE ID: 05 JUN 2009 200804260

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: APPEALS REVIEW PANEL  
 APPEAL ACTION: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RELEASED  
 REASON(S): B6  
 DATE/CASE ID: 02 MAR 2011 200804260

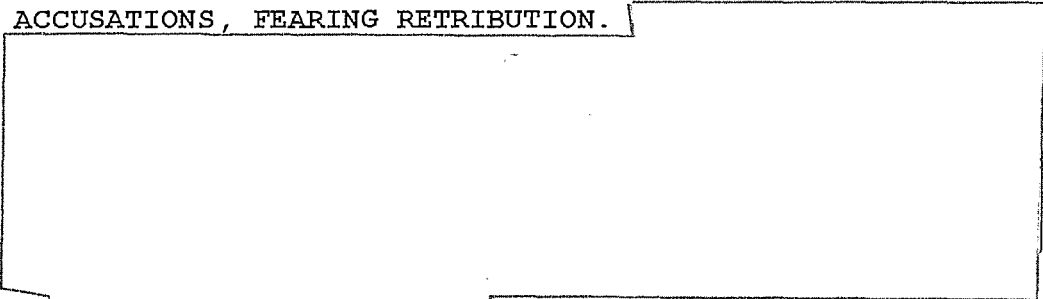
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REMAINS AN IMPORTANT BATTLEGROUND BETWEEN SL AND THE PERUVIAN ARMY. STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS CONTINUE TO DIE IN (MOSTLY NIGHTTIME) VIOLENCE. TWO PROFESSORS AND AT LEAST A DOZEN STUDENTS WERE KILLED IN 1990. THE ARMY MAY HAVE BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR MANY OF THESE KILLINGS. A POLICE OFFICER GAVE US DETAILS OF ONE PROFESSOR'S DEATH AT THE HANDS OF AN ARMY SERGEANT. WITNESSES TO EITHER SL OR MILITARY ABUSES TYPICALLY REFUSE TO MAKE OFFICIAL ACCUSATIONS, FEARING RETRIBUTION.



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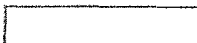
B6

3.  SENDERO SURREPTITIOUSLY HAS USED SOME UNIVERSITY EQUIPMENT AND HAS FORCED SOME STAFF TO HELP THE TERRORISTS. BUT THE ARMY SUSPICION OF THE UNIVERSITY SEEMS MORE A RESULT OF THE TRADITIONAL VIEW

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THAT THE UNIVERSITY IS CONTROLLED BY SENDERO.   
AND OTHERS CLAIM THAT IS NOT TRUE - AND HAS NOT BEEN TRUE FOR YEARS. THEY TOLD US THAT A HANDFUL OF THE PROFESSORS AND LESS THAN ONE-TENTH OF THE STUDENTS ARE SL. ALL BUT ONE OF THE EIGHT UNIVERSITY STAFF AND FACULTY WE MET WITH ARE CERTAINLY ANTI-SL AND DEMOCRATIC, AND THAT MAKES THEIR OPINIONS EASY TO BELIEVE. THE AMBASSADOR AND POLOFFS CONCLUDED THEIR VISITS TO AYACUCHO IMPRESSED BY THE COURAGE OF THE PEOPLE: MILITARY, POLICE AND CIVILIANS. WE ALSO JUDGE THAT WE PREVIOUSLY OVERESTIMATED SL'S OVERT PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE AT THE UNSCH. END SUMMARY.

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4. THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER OF HUAMANGA (UNSC) IS NO LONGER THE NERVE CENTER OF THE SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL), BUT IT DOES REMAIN AN IMPORTANT BATTLEGROUND IN THE FIGHT BETWEEN SL AND THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU. CONTINUING VIOLENCE AT THE UNSCH WAS A CENTRAL THEME OF SEVERAL MEETINGS DURING POLOFFS' (DECEMBER 4-6) AND THE AMBASSADOR'S (DECEMBER 5) AYACUCHO VISIT (REF A).

