

PE 440
violence

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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	SS-00	CIAE-00	H-01
	10-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	NA-03	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-10
	PA-01	OMB-01	INRE-00	USIE-00	SP-02	SKP-01	C-01
	PRS-01	OS-00	SCT-02	P-02	T-01	/065 W	

-----272433 110315Z /63-70

P 101554Z NOV 84
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3259
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
DIA WASHDC

United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: MOSKOWITZ, SAM
Date: 04/24/95
Case ID: 93006854

CONFIDENTIAL LIMA 15422

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PTER, PGOV, ASEC, PE
SUBJECT: GOP QUASHES THE CAYARA MASSACRE REPORT

REF: A) LIMA 6773, B) LIMA 86001, C) LIMA 07190

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: BOTH THE SENATE AND CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES COMMITTEES ASSIGNED TO INVESTIGATE THE ALLEGED CAYARA MASSACRE LAST MAY PA HAVE REJECTED THE INVESTIGATIVE WORK OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL STAFFS:

[REDACTED]

THE DOCUMENTS ARE FILLED WITH CONTRADICTIONS AND INCONSISTENCIES, BUT INDICATE THAT VILLAGERS FROM CAYARA MAY HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE AMBUSH OF A MILITARY PATROL ON MAY 13 AND THAT THE MILITARY CERTAINLY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SUBSEQUENT DEATHS AND DISAPPEARANCES OF A NUMBER OF CAYARA RESIDENTS. END SUMMARY.

3. CAYARA'S "DEEP THROAT":

[REDACTED]

WAS PROVIDED THE EMBASSY WITH A COPY OF THE COMPLETED INVESTIGATIVE REPORT ON THE CAYARA MASSACRE OF CAYARA VILLAGE RESIDENTS BY MILITARY PERSONNEL ON MAY 13. THE DOCUMENT INCLUDES NEARLY 200 PAGES OF EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS FROM RESIDENTS FILED BY CAYARA RESIDENTS, AND THE OFFICIAL BUT UNCLASSIFIED VERSION OF THE EVENTS, BEGINNING WITH THE AMBUSH OF A MILITARY PATROL MAY 13.

[REDACTED]

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4. OUR SOURCE IS NOT THE ONLY PERSON ASSOCIATED WITH THE INVESTIGATION TO CHARGE THAT THE GOP IS COVERING UP. SPECIAL PROSECUTOR CARLOS ESCOBAR, WHO HEADED UP THE LEGAL INVESTIGATION FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, HAS PUBLICLY CLAIMED THAT HIS CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS HAVE BEEN IGNORED. IN FACT, SOME APRISTAS AND OTHERS IN THE GOP HAVE ACCUSED ESCOBAR OF COLLECTING LIES AND INHUIEDOS TO DISCREDIT THE MILITARY, AND OF COOPERATING WITH THE SENDERO IN HIS INVESTIGATION. ESCOBAR HAS STATED THAT HE BELIEVES THERE IS SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE TO CHARGE EMERGENCY ZONE COMMANDER GENERAL JOSE VALDIVIA WITH MURDER.

5. OUR SOURCE SHARES ESCOBAR'S GENERAL CONCLUSIONS, IF NOT HIS ZEAL. HE TOLD US THAT FROM HIS RESEARCH HE IS CONVINCED THAT THE ARMY WAS INVOLVED IN THE MASSACRE OF A "LARGE NUMBER" OF CAYARA PEASANTS ON THE 14TH AND IN DAYS FOLLOWING, AND THAT THE ARMY UNDER THE DIRECTION OF GENERAL VALDIVIA SYSTEMATICALLY OBSTRUCTED THE INVESTIGATION OF THE INCIDENT, INCLUDING STEALING AND HIDING TWO BODIES FOUND NEAR CAYARA SHORTLY AFTER

THE MASSACRE. WE HAVE STUDIED ALL OF THE DOCUMENTATION OUR SOURCE GAVE US. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE DOCUMENTS IN THE INVESTIGATIVE REPORT ARE CONTRADICTORY AND CONFUSING, A NUMBER OF RELIABLE FACTS EMERGE. WE SUMMARIZE THOSE FACTS TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE EVENTS OF MAY 13 AND 14, 1984.

