

E15

n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z
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
	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		

-----2D22EB 201703Z /38

P 201656Z DEC 90
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3947
 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
 DEAHQS WASHDC
 DIA WASHDC
 USUN NEW YORK
 USMISSION GENEVA 1558
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(D)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC
 JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
 USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z
TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
 SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP
 - REPORT, PART I

REF: A) LIMA 18734 B) LIMA 03978

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: SAM A. MOSKOWITZ
 DATE/CASE ID: 28 FEB 2001 200004442

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

2. SUMMARY: POLITICAL DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES IN THE CITY OF AYACUCHO HAVE DECREASED DURING 1990. THE MILITARY SAID THAT IT HAS DEFEATED SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) ON THE BATTLEFIELD; ALL THAT REMAINS IS SL'S POLITICAL AND SUPPORT STRUCTURE. OTHERS DISAGREED. AN SL-CALLED ARMED STRIKE COMPLETELY SHUT DOWN THE CITY THE DAY BEFORE POLOFFS' THREE-DAY VISIT. TWO "RUMORED" ARMED STRIKES SINCE HAVE FAILED TO MATERIALIZE. POLOFFS OBSERVED A TOWN WHICH ENTIRELY CLOSES ITS DOORS AFTER DARK. IN THE COUNTRYSIDE VIOLENCE APPEARS ABOUT THE SAME AS LAST YEAR, THOUGH ARMY-SPONSORED CIVIL DEFENSE GROUPS ("RONDAS CAMPESINAS") ARE TAKING A GREATER ROLE IN FIGHTING SL. PEASANT LEADERS COMPLAINED TO POLOFFS THAT THE RONDAS ARE LARGELY RUN BY THUGS AND NARCO-TRAFFICKERS, AND NOW COMMIT ABUSES IN THE ARMY'S STEAD. POLOFFS WERE ALSO TOLD OF SPECIFIC VILLAGES WHERE RONDAS LEADERS WERE ACTUALLY SL COMMANDERS.

3. AS ELSEWHERE IN RURAL PERU, THE ARMY AND POLICE ARE FEARED BY MUCH OF THE POPULATION. BUT MOST PEASANTS DO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z
NOT SUPPORT SL, EXCEPT PASSIVELY. THREE CITY LEADERS TOLD US THAT THE POLICE KIDNAP YOUNG MEN, ACCUSE THEM OF TERRORISM, AND COLLECT RANSOM FROM THE PARENTS FOR THE STUDENTS' RELEASE. THE VIOLENCE IN AYACUCHO HAS TAKEN ITS TOLL ON ELECTED LEADERS. THE LAST ELECTED MAYOR WAS KILLED BY SL IN SEPTEMBER, 1989; THE ACTING MAYOR IS ONE OF THE SIX REMAINING (OF 21) COUNCILMEMBERS. AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT - THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE SENDERO "REVOLUTION" - IS IMPORTANT TO BOTH SL AND THE GOVERNMENT FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL, NOT STRATEGIC, REASONS. BUT THAT DOES NOT MAKE THE BATTLE TO CONTROL IT ANY THE LESS SAVAGE ON EITHER SIDE. END SUMMARY.

4. THE CITY OF AYACUCHO HAS OFTEN PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF PERU AND SOUTH AMERICA. IT WAS THE CAPITAL OF THE CONTINENT'S FIRST EMPIRE, THE PRE-INCA WARI CIVILIZATION. IT WAS THE BATTLE SITE THAT FINALLY DETERMINED THE PIZARRO BROTHERS' CONTROL OF THE PERUVIAN VICEROYSHIP. AND IN 1824, GENERAL JOSE DE SUCRE DEFEATED THE ROYALISTS IN THE BATTLE OF AYACUCHO, THE LAST GREAT BATTLE LEADING TO SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE FROM SPAIN.

5. IF THE HOSTS OF ABIMAEL GUZMAN HAVE THEIR WAY THE CITY OF AYACUCHO WILL ALSO BE KNOWN TO ADMIRING FUTURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

GENERATIONS AS THE BIRTHPLACE OF SENDERO LUMINOSO.
POLOFFS SPENT THREE DAYS (DECEMBER 4-6) IN AYACUCHO CITY,
SURROUNDING THE DECEMBER 5 VISIT OF THE AMBASSADOR. THEY
OBSERVED A CITY ENJOYING AN UNUSUAL PERIOD OF RELATIVE
CALM. BUT NEARLY EVERYONE THEY SPOKE WITH PREDICTED THAT
A STORM LURKS ON THE NEAR HORIZON.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 01 OF 07 201702Z
URBAN DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES ARE DOWN

6. SINCE THE FIRST SL ACT OF TERROR IN 1980, THE
DEPARTMENT OF AYACUCHO ANNUALLY HAS SUFFERED MORE
TERRORIST INCIDENTS AND POLITICAL DEATHS THAN ANY OTHER
PERUVIAN DEPARTMENT. IT IS POSSIBLE FOR THE FIRST TIME
THAT IN 1990 ANOTHER DEPARTMENT (JUNIN) MAY PASS AYACUCHO
IN BOTH CATEGORIES. ACCORDING TO THE POLICE AND HUMAN
RIGHTS WORKERS, IN THE GREATER URBAN AREA OF AYACUCHO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN

PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 02 OF 07 201706Z
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
	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		

-----2D23A3 201707Z /38

P 201656Z DEC 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3948
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1559
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 02 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC
JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 02 OF 07 201706Z
TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

CITY THE NUMBER OF DEATHS IS MARKEDLY DOWN THIS YEAR OVER 1989. ACCORDING TO THE CHIEF ICRC DELEGATE, THE NUMBER OF DISAPPEARANCES ATTRIBUTED TO THE MILITARY AND POLICE ARE ALSO DOWN IN THE CITY.

7. GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA ARGUES, AND THE RECENT NUMBERS SUPPORT HIM, THAT SL IS ON THE RUN IN AYACUCHO CITY (REF A). HE CLAIMED THAT SL'S MILITARY STRUCTURE IS DISMANTLED DEPARTMENT-WIDE AND THAT ONLY THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE SUPPORT GROUPS REMAIN. OTHER INTERLOCUTORS AGREED THAT SL ATTACKS IN AND AROUND AYACUCHO CITY ARE DOWN. BUT THESE NON-MILITARY OBSERVERS OF SL DO NOT AGREE WITH THE GENERAL THAT SL IS WEAK IN THE DEPARTMENT. THEY POINT TO SOME DISTURBING FACTS.

8. ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2, TWO DAYS BEFORE POLOFFS' ARRIVAL, A COLUMN OF 50 SL ATTACKED A GAS STATION IN THE CITY. THE FIFTY WERE HEAVILY ARMED. WITNESSES DESCRIBED AUTOMATIC WEAPONS, DOUBLE BANDOLEROS AND NEW UNIFORMS. THE ATTACK WAS AT 1900 HOURS, IN DAYLIGHT, SIX BLOCKS FROM THE CENTRAL PLAZA. THERE WAS NO MILITARY OR POLICE RESPONSE. THE STATION BURNED TO THE GROUND AND SL LEFT WITHOUT A LOSS. THE ICRC DELEGATE TERMED THE ATTACK THE MOST BRAZEN HE HAD SEEN IN THE CITY ALL YEAR.

n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]
n/a

[REDACTED] AL

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 02 OF 07 201706Z

9. THE NEXT DAY, MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, SL ORDERED AN ARMED STRIKE IN HONOR OF ABIMAEI GUZMAN'S BIRTHDAY. THE CITY OF AYACUCHO SHUT DOWN. ALL PRIVATE BUSINESSES CLOSED. SO DID SCHOOLS, BANKS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICES, INCLUDING THE MUNICIPALITY. THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO TRANSPORTATION, PUBLIC OR PRIVATE. ACCORDING TO THE MAYOR, THE MILITARY AND POLICE WERE ALSO LARGELY ABSENT. BUT SEVERAL POLICE POLOFFS SPOKE WITH EXPLAINED THE REASONS WHY THEY STAY OFF THE STREETS DURING ARMED STRIKES. THERE ARE ACTUALLY FEW SECURITY INCIDENTS DURING STRIKES. INSTEAD, SL TARGETS STRIKE-BREAKERS IN THE WEEKS AFTER THE STRIKE. POLICE PATROLS ONLY INVITE UNNECESSARY SL RETALIATION.

10. COMMENT: AYACUCHO ARCHBISHOP FREDERICO RISTER OBSERVED, AND OTHERS AGREED, THAT SL ARMED STRIKES HAVE BEEN TRANSFORMED BY AYACUCHO'S CITIZENS INTO A KIND OF COMMUNITY CELEBRATION. EVERYONE STAYS HOME. THERE IS NO ELECTRICITY BECAUSE SL BLOWS DOWN THE POWER LINES. SO INSTEAD OF WATCHING TV THE CITY MOVES ONTO THE STREETS FOR SOCCER, VOLLEYBALL AND VISITING NEIGHBORS. THE ART OF STREETCORNER STORYTELLING HAS BEEN REVIVED. BUT THE THREAT IS EXPLICIT AND UNDERSTOOD. SL RETALIATES AGAINST ANY OFFICIAL OR COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY. IT MAY BE A COMMUNITY CELEBRATION, BUT THERE ARE NO SHOPS OPEN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE VACATIONING POPULATION. END COMMENT.

