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	INRE-00	RP-10	USIE-00	SP-01	SR-01	PRS-01	SCT-03
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P 052241Z JUL 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9549
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PTER, PREL, PE
SUBJECT: UPDATE ON GUADALUPE CCALLOCCUNTO

REF: A) STATE 203778 B) LIMA 9564 C) LIMA 4992
- D) STATE 217452 E) LIMA 9861
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1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE WHEREABOUTS OF PERUVIAN HUMAN RIGHTS WORKER GUADALUPE CCALLOCCUNTO, MISSING SINCE JUNE 10, REMAINS UNCLEAR, WITH THE POLICE AND MILITARY DENYING HAVING DETAINED HER. HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF RELIABLE SOURCES INDICATE THAT THE MILITARY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR HER DISAPPEARANCE AND THAT SHE

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MAY WELL BE DEAD. END SUMMARY.

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WHAT THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR SAYS

3. THE AMBASSADOR CALLED MINISTER OF INTERIOR MANTILLA JULY 2 TO PURSUE MFA VICE MINISTER RIVERO'S REPORT THAT GUADALUPE CCALLOCCUNTO WAS UNDER DETENTION BY DIRCOTE, THE ANTI-TERRORISM POLICE. AN INCENSED MINISTER MANTILLA PROTESTED THAT THE MFA REPORT WAS ABSOLUTELY FALSE: CCALLOCCUNTO WAS NOT UNDER DETENTION BY DIRCOTE NOR BY ANY OTHER UNIT SUBORDINATE TO THE MOI -- NOR WAS SHE EVER IN THEIR CUSTODY. MANTILLA SAID MOREOVER THAT THE POLICE KNEW THE RULES AND ADHERED TO THEM, E.G., DETAINEES MAY BE HELD A MAXIMUM OF 15 DAYS UNDER PREVENTATIVE DETENTION WITHOUT CHARGES AND THE RIGHT TO A LAWYER MUST BE RESPECTED. AS A DECLARED EMERGENCY ZONE, AYACUCHO WAS UNDER ARMY, NOT POLICE JURISDICTION, HE REMONSTRATED. MANTILLA WAS ADAMANT THAT THERE WAS NO BASIS FOR THE MFA'S REPORT THAT ANY ELEMENT OF THE MOI HAD CCALLOCCUNTO IN CUSTODY. HE STATED THAT HE WOULD RAISE THIS ERRONEOUS REPORT DIRECTLY WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY.

WHAT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SAY

4. POLCOUNS AND POLOFF MET JULY 3 WITH ESTEBAN CUYA YUYALE, LIMA-BASED REPRESENTATIVE FOR SERPAJ-AYACUCHO, THE ORGANIZATION FOR WHICH

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CCALLOCCUNTO WORKED IN AYACUCHO. CUYA EXPLAINED THE LONG HISTORY OF CCALLOCCUNTO'S INVOLVEMENT WITH FAMILIES OF THE DISAPPEARED IN AYACUCHO. HE DETAILED THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF HER PREVIOUS DETENTIONS BY THE MILITARY, INCLUDING HER DETENTION ALONG WITH SEVERAL OTHER PERUVIAN HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS DURING A JULY 1988 TRIP TO AYACUCHO BY JUAN MENDEZ, DIRECTOR OF AMERICAS WATCH.

5. CUYA DETAILED THE REASONS HE BELIEVES THE PERUVIAN MILITARY TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR

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CCALLOCCUNTO'S DETENTION/DISAPPEARANCE. TWO DAYS BEFORE HER DETENTION, THE AYACUCHO POLITICAL MILITARY COMMANDER, GENERAL FERNANDEZ DAVILA, ISSUED A DECREE PUTTING 5000 TROOPS ON THE STREETS OF AYACUCHO TO DETER SENDERO'S EFFORTS TO ENFORCE AN "ARMED STRIKE" CALLED FOR JUNE 7-8 (JUST PRIOR TO THE JUNE 10 ELECTION). HER MOTHER'S HOUSE (WHERE CCALLOCCUNTO WAS STAYING) IS IN THE CENTER OF HUAMANGA CITY, "RINGED" BY POLICE STATIONS; IT IS LESS THAN 200 METERS DOWN THE STREET FROM THE NATIONAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS (COMANDANCIA GUARDIA CIVIL), 300 METERS FROM AN INVESTIGATIVE POLICE (PIP) STATION AND A POLICE MEDICAL CENTER NEARBY, AS WELL AS A SCHOOL USED AS A POLLING PLACE. ALL OF THESE LOCATIONS WERE HEAVILY PATROLLED BY MILITARY FORCES, NIGHT AND DAY.

6. CCALLOCCUNTO WAS TAKEN JUNE 10, AT 2:30 AM DURING HOURS OF CURFEW, BY FIFTEEN MEN WEARING WATERPROOF PONCHOS, HEAVY MILITARY-STYLE SWEATERS, HEAVY BOOTS AND CARRYING MACHINE GUNS AND PISTOLS. (CUYA COMMENTED THAT AT LEAST ONE OF RAIDERS MIGHT POSSIBLY

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P 052241Z JUL 90
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HAVE BEEN POLICE, AS HE WAS WEARING SNEAKERS, NOT HEAVY BOOTS.) SEEKING CCALLOCCUNTO OUT BY NAME AMONG THE PEOPLE ASLEEP IN THE HOUSE, THE INVADERS ACCUSED HER OF BEING A TERRORIST AND TOOK HER AWAY, REFUSING TO ALLOW HER TO DRESS. OTHERS IN THE HOUSE REPORT A NUMBER OF PERSONAL ARTICLES AND MONEY WERE STOLEN. PRIVATE GUARDS ON THE PUBLIC MARKET ACROSS THE STREET STATE THEY SAW SOME FIFTEEN MEN DRAGGING A WOMAN DOWN THE STREET TOWARDS THE COMANDANCIA AT APPROXIMATELY 2:30 SUNDAY MORNING.