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DEATH COMES CALLING AFTER DARK

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5. BETWEEN JULY 19 AND JULY 24, 1990, THERE WERE FOUR SEPARATE KILLINGS OF IMPORTANT AYACUCHO FIGURES (REF B). ALL OCCURRED AFTER DARK. ALL WERE SHOT TO DEATH IN THEIR HOMES WHILE THEY SLEPT. TWO OF THE FOUR WERE UNSCH FACULTY. FERNANDO COLONIO WAS AN ATTORNEY WHO RAN THE UNIVERSITY'S HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE. CIRO ARAMBURU WAS A

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BIOLOGY PROFESSOR AND DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL WELFARE AT THE UNSCH. COLONIO AND ARAMBURU WERE PERSONAL FRIENDS

[REDACTED]

6.

AGREED WITH

REPORTS WE HAD EARLIER RECEIVED FROM LIMA HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS: THE ARMY KILLED COLONIO AND ARAMBURU. BELIEVES THE ARMY HAS KILLED MANY OTHERS.

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ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-05	ADS-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	ARA-01	A-01
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	INRE-00	INR-05	IO-05	L-02	M-01	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	PA-01	PM-01	P-02	SSO-00

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SS-01 TRSE-00 USIE-00 USSS-00 ZOVD-00 /039W  
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P 241545Z DEC 90  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4037  
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
USMISSION GENEVA 1570  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 02 OF 04 LIMA 19283

JUSTICE FOR ICITAP  
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PHUM, PTER, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE  
SUBJECT: IN THE CROSS HAIRS: THE UNIVERSITY OF

7. LATE AT NIGHT ON OCTOBER 28, 1989, SEVERAL ARMY  
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VEHICLES ENTERED THE CAMPUS. MASKED SOLDIERS TRASHED THE  
UNIVERSITY, DESTROYING LABORATORIES, CLASSROOMS, THE  
UNIVERSITY'S OFFSET PRESS, AND THE UNIVERSITY CAFETERIA.  
EIGHTEEN UNIVERSITY VEHICLES WERE BLOWN UP WITH DYNAMITE.

8. IN THE PRE-DAWN HOURS OF MAY 1, 1990, THE ARMY  
ENTERED /HE CAMPUS AND DUMPED THE TORTURED BODY OF  
CHEMISTRY STUDENT HORACIO ALFARO. THE 28-YEAR-OLD WAS  
DETAINED BY THE MILITARY ON APRIL 28. HIS CORPSE WAS  
LEFT IN A CLASSROOM OF THE CHEMISTRY BUILDING. THE  
BUILDING HAD BEEN PAINTED WITH SL GRAFFITI A FEW DAYS  
BEFORE IN ANTICIPATION OF THE MAY DAY ANNIVERSARY.  
SEVERAL DAYS LATER, ALSO AFTER DARK, SEVERAL GUNMEN IN A  
GOVERNMENT VEHICLE SPRAYED THE RECTOR'S HOME WITH MACHINE  
GUN FIRE.

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WHY IT MAY INDEED HAVE BEEN THE ARMY  
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9. [REDACTED] HAS NO DOUBT THAT ALL THESE INCIDENTS WERE MILITARY ACTION. ARMY VEHICLES WERE SEEN AT THE COLONIO KILLING AND DURING THE OCTOBER, 1989, ATTACK ON THE UNIVERSITY. WHEN THE ARMY RAIDED THE CAMPUS IN MAY, TWO NIGHTWATCHMEN WERE BLINDFOLDED BY THE INVADERS. A THIRD, HOWEVER, WAS OUT ON ROUNDS AND HID HIMSELF AS HE WATCHED SOLDIERS DRIVE IN AND DUMP THE BODY.

10. AN AYACUCHO POLICE OFFICER, HIMSELF INVOLVED IN EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS (REF C), TOLD US THAT AN ARMY SERGEANT HAD KILLED ARAMBURU. THE POLICEMAN TOLD US THAT

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ARAMBURU WAS A KNOWN SL COLLABORATOR. THE BIOLOGY PROFESSOR, HE SAID, PROVIDED FREE MEDICAL AID TO THE TERRORISTS. OUR POLICE CONTACT IS AT LEAST HALF CORRECT. [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT ARAMBURU HAD COME TO HIM SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH AND HAD RELATED THAT HE HAD RECENTLY TREATED SEVERAL WOUNDED SL. ARAMBURU CLAIMED HE HAD PROVIDED THE MEDICAL HELP UNDER THE THREAT OF DEATH. [REDACTED] SAID THAT HIS FRIEND FEARED THAT THE MILITARY WOULD FIND OUT.