11. (POST-TRIP UPDATE: TWO SUBSEQUENT "RUMORED" ARMED STRIKES CALLED IN THE 10 DAYS FOLLOWING POLOFFS' VISIT FAILED TO MATERIALIZE. WE WERE TOLD BY VISITORS FROM

[REDACTED] AL

[REDACTED] IAL

PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 02 OF 07 201706Z

AYACUCHO THAT THE CITY'S RESIDENTS CONCLUDED THAT THE STRIKES HAD NOT BEEN CALLED BY SL. A POLICE OFFICIAL AND MAYOR RIVERA TOLD POLOFFS DURING THE VISIT THAT THE ARMY REGULARLY CALLS "ARMED STRIKES" WHICH FAIL, PART OF ARMY ANTI-SL PSY OPS. THE MAYOR STATED THAT IT IS NORMALLY EASY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN AN "ARMY ARMED STRIKE" AND AN AUTHENTIC ONE, EVEN THOUGH "SUBVERSIVE FLYERS" ARE

[REDACTED] n/a

[REDACTED] AL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

DISTRIBUTED IN BOTH. RIVERA STATED THAT WHEN THE ARMY CALLS A STRIKE THE RUMOR BEGINS IN THE CENTRAL PLAZA AND SPREADS OUTWARD. WHEN SL CALLS A STRIKE THE RUMOR BEGINS IN THE OUTLYING SLUMS AND FILTERS INWARD.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 03 OF 07 201709Z
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
	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		

-----2D23EC 201710Z /38

P 201656Z DEC 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3949
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1560
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

C ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ L SECTION 03 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC
JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 03 OF 07 201709Z
TERREP

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]
n/a

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: - AN AYACUCHO TRIP

12. AT POLOFFS' ARRIVAL, THE CITY WAS IN ITS FIFTH STRAIGHT DAY OF NO ELECTRICITY. BOTH NIGHTS OF THEIR STAY, BY 2030 HOURS, THE BUSY TOWN HAD BECOME A VIRTUAL GHOST TOWN. NO ONE WALKED THE STREETS. FOLKS POLOFFS SOUGHT APPOINTMENTS WITH, INCLUDING THE ICRC, WOULD NOT WALK SIX BLOCKS TO THE TOURIST HOTEL (JUST OFF THE PLAZA DE ARMAS) FOR APPOINTMENTS AFTER DARK. BY 2200 HOURS, POLICE AND MILITARY PATROLS HAD ALSO CEASED. STRANGE BEHAVIOR IN A CITY WHERE SL IS REPORTEDLY ON THE RUN.

A RURAL CIVIL DEFENSE STRATEGY GONE AWRY

13. IN THE COUNTRYSIDE THERE IS A DIFFERENT ATMOSPHERE AND AN ADDITIONAL PLAYER, THE ARMY-SPONSORED "RONDAS CAMPESINAS" (VILLAGE CIVIL DEFENSE PATROLS). IN POLOFFS' MEETINGS WITH AYACUCHO RESIDENTS, EVERY DISCUSSION ON TERRORISM, HUMAN RIGHTS, OR NARCOTICS IN RURAL AYACUCHO CENTERED ON THE RONDAS. ON BALANCE, ALL NON-MILITARY CONTACTS WE SPOKE WITH IN AYACUCHO (INCLUDING THE COPS) SAID THAT THE MILITARY STRATEGY TO MOBILIZE CIVILIANS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE HAD GONE DANGEROUSLY AWRY.

14. POLOFFS MET WITH THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF A NEWLY
[REDACTED] AL

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 03 OF 07 201709Z
FORMED CAMPESINO UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION, CODECSA.
CONSTITUENT MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDE CAMPESINO FEDERATIONS, VILLAGE COMMUNITY KITCHENS, RURAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, AND SEVERAL AYACUCHO-BASED HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS (INCLUDING ONE KNOWN TO HAVE SL TIES). DURING A WIDE-RANGING TWO HOUR DISCUSSION THESE MEN ARGUED THAT THE RONDAS CAMPESINAS ARE REPLACING THE ARMY AS THE MAJOR SOURCE OF EXTRA-LEGAL KILLINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES IN RURAL AYACUCHO.

15. ACCORDING TO CODECSA SECRETARY GENERAL FRANCISCO MENDOZA, THE RONDAS LEADERS IN RURAL AYACUCHO ARE NOT LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS, BUT ARE MEN WHOSE AUTHORITY IS BASED SOLELY ON THE ARMY'S SUPPORT. MOST, HE SAID, ARE

[REDACTED]
n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

CRIMINALS AND THUGS. IN THE PROVINCES OF LA MAR AND HUANTA THESE LEADERS CONTROL COCA LEAF PRODUCTION AND ARE SUPPORTED BY THE MILITARY LARGELY IN RETURN FOR SHARING COCA PROFITS.