6. DID CAYARA RESIDENTS PARTICIPATE IN THE AMBUSH?

ALMOST CERTAINLY. ESCOBAR AND OUR SOURCE INTERVIEWED A NUMBER OF VILLAGERS. NONE ADMITTED ANY PARTICIPATION IN THE AMBUSH OF THE ARMY PATROL ON MAY 13, WHICH LEFT 6 DEAD AND 6 INJURED. SEVERAL ADMITTED THAT WHILE THEY WERE WORKING IN THEIR FIELDS NEAR DUSK ON THE 13TH, THEY HEARD NEARBY THE SOUNDS OF GUNFIRE AND EXPLOSIONS. THEY CLAIMED THEY DID NOT FLEE, NOR INVESTIGATE, BUT MERELY CONTINUED TO HARVEST CROPS. ARMY OFFICERS SAID THAT THEY WERE ATTACKED BY AT LEAST 100 SENDERO, INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN. THESE ACCOUNTS DESCRIBED THE SOUNDS OF WOMEN'S AND CHILDREN'S VOICES CALLING BACK AND FORTH ON THE HILLSIDES AS BARRIERS FELL AND THE TRAPPED PATROL FIRED INTO THE NIGHT AT UNSEEN TARGETS. ONE ENLISTED MAN STATED THAT IT WAS A WOMAN WHO CALLED OUT TO THE TRAPPED SOLDIERS TO THROW DOWN THEIR ARMS AND THEY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO WALK AWAY. WHEN THE PATROL WAS RESCUED THE NEXT MORNING BY REINFORCEMENTS, ONE OF THE THREE BODIES THEY CLAIMED TO HAVE FOUND WAS THAT OF A PEASANT WOMAN, APPARENTLY KILLED BY A MORTAR ROUND.

7. FROM OTHER RELIABLE SOURCES

[REDACTED] WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT SENDERO IS CONTINUING TO USE FORCED CONSCRIPTS DURING THEIR ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT

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FORCES. THE TERM "FORCED CONSCRIPTS" DOES NOT PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOME OF THESE PEASANTS MAY BE, IN FACT, IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORTERS OF SENDERO. BUT THE PRESENCE OF UNTRAINED AND OLDER MEN AND WOMEN, AS WELL AS THE PARTICIPATION OF CHILDREN IN MILITARY EXERCISES, SUGGESTS A SENDERO TACTIC OF BOTH PROVIDING THEMSELVES SOME "COVER" AMONG THE PARTICIPATING PEASANTS, AND ENLARGING THE POPULAR BASE OF THE REVOLUTION BY MAKING THESE RURAL VILLAGERS UNWITTING ACCOMPLICES. NOTE: POORLY ARMED AND UNTRAINED PEASANT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN PARTICIPATED IN THE OCTOBER 28 ATTACK ON A GUARDIA CIVIL PATROL AND GROUP OF COCA ERADICATION WORKERS IN THE UPPER HUALLAGA VALLEY.)

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THUS TORTURED, THEY WERE KILLED, ONE AT A TIME, BENEATHED WITH AXES OR THEIR SKULLS CRUSHED WITH RIFLE BUTTS. SEVERAL WOMEN CLAIM THEY WERE RAPED. (HERE IS ONE OF THE MANY CONTRADICTIONS. ONE DEPOSITION STATES ALL THE WOMEN WERE RAPED. ANOTHER STATES ONLY THE WOMEN BETWEEN 13 AND 18. [] DOCUMENTED ONLY TWO RAPES.)

