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	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DS-01	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	IMMC-01
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	NSCE-00	OIS-01	PA-01	PM-01	P-02	SCT-03	SSO-00
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 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3696
 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2355
 USMISSION GENEVA 1545
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
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 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PHUM, PTER, PINS, PE
 SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS CALLS IN AYACUCHO

REF: A) LIMA 16380 B) LIMA 9963 C) LIMA 16362

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: THE AMBASSADOR DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS

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AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE WITH AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE COMMANDER, GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA, AND WITH PUBLIC MINISTRY PROSECUTORS DURING HIS ONE-DAY TRIP TO THE CITY OF AYACUCHO, DECEMBER 5. FERNANDEZ-DAVILA CLAIMED THAT MOST CHARGES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE MILITARY WERE EITHER EXAGGERATIONS OR PURE FICTIONS INVENTED BY SENDERO LUMINOSO TERRORISTS. THE GENERAL ALSO CLAIMED THAT SENDERO WAS ON THE RUN IN AYACUCHO, HAVING BEEN BEATEN BY THE MILITARY AND LOCAL CIVIL DEFENSE PATROLS ("RONDAS CAMPESINAS"). PUBLIC MINISTRY FISCALES SPOKE OF RECENTLY IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE MILITARY, IN GENERAL, AND SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE INVESTIGATION OF MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CHILCAHUAYCCO MASSACRE, IN PARTICULAR. END SUMMARY.

3. DURING A ONE-DAY VISIT TO THE CITY OF AYACUCHO ON DECEMBER 5, THE AMBASSADOR DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS AND PACIFICATION ISSUES IN SEPARATE MEETINGS WITH THE MILITARY'S POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMANDER FOR THE AYACUCHO EMERGENCY ZONE, AND WITH THE PUBLIC

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MINISTRY'S CHIEF PROSECUTOR AND THE SPECIAL
PROSECUTOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. SEPTELS WILL REPORT
OTHER FACETS OF THE AMBASSADOR'S TRIP, AS WELL AS OF
POLOFFS' THREE-DAY STAY IN AYACUCHO.

THE AMBASSADOR CALLS ON THE HARD-CHARGING GENERAL ...

4. AFTER FIRST CALLING ON AYACUCHO'S CIVILIAN MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL, THE AMBASSADOR (ACCOMPANIED BY SPOUSE AND POLOFF) MET FOR OVER AN HOUR WITH ARMY GENERAL PETRONIO FERNANDEZ-DAVILA CARNERO IN HIS OFFICE AT "LOS CABITOS" BARRACKS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CITY. (FERNANDEZ-DAVILA WILL FINISH HIS ONE-YEAR TOUR AS POLITICAL MILITARY COMMANDER FOR THE "AYACUCHO" EMERGENCY ZONE - ENCOMPASSING THE DEPARTMENTS OF AYACUCHO, APURIMAC AND HUANCVELICA - AT THE END OF THE MONTH.) THE ANIMATED FERNANDEZ-DAVILA BEAMED WITH SELF-CONFIDENCE AND CHARM THROUGHOUT THE MEETING, CLEARLY ENJOYING HIMSELF. UPON LEARNING THE BROAD REASONS FOR THE

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AMBASSADOR'S TRIP TO THE CITY, THE GENERAL GRINNINGLY COMMENTED, "YOU WILL HEAR MANY THINGS FROM MANY PEOPLE - ABOUT ME AND ABOUT MY TROOPS. ALLOW ME TO TELL YOU MY VIEW OF THINGS - AND YOU CAN BELIEVE WHAT YOU WANT."