16. A FEW RONDAS LEADERS IN THE SIERRA ARE SENDERO LUMINOSO MILITARY COMMANDERS. MENDOZA AND THE CODECSA HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINATOR RELATED TO POLOFFS THE STORY OF ANCOS VINCHOS VILLAGE, A SMALL TOWN EAST OF AYACUCHO. THE ARMY LEARNED THERE WAS AN SL BASE CAMP NEARBY AND THAT VINCHOS VILLAGERS WERE USED AS FORCE MULTIPLIERS IN ATTACKS AGAINST POLICE STATIONS AND ARMY PATROLS. THE CODECSA LEADERS ADMITTED THAT MANY IN VINCHOS WERE SL SYMPATHIZERS. THE ARMY ATTACKED THE VILLAGE IN EARLY 1990, KILLING SEVERAL MEN WHO REFUSED TO DIVULGE THE LOCATION OF THE SL BASE CAMP.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 03 OF 07 201709Z
17. THE LOCAL SL COMMANDER GOT WISE. HE ROUNDED UP FOUR VINCHOS MEN AND HAULED THEM OFF TO THE MILITARY BASE AT HUANTA. "THESE ARE SL TERRORISTS," THE VINCHOS LEADER STATED TO THE BASE COMMANDER. "IF YOU WILL LEAVE MY VILLAGE ALONE I WILL CONTINUE TO BRING YOU TERRORISTS." AS THEY HAVE IN DOZENS OF OTHER VILLAGES, THE ARMY AGREED, IN THIS CASE NOT KNOWING THAT THEY WERE SUPPORTING AN SL MILITARY CELL LEADER WHO WAS BRINGING THEM NON-SL PRISONERS. VINCHOS IS NOW DESCRIBED BY THE ARMY AS A PACIFIED VILLAGE.

18. OTHER VILLAGES HAVE NOT SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED WITH THE MILITARY. IN IQUICHEZ, HUANTA PROVINCE, 134

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 04 OF 07 201713Z
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-13	ADS-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	ARA-05	A-01
	CA-02	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	SJK-01	COME-00	CTME-00
	DOEE-00	DS-01	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	IMMC-01	INRE-00
	INR-05	L-02	M-01	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIS-01

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]
n/a

PA-01 PM-01 P-02 SSO-00 SS-01 TRSE-00 USIE-00
USSS-00 ZOVD-00 /044W
-----2D49F4 202334Z /72 38

P 201656Z DEC 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3950
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1561
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 04 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC
JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 04 OF 07 201713Z
TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

VILLAGERS HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED SINCE FEBRUARY, 1989. A REFUGEE FROM IQUICHEZ TOLD POLOFFS THAT THE ARMY AND RONDAS ARE KILLING HIS PEOPLE. HE CLAIMED THAT SEVERAL IN THE TOWN WERE SL AND PARTICIPATED IN AN ATTACK ON AN ARMY PATROL NEAR THEIR VILLAGE IN JANUARY, 1989. SINCE THEN THE ARMY HAS BEEN COMING BACK EVERY TWO OR THREE WEEKS. EACH TIME FOUR OR FIVE MEN DISAPPEAR. THE VILLAGER LEFT US SEVERAL SHEETS BEARING THE HAND-WRITTEN NAMES OF ALL 134 VICTIMS.

19. THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE CODECSA BOARD LAUGHED WHEN ASKED ABOUT RECENT REPORTS OF SL "DESERTIONS" TO THE ARMY. THESE NUMBERS, MENDOZA CLAIMED, ARE THE

n/a
[REDACTED] TIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

POPULATIONS OF VILLAGES "PACIFIED" BY THE ARMY. WHEN A RONDAS GROUP IS ORGANIZED IN A PREVIOUSLY UNORGANIZED VILLAGE, THAT POPULATION IS SAID TO HAVE "DESERTED" SL. SOME OF THESE VILLAGES WERE UNDER SL CONTROL, MENDOZA ADMITTED. BUT HE STATED FLATLY THAT MOST AYACUCHO PEASANTS DO NOT SUPPORT SL, EXCEPT PASSIVELY. HE ALSO DENIED THAT ANY REAL SL ARE DESERTING TO THE ARMY.

20. COMMENT: CODECSA IS PLAINLY ANTI-RONDAS AND IS CONSIDERED BY THE ARMY TO BE PRO-SL. THE PRESENCE OF AT LEAST ONE SL FRONT-GROUP IN THE ORGANIZATION LENDS CREDENCE TO THAT CLAIM. BUT THE CODECSA LEADERSHIP WAS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 04 OF 07 201713Z
AS HARSH IN ITS CRITICISM OF SL AS IT WAS OF THE POLICE AND ARMY. THE MEETING WITH POLOFF WAS ORIGINALLY TO SEEK FUNDING FROM THE EMBASSY FOR SEVERAL CODECSA PROJECTS. ONE OF THE ISSUES DISCUSSED WAS HOW TO CHANNEL THE MONEY SO AS TO AVOID TOO CLOSE AN IDENTIFICATION WITH THE USG AND THUS BRING DOWN THE WRATH OF SL. POLOFFS JUDGE THE GROUP TO BE DEMOCRATIC, BUT INDISCRIMINATE IN ITS CRITERIA FOR MEMBERSHIP. END COMMENT.