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11. COMMENT: NONE OF THE WITNESSES TO THESE EVENTS, OR TO MOST OTHER INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE ATTRIBUTED TO THE MILITARY OR POLICE IN AYACUCHO, IS WILLING TO MAKE FORMAL ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE FORCES OF ORDER. EVERY WITNESS WHO CAME FORWARD FOLLOWING THE CAYARA MASSACRE HAS DIED OR DISAPPEARED. SIMILARLY, THOSE WHO SAW THE KILLING OF CARETAS REPORTER HUGO BUSTIOS. WITH NO FORMAL EYEWITNESS TESTIMONIES TO ANY OF THESE CASES OF ALLEGED ARMY OR POLICE VIOLENCE, THE MOST WE CAN STATE IS THAT THERE IS EVIDENCE OF OFFICIAL RESPONSIBILITY. END COMMENT.

12. [REDACTED] ADMITTED THAT THE ARMY WAS NOT TOO FAR OFF IN SOME OF ITS OTHER TARGETING. THE UNIVERSITY PRESS HAD BEEN USED TO PRINT SL PROPAGANDA. ADMITTED [REDACTED] BUT WITHOUT HIS PRIOR KNOWLEDGE

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STUDENTS CAN CHECK OUT UNIVERSITY VEHICLES FOR PERSONAL USE ON THE WEEKENDS. SOME OF THE VEHICLES HAVE BEEN USED BY THE TERRORISTS WHILE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. HE CITED THE CASE OF TWO VANS DRIVING STUDENTS TO PUNO WHICH WERE TAKEN OVER BY SL AND THEN RAN INTO AN ARMY ROAD-BLOCK. SEVERAL SL DIED. AND THE ARMY NEVER FORGOT WHO OWNED THE

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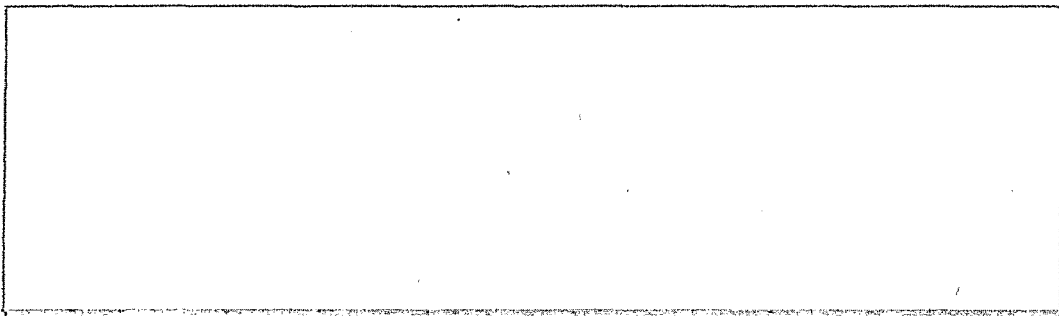
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VEHICLES.



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ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-05	ADS-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	ARA-01	A-01
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	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	PA-01	PM-01	P-02	SSO-00
	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ZOVD-00	/039W	

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P 241545Z DEC 90  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4038  
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
USMISSION GENEVA 1571  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 03 OF 04 LIMA 19283

JUSTICE FOR ICITAP  
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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SUBJECT: IN THE CROSS HAIRS: THE UNIVERSITY OF

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14.  
FERNANDEZ-DAVILA

ARMY GENERAL

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FERNANDEZ-DAVILA WAS ASSIGNED AS AYACUCHO MILITARY  
COMMANDER IN JANUARY, 1990.

15.

GENERAL ALSO LISTENED TO  
VIOLENCE.