5. FERNANDEZ-DAVILA STATED THAT SENDERO LUMINOSO TERRORISM IN AYACUCHO (SL'S BIRTHPLACE) HAD GREATLY DIMINISHED AND WAS NOW VERY MUCH UNDER CONTROL. "THE

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CITY IS MUCH MORE TRANQUIL NOW." WHEN ASKED BY THE AMBASSADOR FOR INDICES OF SUCH PROGRESS, THE GENERAL LAUGHED, SAYING, "YOUR VERY PRESENCE HERE IS ALL THE PROOF I NEED|" MORE SERIOUSLY, HE REFERRED TO THE LIFTING OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN THE PROVINCE OF HUAMANGA (THE CAPITAL OF WHICH IS AYACUCHO CITY) ON OCTOBER 25 - AFTER SOME EIGHT YEARS OF FORMAL MILITARY CONTROL (REF A). WITH THE PROPER ECONOMIC RESOURCES, FERNANDEZ-DAVILA OPTIMISTICALLY CLAIMED, SL CAN BE ERADICATED IN AYACUCHO "IN SIX MONTHS."

6. SENDERO'S MILITARY COMPONENT (THE POPULAR GUERRILLA ARMY - "EGP") HAD BEEN BEATEN ON THE BATTLEFIELD IN AYACUCHO, THE GENERAL ASSERTED. BY

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	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DS-01	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	IMMC-01
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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3697
 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2356
 USMISSION GENEVA 1546
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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NECESSITY SENDERO HAD THUS TURNED TO EMPHASIZING THE WORK OF ITS OTHER TWO ARMS: THE PARTY (THE "PCP") AND ITS FRONT GROUPS, BOTH IN PERU AND ABROAD (THE "FRENTE UNICA). THE PARTY, HE EXPLAINED, WAS NOW USING ITS FRONT GROUPS TO WAGE POLITICAL WAR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU - USING THE ISSUE OF "HUMAN RIGHTS" AS A CLUB.

7. THE GRAVITY OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HAD BEEN GREATLY EXAGGERATED, THE GENERAL ASSERTED. BUT SENDERO HAS LEARNED THAT IT CAN EFFECTIVELY TIE THE ARMY INTO KNOTS OVER THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE TACTICS ARE SIMPLE BUT EFFECTIVE: FILE FORMAL "DENUNCIAS" AGAINST THE MILITARY FOR ABUSES WHICH NEVER HAPPENED; INVENT THE "DISAPPEARANCES" OF PEOPLE WHOSE NAMES DO NOT EVEN APPEAR IN NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRIES; REPORT "MASSACRES" IN FARAWAY, INACCESSIBLE PLACES. WHILE THE MILITARY IS BUSY CHASING DOWN FALSE REPORTS (SENDING OUT ITS FEW HELICOPTERS TO THE SITES OF SUPPOSED INCIDENTS,

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WRITING UP INVESTIGATIVE REPORTS, ETC.), FERNANDEZ-DAVILA LAMENTED, SENDERO IS PROVIDED GREATER FREEDOM OF ACTION (MILITARY AND POLITICAL) EVEN AS THE MILITARY INSTITUTION IS INCREASINGLY DEFAMED AND DEMORALIZED. "WE ARE SIMPLY SPENDING TOO MUCH TIME ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS."

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8. THE AMBASSADOR POINTEDLY RAISED THE ISSUE OF TWO RECENT CASES IN AYACUCHO INVOLVING SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF MILITARY COMPLICITY: THE JUNE DISAPPEARANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORKER GUADALUPE CCALLOCCUNTO AND THE OCTOBER DISCOVERY OF MASS GRAVES AT CHILCAHUAYCCO (REFS B AND C). WITHOUT ADMITTING MILITARY CULPABILITY IN EITHER CASE, FERNANDEZ-DAVILA ADDED THAT "OF COURSE, ALL THIS IS NOT TO SAY MY TROOPS ARE LITTLE ANGELS." AFTER ALL, THEY ARE FIGHTING HARD AGAINST A VICIOUS ENEMY WHICH PLAYS BY ITS OWN RULES. EXCESSES ARE BOUND TO OCCUR. BUT VIOLATIONS ARE INVESTIGATED AND PUNISHED, HE CLAIMED.