THE ICRC'S VIEW, AS IT PREPARES FOR WORSE TIMES AHEAD

21. IN A SIMULTANEOUS MEETING ACROSS TOWN WITH A SECOND POLOFF, [REDACTED] INDEPENDENTLY CONFIRMED MUCH OF WHAT THE CODECSA LEADERSHIP RELATED. THE RONDAS LEADERS ARE CHOSEN BY THE MILITARY. MANY OF THEM ARE LOCAL TOUGHS OR NARCOS (E.G., COMANDANTES "HUAYHUACO" AND "CARDENAS" ARE THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE RONDAS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO VALLEY ALONG THE RIO APURIMAC IN LAR MAR PROVINCE. [REDACTED]

B1, 1.5(D)

[REDACTED] HUAYHUACO IS SYSTEMATICALLY KILLING OFF LOCAL OPPONENTS TO THE RONDAS. CARDENAS USES HIS BASE IN PALMAPAMPA TO CONTROL THE VALLEY'S COCA TRAFFIC. IN BOTH CASES, THE MARINES KNOW, BUT LOOK THE OTHER WAY. SEE REFTTEL B ON HUAYHUACO'S TERRORIST AND NARCOTICS BACKGROUND.)

B1, 1.5(D)

22. [REDACTED] OPINED THAT THE RISE OF THE RONDAS ALLOWED THE MILITARY TO STEP BACK FROM DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE

B1, 1.5(D)

n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 04 OF 07 201713Z
 CIVILIAN POPULATION (AND SENDERO). THE WAR IS
 "DEMILITARIZED" AS THE ARMY DISENGAGES AND THE CIVILIANS
 TAKE OVER. ALLEGATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ARE
 LARGELY REDIRECTED AWAY FROM THE MILITARY AND DIFFUSED
 AGAINST THE MORE AMORPHOUS "RONDAS." PARTICIPATION WAS
 "VIRTUALLY OBLIGATORY" IF A VILLAGE (OR A VILLAGER)
 WANTED TO ESCAPE MILITARY RETALIATION. [REDACTED] B1, 1.5(D)
 THAT GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA'S MISSION FOR 1990 HAD BEEN
 TO SPEED UP THE ORGANIZATION OF THE RONDAS AND SCALE BACK
 THE MILITARY'S PROFILE. IN LARGE PART, [REDACTED] B1, 1.5(D)
 THE GENERAL HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN THIS MISSION.
 23. [REDACTED] ALSO TOLD OF CASES WHERE THE B1, 1.5(D)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 05 OF 07 201714Z
 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
	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		

-----2D247C 201716Z /38

P 201656Z DEC 90
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3951
 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
 DEAHQS WASHDC
 DIA WASHDC
 USUN NEW YORK
 USMISSION GENEVA 1562
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] L
n/a

C [REDACTED] SECTION 05 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC
JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

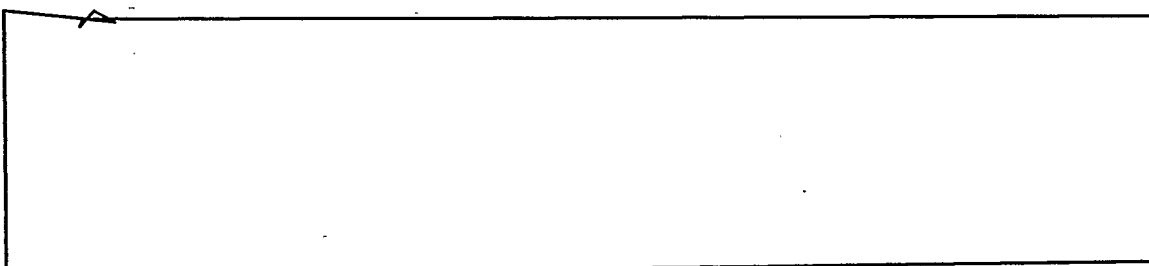
[REDACTED] AL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 05 OF 07 201714Z
TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

MILITARY WAS UNWITTINGLY ORGANIZING RONDAS WHICH ARE ACTUALLY LED BY SENDERO LEADERS. MIGRATION OUT OF THE COUNTRYSIDE HAD BEEN SO GREAT THAT IN SOME AREA THE ONLY PEOPLE LEFT WERE SL "MASAS" (BASE SUPPORTERS). YET THE MILITARY HAD GONE IN AND "ORGANIZED" THEM. HUANTA AND LAMAR PROVINCES ARE THE MOST CONFLICTIVE AREAS OF AYACUCHO, AND WHERE THE RONDAS ARE MOST HEAVILY CONCENTRATED. THE LINE BETWEEN SL AND THE RONDAS IN THOSE TWO PROVINCES IS MUCH CLEARER. IN THEIR PEREGRINATIONS [REDACTED] NO LONGER TRAVELED EVEN SEVERAL HUNDRED YARDS BEYOND THE CONFLUENCE OF THE ENE AND MANTARO RIVERS. IT IS A "PERMANENT SL LIBERATED ZONE," COMPLETE WITH ARMED CHECKPOINTS. NO ONE ENTERS THERE, [REDACTED] "NOT EVEN THE MILITARY."