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11. HOW MANY WERE KILLED? ESCOBAR CLAIMS 50 DEATHS. SOME DEPOSITIONS CLAIM AT LEAST 150. APRODEN HAS GATHERED THE NAMES OF 28 MISSING AND BELIEVED DEAD. NOTE: APRODEN'S DOCUMENTATION PROCEDURE REQUIRES THAT NEXT OF KIN PROVIDE A DOCUMENT OF IDENTITY SUCH AS A BIRTH CERTIFICATE OR ID CARD AND A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE DECEASED, AND THAT THE RELATIVE SIGN A FORMAL COMPLAINT OUTLINING THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DEATH OR DISAPPEARANCE.) WE ACCEPT APRODEN'S FIGURES AS THE MINIMUM NUMBER OF DEATHS IN CAYARA.

8. THE MILITARY CLAIMS, AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT CAYARA MAY HAVE BEEN A CENTER OF SENDERO ACTIVITY. SENDERO DAILY "EL DIARIO" LISTED CAYARA AS ONE OF THE AYACUCHO DEPARTMENT VILLAGES WHICH HAD REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE WITH THE MILITARY IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND TRAINING OF CIVIL DEFENSE PATROLS (MONDAS CAMPESINAS) TO DEFEND AGAINST THE SL.

9. DID THE ARMY MURDER RESIDENTS OF CAYARA?

YES; THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT OF THIS. AMONG THE CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS GIVEN US ARE ARMY DEPOSITIONS STATING THAT THEY SHOT AND KILLED "SENDERISTAS" WHEN THEY ENTERED THE

VILLAGE OF CAYARA THE MORNING FOLLOWING THE AMBUSH. IT IS THE ARMY POSITION THAT THE ONLY PERSONS KILLED WERE 21 TERRORISTS WHO RESISTED ARREST. THE ARMY ALSO STATED THAT IT FOUND A NUMBER OF WEAPONS STOLEN THE NIGHT BEFORE FROM THE AMBUSHED PATROL. AND IN ONE OF THE MOST CURIOUS DOCUMENTS OF ALL, THE ARMY STATED THAT ON THE MORNING OF MAY 14 (THE VERY DAY OF THE MASSACRE) IT RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS TIP GIVING THE NAMES OF 14 SENDERO TERRORISTS LIVING IN THE VILLAGE. ALL 14 ARE INCLUDED AMONG THE DEAD OR DISAPPEARED LISTS FROM PROSECUTOR ESCOBAR AND FROM THE LIMA-BASED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP, APRODEN. THE ARMY CLAIMS 4 OF THE 14 WERE KILLED DURING THE INITIAL INCURSION ON THE 14TH BUT THAT THE REMAINDER FLED. [] (AND THE DOCUMENTS WE HAVE DO NOT CONTRADICT) THAT THE ARMY DID NOT EVEN ENTER CAYARA WITH THE LIST OF 14 TERRORISTS UNTIL MAY 18, WHEN GENERAL VALDIVIA HELICOPTERED INTO CAYARA REPORTEDLY IN SEARCH OF THE 14.

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10. DEPOSITIONS FROM VILLAGERS, MOSTLY WOMEN SURVIVORS, STATED THAT THE ARMY ENTERED THE VILLAGE AT 0800 HOURS, ROUNDED UP THE MEN IN THE VILLAGE CHURCH AND KILLED THEM. ANOTHER WOMAN CLAIMED SHE WAS WORKING IN THE FIELDS WITH OTHER VILLAGERS WHEN AN ARMY PATROL DETAINED THEM ALL, FORCED THEM TO LAY FACE DOWN ON THE GROUND, PLACED CACTUS BOUGHS ON THEIR NAKED BACKS, AND THEN WALKED ON THE MEN DRIVING THE CACTUS SPINES INTO THEIR FLESH. SHE STATED THAT AFTER THE MEN WERE