9. FERNANDEZ-DAVILA EXPLAINED THAT OVER SIXTY OF HIS TROOPS - INCLUDING MORE THAN A DOZEN OFFICERS - WERE CURRENTLY DOING TIME IN THE STOCKADE ON A VARIETY OF OFFENSES, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. OTHER CASES HAD BEEN REFERRED TO THE PUBLIC MINISTRY'S PROSECUTORS. BUT THE REAL PROOF OF HIS TROOPS' RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THE GENERAL ARGUED, IS THEIR PRESENCE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE CREATION OF THE "RONDAS CAMPESINAS" CIVIL DEFENSE GROUPS. "WE COULDN'T BE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, DOING WHAT WE ARE DOING, IF THE 'CAMPESINOS' DIDN'T WANT US THERE OR ACCEPT OUR LEADERSHIP."

10. THE GENERAL SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT THE MILITARY'S CIVIC ACTION EFFORTS AND THE NEED FOR STRONG CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP. "IT WAS MY SUGGESTION TO LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY." HE COMMENTED, ADDING

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THAT HE HOPED TO SEE ADDITIONAL AYACUCHO PROVINCES

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TURNED OVER TO FORMAL CIVILIAN AUTHORITY IN THE COMING MONTHS. "IT IS TIME FOR THE POPULACE TO RE-LEARN HOW TO MAKE POLITICS ... THE CIVILIANS MUST AGAIN PLAY A ROLE IN THEIR OWN DEFENSE" AS THE ANTI-TERRORIST BATTLE IS INCREASINGLY BEING FOUGHT ON POLITICAL - NOT MILITARY - TERMS. THE "RONDAS," HE ASSERTED, WERE A POPULAR MANIFESTATION OF SUPPORT FOR THE MILITARY. THEY WERE GIVEN SOME TRAINING AND WEAPONS (MOSTLY OLD SHOTGUNS) BY THE MILITARY.

11. THE GENERAL ARGUED FORCEFULLY THAT THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP MUST ALSO RISE TO THE OCCASION AND LEARN HOW TO DELIVER GOODS TO THE

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	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DS-01	EB-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	IMMC-01
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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3698
INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2357
USMISSION GENEVA 1547
DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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POPULACE. THE PEASANTS HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO LOOKING TO THE MILITARY FOR HELP IN SOLVING THEIR PROBLEMS. NOW THAT HUAMANGA PROVINCE IS NO LONGER AN "EZ," FERNANDEZ-DAVILA EXPLAINED WITH A TOUCH OF IRONY, HE SENDS THE AID-SEEKING CAMPESINOS OFF TO SEE THE MAYOR AND OTHER CIVILIANS. "I'VE DONE MY JOB. NOW LET THE CIVILIANS DO THEIRS."

12. FERNANDEZ-DAVILA HAD LITTLE POSITIVE TO SAY ABOUT HIS CIVILIAN COUNTERPARTS. THERE IS NO PREFECT FOR THE REGION, THE GENERAL CLAIMED (ERRONEOUSLY). AND THE CURRENT MAYOR DOES NOT SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE, HE ASSERTED, BECAUSE HE WAS NOT ELECTED TO THE POST. (UNITED LEFT MAYOR FERMIN AZPARRENT WAS KILLED BY SL ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1989. AYACUCHO'S NOVEMBER 1989 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WERE VOIDED AFTER MORE THAN TWO-THIRDS OF ALL VOTES CAST WERE NULL OR BLANK.) THE MAYORALTY, FERNANDEZ-DAVILA DECLARED, ROTATES EVERY TWO MONTHS AMONG THE "THREE" REMAINING TOWN COUNCILMEMBERS - AND ALL THEY DO IS SEEK FUNDING AND SUPPORT FOR THEIR OWN PET PROJECTS, WHICH ONLY BENEFIT THE PARTICULAR PARTIES OR LEADERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE ASSERTED, "I WORK FOR ALL THE PEOPLE." THE GENERAL BRUSHED OFF REPEATED ATTEMPTS TO GET HIM TO CONCEDE THAT THE LOCAL CIVILIAN LEADERS MERITED THE SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY - NOT ONLY

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LEGALLY OR MORALLY, BUT SIMPLY AS A WEDGE AGAINST SENDERO.