B1, 1.5(D)
B1, 1.5(D)
B1, 1.5(D)



ESTIMATED THAT 70 PERCENT OF THE PEASANTS NOW

[REDACTED] L
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 05 OF 07 201714Z
FLEEING THE AYACUCHO COUNTRYSIDE WERE MIGRATING FOR

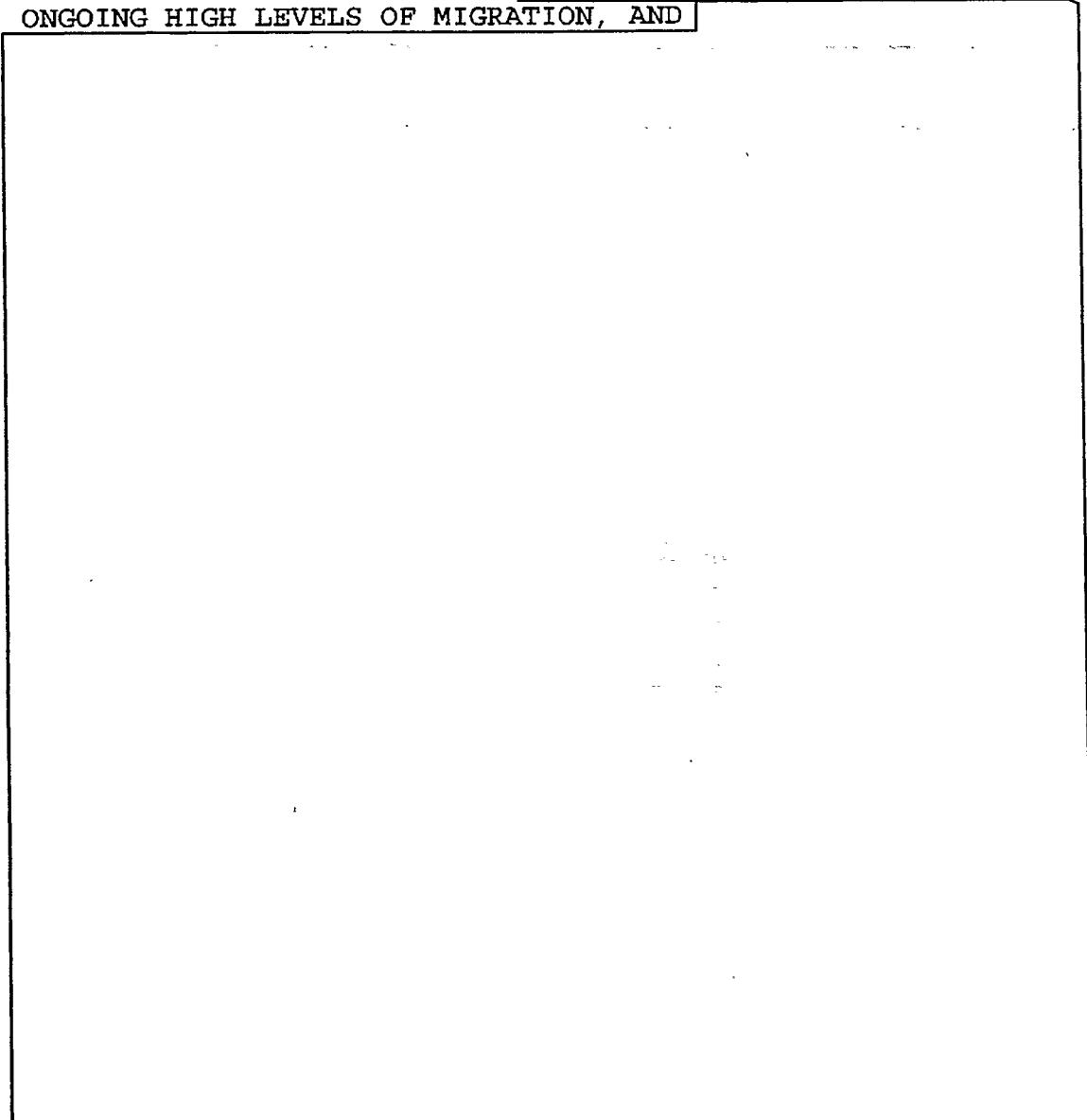
n/a
CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

PRIMARILY VIOLENCE (AS OPPOSED TO ECONOMIC) REASONS: THE PEASANTS LIVE BY AND FOR THEIR LAND, HE SAID. IT TAKES AN OVERWHELMING FORCE TO SEVER THEIR TIES TO THE LAND. INDICATORS [REDACTED] RELIED UPON TO SUBSTANTIATE HIS CLAIM THAT RURAL VIOLENCE WAS UP FROM 1989 INCLUDED: THE INCREASED NUMBER OF INJURED IN HOSPITALS AND CLINICS, THE GROWTH OF "DAMNIFICADOS" (INDIVIDUALS PERSONALLY AFFECTED BY THE VIOLENCE) SHOWING UP [REDACTED] THE ONGOING HIGH LEVELS OF MIGRATION, AND [REDACTED]

B1, 1.5(D)

B1, 1.5(D)



B1, 1.5(D)

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AL

NNNN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ L

PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z
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
	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		

-----2D8FE9 211429Z /38

P 201656Z DEC 90
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3952
 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
 DEAHQS WASHDC
 DIA WASHDC
 USUN NEW YORK 2375
 USMISSION GENEVA 1563
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY.HTS PM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ L SECTION 06 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC
 JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
 USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z
TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
 SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~_____~~
n/a

[REDACTED] B1, 1.5(D)

CHOOSING SIDES: WHO ARE THE BAD GUYS?