THE  
COMPLAINTS ON ARMY

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17. [REDACTED] BELIEVES FERNANDEZ DAVILA'S POLICY IN AYACUCHO IS BOTH IMMORAL AND INEFFECTIVE. BUT IN FAIRNESS, [REDACTED] SAID, MAYBE FERNANDEZ-DAVILA IS NOT IN CONTROL AS MUCH AS HE PORTRAYS: THE GOLD-TIPPED RIDING CROP, THE JAUNTY BERET, THE FLEET OF AIDES AND SUPPLICANTS. [REDACTED] THOUGHT THE GENERAL MIGHT ACTUALLY BE BEING MANIPULATED BY HIS COLONEL. AFTER ALL, HE NOTED, THE GENERAL WAS NOT IN AYACUCHO WHEN BOTH ARAMBURU AND COLONIO WERE MURDERED. BUT [REDACTED] ALSO DESCRIBED THE MILITARY COMMANDER AS A HOT-HEAD WHO LOSES HIS TEMPER EASILY.

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THE BURDEN OF HISTORY  
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18. ONE OF [REDACTED] PROBLEMS IS HISTORY. RECENT HISTORY. SINCE 1965 [REDACTED] UNIVERSITY HAS BEEN KNOWN AS THE BIRTH PLACE AND BREEDING GROUND OF WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE THIS CONTINENT'S MOST BRUTAL TERRORIST MOVEMENT. TO MENTION THE UNIVERSITY OF HUAMANGA IS TO CONJURE IMAGES OF TERRORISTS PARADING AS STUDENTS, PROFESSORS AND ADMINISTRATORS. MOST ACADEMIC OR PRESS ARTICLES ON THE UNIVERSITY TELL OF HUNDREDS OF DEDICATED REVOLUTIONARIES LEAVING ITS HALLS TO SPREAD THE REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT PERU.

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19. [REDACTED] SAYS THAT IS NO LONGER TRUE. SENDERO LUMINOSO IS NO LONGER IN CHARGE. A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE EIGHT THOUSAND STUDENTS ARE SL SYMPATHIZERS. LESS

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THAN A HANDFUL OF THE 550 PROFESSORS ARE REVOLUTIONARIES, AND THESE HAVE ALL BEEN DRIVEN INTO THE CLOSET BY THE ARMY'S CAMPAIGN. SENDERO [REDACTED] SAYS [REDACTED] HAS NOT RUN THIS CAMPUS SINCE 1975.

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20. WHEN IT COMES TO AYACUCHO HISTORY [REDACTED] KNOWS



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WHEREOF HE SPEAKS [REDACTED] HE CAME TO THE UNIVERSITY  
[REDACTED] IN THE MIDST OF SL FOUNDER ABIMAEI  
[REDACTED] GUZMAN'S RISE TO POWER. HE SAW THE MOVEMENT TAKE ROOT,  
BLOSSOM, GO UNDERGROUND AND THEN DECLARE WAR. HIS MEMORY  
OF THOSE YEARS IS CLEAR AND HE SPEAKS OF THEM WITHOUT  
RESERVATION.

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21. HE IS NOT THE ONLY ONE [REDACTED] THE AMBASSADOR AND MRS.

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PAGE 01 LIMA 19283 04 OF 04 241548Z  
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-05	ADS-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	ARA-01	A-01
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	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OIS-01	PA-01	PM-01	P-02	SSO-00
	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ZOVD-00	/039W	

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4039  
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC  
USMISSION GENEVA 1572  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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JUSTICE FOR ICITAP  
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PHUM, PTER, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE  
SUBJECT: IN THE CROSS HAIRS: THE UNIVERSITY OF

QUAINTON HOSTED A LUNCH ON DECEMBER 5 ATTENDED BY THE  
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FACULTY:

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22. INCLUDING [REDACTED] FOUR OF THE SEVEN GUESTS WERE  
CONTEMPORARIES OF ABIMAEI GUZMAN AT THE UNIVERSITY AT  
LUNCH, IN THE SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] WE LEARNED A STOCKING-FULL ABOUT THE  
HISTORY OF HUAMANGA UNIVERSITY AND ABIMAEI GUZMAN'S RISE  
AND FALL FROM POWER. WE WILL REPORT THOSE DETAILS IN A  
FOLLOWING REPORT.