13. (CLARIFICATIONS: THE AMBASSADOR MET WITH THE

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ACTING MAYOR, AND THE OTHER FIVE (NOT TWO) MEMBERS OF THE CITY COUNCIL. THE OTHER THIRTEEN COUNCILMEMBERS HAVE EITHER BEEN KILLED OR RESIGNED THEIR POSTS. WHILE THE MAYORALTY WAS ORIGINALLY ROTATED EVERY TWO MONTHS AFTER AZPARRENT'S MURDER, MAURO RIVERA DE LA VEGA (IZQUIERDA UNIDA) SINCE HAS BEEN LEGALLY APPOINTED ACTING MAYOR UNTIL NEW ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO MET WITH THE NEW PREFECT FOR THE LIBERTADORES-WARI REGION, CESAR AUGUSTO SULCA JORDAN, WHO HAS BEEN IN AYACUCHO FOR TWO MONTHS. SEE SEPTTEL.)

... AND THE PUBLIC PROSECUTORS

14. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO CALLED ON THE PUBLIC MINISTRY'S REPRESENTATIVES IN AYACUCHO. CHIEF PROSECUTOR JAVIER GONZALEZ TORRES (SERVING ONLY HIS THIRD DAY AS CHIEF "FISCAL") AND SPECIAL PROSECUTOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS MARIO ALMONACID WERE JOINED BY A NEW ASSISTANT "FISCAL" FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (WHO HAD JUST ARRIVED IN AYACUCHO THAT MORNING FOR HER SWEARING-IN). GONZALEZ, WHO PREVIOUSLY HAD SERVED FOR SIX YEARS AS A MEMBER OF AYACUCHO'S SUPERIOR COURT, EXPLAINED THAT THE PUBLIC MINISTRY'S EFFORTS APPEARED TO BE GAINING SOME GROUND LOCALLY. NONE OF

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THE FISCALES SPOKE OF THREATS OR INTIMIDATION FROM THE MILITARY. ALMONACID REPORTED, IN FACT, THAT WHILE MANY PROBLEMS STILL EXISTED, THEY HAD NOTICED INCREASED COOPERATION FROM MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN RECENT MONTHS.

15. THE AMBASSADOR ASKED THE FISCALES ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE CCALLOCCUNTO AND CHILCAHUAYCCO CASES. ALMONACID SPOKE OPTIMISTICALLY ABOUT HIS INVESTIGATION INTO THE CHILCAHUAYCCO MASSACRE, SAYING THE CASE WAS ALREADY QUITE ADVANCED AND MOVING FORWARD RAPIDLY. JUST THAT DAY, HE NOTED, THE FISCALES HAD RECEIVED A FORMAL LETTER FROM GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA (WHICH ALMONACID SHARED WITH THE

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	SS-01	TRSE-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ZOVD-00		

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 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3699
 INFO RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2358
 USMISSION GENEVA 1548
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
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AMBASSADOR AND POLOFF) IDENTIFYING THE MILITARY
 OFFICER USING THE NAME "CENTURION" (ACCUSED IN THE
 "DENUNCIAS" AS BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MASSACRE).

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THE LETTER, WITHOUT EXPLICITLY IMPLICATING "CENTURION" IN THE CHILCAHUAYCCO INCIDENT, NONETHELESS IDENTIFIED HIM AS ARMY SERGEANT JHONNY JOSE ZAPATA ACUNA, ATTACHED TO THE ARMY UNIT AT HUANTA. THE GENERAL'S LETTER WILL PERMIT THE PROSECUTION TO MOVE THE INVESTIGATION EVEN FURTHER FORWARD.

16. THE AMBASSADOR CONGRATULATED THE FISCALES ON THEIR WORK, ATTEMPTING - AT GREAT PERSONAL RISK - TO ESTABLISH THE RULE OF LAW IN THE MIDST OF A WAR ZONE. THE FISCALES COMMENTED, IN EFFECT, THAT THEY WERE JUST DOING THEIR JOBS: NORMAL PEOPLE DOING NORMAL JOBS, EVEN IF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WERE LESS THAN IDEAL.