28. [REDACTED] POLOFFS HEARD A B1, 1.5(D)
LITANY OF ALLEGED POLICE AND MILITARY CORRUPTION AND
EXCESSES DURING THEIR THREE DAY VISIT. MRS. TERESA
ZARATE DEL PINO, AN AYACUCHO CITY COUNCILWOMAN (APRA),
TOLD US OF A POLICE SCAM IN THE CITY. THE POLICE DETAIN
AN 18 TO 25 YEAR-OLD MALE, CHARGE HIM WITH TERRORISM, AND
THEN CONTACT THE FAMILY TO EXTORT MONEY FOR THE RELEASE
OF THE STUDENT. THOSE WHO CAN, PAY. IN THE SAME
CONVERSATION, FATHER GONZALO VALVERDE, DESCRIBED IN
GRAPHIC DETAIL CASES WHERE THE FAMILY COULD NOT PAY.
MOST OF THE YOUNG MEN SURVIVE THE TORTURE, THE FRANCISCAN
ALLEGED. HE CLAIMED TO HAVE ADMINISTERED EXTREME UNCTION
TO ONE BOY WHO DIDN'T.

29. MRS. DEL PINO, THE PRIEST, AND HUAMANGA PROVINCE'S
ACTING MAYOR MAURO RIVERA (IU) NOTED THAT SOME OF THE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z
YOUTHS PICKED UP ARE ACTUALLY SL. THESE DETAINEES RAISE
THE NECESSARY MONEY RIGHT AWAY. IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE
TO THE POLICE. THIS IS NOT AN ANTI-TERRORISM EFFORT. IT
IS STRICTLY FUND-RAISING. THE NORMAL "BAIL" IS FIVE
HUNDRED DOLLARS. NONE OF THESE DETENTIONS ARE FORMALLY
DENOUNCED, THESE OBSERVERS STATED, FOR FEAR THAT THE
FAMILY MEMBER WILL NOT BE RETURNED ALIVE.

[REDACTED] B1, 1.5(D)

30. POLOFFS OBSERVED THE SAME PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE
POLICE AND MILITARY IN AYACUCHO AS IN MOST OTHER PLACES
IN RURAL PERU. MOST OF THE QUECHUA-SPEAKING, RURAL
PEASANTS FEAR AND DESPISE THE POLICE AND ARMY. (NOTE:
AN ESTIMATED EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE AYACUCHANO PEASANTRY
SPEAKS QUECHUA. GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA TOLD THE
AMBASSADOR THAT ONLY TEN PERCENT OF HIS TROOPS SPEAK
QUECHUA - AND THAT THE PERCENTAGE OF QUECHUA-SPEAKING

n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ L

[REDACTED]
n/a

OFFICERS IS MARKEDLY LOWER.) BUT THE PEASANTS' FEAR OF THE SOLDIERS AND POLICE DOES NOT NORMALLY TRANSLATE INTO SUPPORT FOR SL. POLOFFS DID NOT VISIT RURAL AYACUCHO, BUT PROFESSIONALS IN AYACUCHO WHO DO REPORTED THAT, CAUGHT BETWEEN OFFICIAL VIOLENCE AND THE DOCTRINE AND THREAT OF SL, MOST PEASANTS WILL FLEE BEFORE JOINING SL. THUS THE PHENOMENAL MIGRATION FROM THE RURAL HIGH SIERRA. THE ARMY AND POLICE ARE NOT WINNING ALLIES. BUT NEITHER IS SENDERO LUMINOSO.

31. AS IN OTHER EMERGENCY ZONE CITIES POLOFFS HAVE VISITED, MANY CIVILIAN LEADERS HAVE BEEN KILLED OR HAVE FLED THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE. SL KILLED THE CITY'S LAST

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 06 OF 07 211356Z
ELECTED MAYOR IN SEPTEMBER, 1989. ONLY SIX OF AYACUCHO'S 21-MEMBER CITY COUNCIL ARE STILL IN OFFICE AS OTHER MEMBERS FOUND IT PRUDENT TO RESIGN. JUST SIX OF THE CITY'S DOZEN OR MORE DISTRICTS HAVE MAYORS. THE SECOND DAY OF THIS VISIT THE MAYOR OF A RURAL AYACUCHO TOWN AND HIS FAMILY WERE SLAUGHTERED BY SL. STILL, ACTING MAYOR RIVERA REPORTED THAT ALL ELEVEN OF THE DEPARTMENT'S PROVINCES CURRENTLY HAVE MAYORS, EITHER ELECTED OR APPOINTED. MANY CIVIC LEADERS WHO HAVE STAYED (THE RECTOR OF THE UNIVERSITY AND THE CHIEF PUBLIC PROSECUTOR,

NNNN

[REDACTED]
PAGE 01 LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z
ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-13	ADS-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	ARA-05	A-01
	CA-02	CCO-00	CG-00	CIAE-00	SJK-01	COME-00	CTME-00
	DOEE-00	DS-01	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	IMMC-01	INRE-00
	INR-05	L-02	M-01	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIS-01
	PA-01	PM-01	P-02	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	USSS-00	ZOVD-00	/044W				