-----  
COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS  
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23. THE AMBASSADOR AND POLOFFS LEFT AYACUCHO WITH TWO  
OVERWHELMING IMPRESSIONS. FIRST, ONCE AGAIN WE HAVE  
FOUND OURSELVES IN THE PRESENCE OF HEROES. THE POLICE  
AND MILITARY FACE AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK. THEY ARE ALL  
POTENTIAL TARGETS AND RARELY KNOW FROM WHAT DIRECTION THE  
BULLET WILL COME. THEY HAVE INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES. FEW  
OF THEM SPEAK THE LANGUAGE OF THE POPULATION AROUND  
THEM. THEY ARE EXPECTED TO PLAY BY THE RULES - AND WE

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PAGE 03 LIMA 19283 04 OF 04 241548Z  
DEMAND IT OF THEM WHEN THEY MEET WITH US - WHICH THEIR

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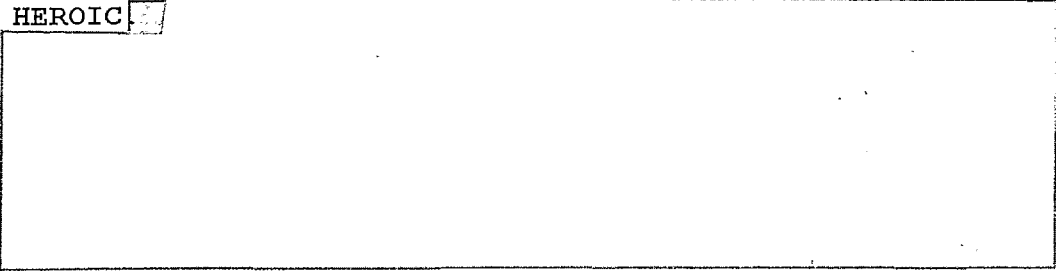
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ENEMY DELIBERATELY FLAUNTS. THOUGH WE JUDGE MANY ARE GUILTY OF EGREGIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, THESE MEN ARE NEVERTHELESS COURAGEOUS IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR OFFICIAL DUTIES.

24. THE CIVILIAN LEADERS OF THE CITY ARE NO LESS HEROIC.



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25. SECOND, WE TRAVELED TO AYACUCHO WITH A MISTAKEN VIEW OF THE UNIVERSITY AND ITS LEADERS.



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PERCENT OF THEIR STUDENT BODY ARE SL OR SL SYMPATHIZERS.

(NOTE: THIS STILL AMOUNTS TO SOME 800 STUDENTS. END

NOTE.) THE STAFF AND FACULTY WE MET, WITH ONE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION, THEY APPEAR DEMOCRATIC TO THE CORE. THEIR APPEAL TO THE EMBASSY: WHAT CAN BE DONE TO REESTABLISH CONTACT? CAN YOU GIVE OUR STUDENTS SCHOLARSHIPS TO THE U.S.? DO YOU HAVE AUDIO-VISUAL OR PRINTED MATERIALS WE CAN USE?

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26. GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA SAYS HE HAS BEATEN SL IN AYACUCHO. AGREES THAT SL IS ON THE RUN ON HIS CAMPUS, BUT ARGUES THAT THERE ARE REASONS OTHER THAN THE

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GENERAL'S ANTI-TERRORISM CAMPAIGN. WE LEARNED DURING OUR VISIT THAT SL NO LONGER CONTROLS HUAMANGA UNIVERSITY. SL IS STILL PRESENT, THOUGH, ALBEIT AT A LEVEL FAR LOWER THAN ITS HISTORICAL APOGEE. THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE LONG ARM OF SENDERO VIOLENCE CANNOT REACH OUT AT ANY MOMENT AND SNATCH BUT FOR NOW, SL IS AT ITS NADIR ON CAMPUS. A LITTLE HISTORY IS NECESSARY TO UNDERSTAND WHY. THAT WILL COME IN PART THREE OF THIS REPORT.

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