COMMENTS

17. GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN MOSTLY ON THE MARK WHEN HE TALKED OF SENDERO'S HAVING BEEN LESS ACTIVE MILITARILY, IN RECENT MONTHS, IN AND

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AROUND THE CITY RPT CITY OF AYACUCHO. A NUMBER OF OTHER CONTACTS, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, REPORTED THE SAME IMPRESSION. BUT THE GENERAL'S VIEW WAS PERHAPS OVERLY ROSY. WE ARE NOT CONVINCED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT SL'S LOWERED PROFILE IS ENTIRELY DUE TO THE ARMY'S EFFORTS WITH THE "RONDAS", WHICH IS A RURAL, NOT URBAN, PHENOMENON IN AYACUCHO. NOR ARE WE CONVINCED THAT SENDERO IS BEATEN IN THE CITY: THREE DAYS BEFORE THE AMBASSADOR'S VISIT UPWARDS OF FIFTY HEAVILY ARMED SENDERISTAS ATTACKED A GAS STATION SIX BLOCKS FROM THE PLAZA DE ARMAS DURING DAYLIGHT HOURS - AND THE SECURITY FORCES TOOK MORE THAN HALF AN HOUR TO RESPOND. THE MILITARY SITUATION IS WORSE IN OTHER PARTS OF THE DEPARTMENT, WHICH STILL HAS THE NATION'S HIGHEST PER CAPITA DEATH RATE FROM POLITICAL VIOLENCE.

18. WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY HEARD FROM OTHER HIGH MILITARY OFFICIALS (GENERAL ARCINIEGA, AMONG OTHERS) THAT SL FRONT GROUPS (NOT FURTHER DEFINED) "INVENT" UNVERIFIABLE CASES OF MILITARY ABUSE IN THE HINTERLANDS. AS FERNANDEZ-DAVILA WELL KNOWS,

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HOWEVER, CCALLOCCUNTO WAS DRAGGED OUT OF HER HOUSE SIX BLOCKS FROM THE PLAZA DE ARMAS DURING A MILITARY-ENFORCED CURFEW. HE DID NOT ADDRESS HIMSELF TO THE SPECIFICS OF THIS CASE.

19. FERNANDEZ-DAVILA SPOKE KNOWLEDGEABLY ABOUT THE THE NEED FOR MILITARY CIVIC ACTION PROGRAMS COUPLED WITH GREATER CIVILIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE COUNTER-SUBVERSIVE STRUGGLE. IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE DISCUSSION THAT THE GENERAL (OR AT LEAST HIS STAFF)

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SPENDS A FAIR AMOUNT OF TIME RESPONDING TO LIMA-BASED ENQUIRIES FROM THE MILITARY, THE EXECUTIVE OR CONGRESS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. HIS DOWNPLAYING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AS A LEGITIMATE MILITARY ISSUE - THOUGH PERHAPS EXPECTED - IS TROUBLING.

20. THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO US SUGGESTS THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IS STILL FAR FROM GOOD AND THAT THE ARMY HAS NOT ENTIRELY REFORMED. HOWEVER, MANY, BUT NOT ALL, CONTACTS WE SPOKE WITH IN AYACUCHO, INCLUDING THE LOCAL CATHOLIC BISHOP, SPOKE OF GENERAL FERNANDEZ-DAVILA'S HAVING DEVELOPED A BETTER PUBLIC IMAGE IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS. THE GENERAL'S PROMPT REPORTING TO THE FISCALES IS ENCOURAGING. WE WILL RELATE MORE ABOUT THE GENERAL

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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AMEMBASSY QUITO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 2359
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 LIMA 18734

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AND THE ARMY'S HUMAN RIGHTS/ PACIFICATION/"RONDAS"
STRATEGY IN AYACUCHO IN UPCOMING REPORTS.

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