-----2D4A06 202335Z /72 38

P 201656Z DEC 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3953

n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
DEAHQS WASHDC
DIA WASHDC
USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION GENEVA 1564
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 07 OF 07 LIMA 19145

DEA FOR AO, DO, OF, OC, OISL, OIOC
JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 02 LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z
TERREP

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, PHUM, ASEC, SNAR, PINS, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: AN AYACUCHO TRIP

FOR EXAMPLE) HAVE SENT THEIR FAMILIES TO THE SAFER CLIMES
OF LIMA. THE NEW PREFECT FOR AYACUCHO, CESAR A. SULCA,
ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS ADAMANT THAT HIS WIFE AND FOUR
YOUNG GIRLS MOVE TO AYACUCHO WITH HIM. THEY HAVE BEEN
THERE TWO MONTHS NOW.

COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION

32. SENDERO TERRORISM HAS COME LATELY TO MOST OF PERU.
THE "REVOLUTION" DID NOT REALLY BEGIN TO SPREAD OUTSIDE
OF AYACUCHO, HUANCVELICA AND APURIMAC DEPARTMENTS UNTIL
1983. BUT THE RESIDENTS OF AYACUCHO HAVE WITNESSED THE
SL PHENOMENON SINCE ITS POLITICAL BIRTH IN THE
MID-SIXTIES. THAT IS WHY THE ATTITUDE OF AYACUCHANOS
TOWARD SL APPEARS MORE EVOLVED THAN ELSEWHERE IN PERU.
FOR EXAMPLE, THE FOLKS WE TALKED WITH, FROM THE POLITICAL
RIGHT TO THE LEFT, ADMIT THAT ONE CANNOT APPEAR NEUTRAL

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

IN AYACUCHO AND SURVIVE. IF YOU ARE RADICAL RIGHT, ONLY SL TRIES TO KILL YOU. IF YOU ARE A TERRORIST, ONLY THE POLICE AND MILITARY TRY TO KILL YOU. IF YOU ARE IN THE MIDDLE, BOTH THE TERRORISTS AND THE SOLDIERS WANT YOU DEAD.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 03 LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z

33. ONE AYACUCHANO LAUGHED WHEN TOLD THAT IN HUANCAYO - A CITY CURRENTLY CONVULSED BY BOTH SL AND MRTA VIOLENCE - THE STREETS WERE BUSY UNTIL 11 PM. "THAT'S BECAUSE THE VIOLENCE IS ONLY A FEW YEARS OLD THERE. THEY HAVEN'T YET FIGURED OUT HOW TO KEEP THEIR HEADS DOWN|"

34. THE RURAL PEASANTS, WHO FEAR THE FORCES OF ORDER, STOICALLY ACCEPT THE ARMY AND POLICE DIRTY WAR AS LOGICAL. THE CAMPESINO SEEMS TO THINK THAT GIVEN THE LACK OF MONEY, TRAINING, AND STRATEGY, THIS IS THE ONLY WAY THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE TO FIGHT THE WAR. BY FLEEING TO THE CITIES, THE CAMPESINO IS ESSENTIALLY CHOOSING A SIDE. SOME OF THOSE WHO STAY IN THE MOUNTAINS MAY HAVE ACCEPTED SL'S LEADERSHIP. MORE LIKELY, THESE HAVE ONLY DELAYED THEIR DECISION. THEIR TIES TO THEIR LAND ARE GREATER THAN THEIR FEAR. FOR NOW.

35. MAYOR RIVERA BELIEVES THAT THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GIVEN UP AYACUCHO FOR LOST. AYACUCHO, BOTH THE CITY AND THE DEPARTMENT, IS UNIMPORTANT TO LIMA, HE EXPLAINED. IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN. THERE IS NO INDUSTRY, NO MINING, NO EXPORT AGRICULTURE. THE DEPARTMENT IS STRATEGICALLY OF MINOR IMPORTANCE. THE ARMY CAMPAIGN IN AYACUCHO SERVES ONE PURPOSE: TO DENY SL THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE OF WINNING THE DEPARTMENT WHERE THE SL REVOLUTION WAS BORN. THAT IS WHY THE ARMY FIGHTS. BUT THAT IS ALSO WHY IT IS RELATIVELY LESS IMPORTANT IF THE ARMY HAS TO SCORCH THE EARTH TO WIN.

36. FOR THE SAME REASON THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SAN CRISTOBAL DE HUAMANGA IS IMPORTANT, BOTH TO SL AND TO THE ARMY. IT IS THE "INDEPENDENCE HALL" OF THE SENDERO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 04 LIMA 19145 07 OF 07 201719Z
REVOLUTION. IN PART TWO OF THIS REPORT WE WILL DISCUSS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
n/a

THE ONGOING BATTLE BETWEEN THE GOP AND SENDERO TO CONTROL
THE UNIVERSITY.

QUAINTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN

n/a
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~