12. DID THE ARMY TRY TO COVER UP? ALMOST CERTAINLY, AND THEY DIDN'T DO IT WELL. SHORTLY AFTER THE MASSACRE A WITNESS LED [] TWO NEWS REPORTERS, AND OTHERS TO A GRAVE WHERE THREE BODIES WERE FOUND. ON A RETURN VISIT, ARMED WITH A COURT ORDER FOR EXHUMATION, [] FOUND ONLY ONE OF THE BODIES. THE SINGLE BODY RECOVERED WAS HELD BY THE MILITARY FOR FOUR MONTHS AND WAS RELEASED ONLY IN OCTOBER FOR THE COURT-ORDERED AUTOPSY. ANOTHER GRAVE WAS FOUND WHERE PIECES OF WHAT APPEARED TO BE HUMAN FLESH AND HAIR AND CLOTHING WERE BURIED. THE MILITARY REFUSED TO PERMIT REPORTERS, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, THE RED CROSS, AND EVEN CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES INTO CAYARA TO INTERVIEW SURVIVING VILLAGERS OR

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TO CONDUCT INVESTIGATIONS. [] CLAIMS HE WAS REPEATEDLY BEEN HARASSED, OBSTRUCTED AND THREATENED IN THE COURSE OF HIS INVESTIGATION.

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13. AND HOW HE WAS BEEN FINED. IN WHAT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE IS DESCRIBING AS A BUDGET CUTTING MOVE, THE ONLY PERSONNEL THE BLOATED BUREAUCRACY'S ROLE IN THE CURRENT FISCAL DEFICIT), THE AYACUCHO OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL HAS BEEN CLOSED HAS BEEN REOPENED TO ELIMINATE THE MOVE WAS BROUGHT [] BACK INTO TOUCH WITH THE REAL WORLD OUTSIDE THE EMERGENCY ZONES. THE DAY FOLLOWING HIS RETURN SOMEONE IN THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE LEAKED PORTIONS OF HIS REPORT TO THE PRESS. [] HAS BEEN INVITED BY U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS TO TRAVEL TO THE U.S., WHERE HE WILL NOT COMMENT FURTHER ON THE CAYARA MASSACRE.

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14. ADDITIONAL CONCLUSIONS:

AS A LEGAL AND POLITICAL DOCUMENT, THE INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS ARE IN DIFFERENT DEPOSITIONS, DIFFERENT DATES ARE GIVEN FOR THE SAME EVENTS. ON ONE DEPOSITION THREE WITNESSES GIVE THEIR THUMBPRINTS AND THE

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NAMES ARE WRITTEN BY A WITNESS (INDICATING THE THREE WERE ILLITERATE). IN A DEPOSITION BEFORE ESCOBAR ON THE FOLLOWING DAY THE SAME THREE SIGN THEIR OWN NAMES IN FLOWING SCRIPT. THE DOCUMENT IS FILLED WITH INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE SUCH AS "GENOCIDE," "THE MASSACRES IN CAYARA CONTINUE," AND THE MILITARY LEFT THE BODIES AS "FOOD FOR THE GRASS AND FOR THE BUZZARDS." THE NUMBERS OF CLAIMED DEAD, DISAPPEARED, AND RAPED COVER SUCH A WIDE RANGE SO AS TO SEEM TO BE REFERRING TO ENTIRELY DIFFERENT INCIDENTS.

15. BUT IN SOME OF THAT CONFUSION IS EVIDENCE OF TERRIFIED AND DISTRAUGHT PEASANTS WHO HAVE NOT BOTHERED TO "CHECK THEIR STORIES" WITH EACH OTHER, BUT RATHER ARE SPEAKING FROM MEMORIES DEEPLY COLORED AND DISTORTED BY A HORRIFYING EVENT. SUCH CONTRADICTIONS BELIEVE CLAIMS THAT THE ENTIRE INCIDENT IS A PUBLICITY SCAM MANUFACTURED BY THE SL AND OTHER LEFTIST DETRACTORS.

WATSON

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