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7. ACCORDING TO CUYA, A RECENTLY RELEASED DETAINEE FROM "LOS CABITOS" MILITARY BARRACKS IN HUAMANGA HAS FILED A CLAIM WITH THE HUAMANGA SPECIAL PROSECUTOR, STATING THAT HE SAW CCALLOCCUNTO IN LOS CABITOS AS LATE AS JUNE 17. FURTHER IMPLICATING THE MILITARY IS THE MIDDAY JUNE 16 SEARCHING OF SERPAJ-AYACUCHO HEADQUARTERS BY UNIFORMED MILITARY PERSONNEL, WHO RANSACKED THE CENTRAL FILES, THREATENED THE THREE LAWYERS ON THE SCENE TO EITHER CLOSE THE OFFICE OR SEE IT DYNAMITED IN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS. SERPAJ-AYACUCHO PROMPTLY CLOSED ITS DOORS.

8. CUYA ALSO MENTIONED THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOME OF THOSE DETAINED NEVER REACH "LOS CABITOS", BUT ARE INSTEAD TAKEN TO "KIKAPATA," A TEN HECTARE MILITARY BASE THREE KILOMETERS OUTSIDE THE CITY OF HUAMANGA. ACCORDING TO CUYA, LIMA-BASED MILITARY SPECIAL OPERATIONS GROUPS ARE RUMORED TO OPERATE FROM THE BASE, AND SUPPOSEDLY DO NOT COORDINATE THEIR ACTIVITIES WITH AYACUCHO-BASED MILITARY ELEMENTS ANY MORE THAN THEY HAVE TO.

9. POLOFF HAS ALSO BEEN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH SEVERAL DIFFERENT PERUVIAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND CHURCH

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GROUPS WITH INFORMATION ON THE CASE. POLOFF ALSO SPOKE WITH TWO AYACUCHAN WOMEN WHO EVADED DETENTION IN THE SAME SWEEPS THAT PICKED UP CCALLOCCUNTO AND WHO ARE NOW IN SEMI-HIDING IN LIMA. ALL HAVE PROVIDED US WITH MUCH THE SAME, OR CORROBORATING, INFORMATION AS THAT DETAILED BY CUYA.

10. DESPITE NUMEROUS ENTREATIES TO THE GUARDIA
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CIVIL, TO THE PIP, TO AYACUCHO'S POLITICAL-MILITARY COMMANDER, TO THE SPECIAL PROSECUTOR (FISCAL) FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN AYACUCHO, AND OTHERS BY THE FAMILY AND VARIOUS DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, NO ONE HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR CCALLOCCUNTO'S DETENTION. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) HAS ALSO MADE INQUIRIES INTO THIS CASE, AS WELL AS THOSE OF SOME THIRTY-TWO OTHERS SAID TO HAVE BEEN DETAINED DURING NIGHTTIME SWEEPS IN HUAMANGA, JUNE 6-10. ONLY THREE OF THE DETAINEES ARE KNOWN TO HAVE RESURFACED, ALL AFTER HAVING BEEN RELEASED FROM MILITARY DETENTION.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ QUISPE REPORTEDLY NEEDS EXTENSIVE MEDICAL TREATMENT DUE TO TORTURE HE RECEIVED WHILE DETAINED BY THE MILITARY. EACH OF THOSE RELEASED TO DATE WERE RELEASED AFTER NO MORE THAN A WEEK IN DETENTION.

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WHAT THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE SAYS

11. POLCOUNS AND POLOFF CALLED LATE JULY 3 ON AIR FORCE COL. EDUARDO PAGADOR ROSELL, ACTING DIRECTOR OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE'S OFFICE OF MILITARY OPERATIONS (WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS). IN A MEETING LASTING WELL OVER AN HOUR EMBOFFS DETAILED WHAT WAS KNOWN OR HAD BEEN ASSERTED IN THIS CASE, EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR PROMPT RESOLUTION OF THE MATTER BY THE MILITARY AND THE

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P 052241Z JUL 90
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9551
 INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
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 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
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GOVERNMENT OF PERU. MINISTRY OFFICIAL RESPONDED THAT
 THE IMPORTANCE OF A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE
 CASE WAS WELL-UNDERSTOOD.

12. POLCOUNS STARTED THE DISCUSSION WITH A REQUEST
 FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON A NUMBER OF DISAPPEARANCE
 CASES CHARGE AND ADCM HAD RAISED WITH THE MOD IN LATE
 MARCH (REF C), ONLY A FEW OF WHICH HAVE BEEN
 RESOLVED. PAGADOR IMMEDIATELY CALLED FOR AN AIDE TO
 LOOK INTO THE CASES ANEW. PAGADOR OPINED THAT HUMAN
 RIGHTS GROUPS, EVEN IF ACTING IN GOOD FAITH, WERE

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BEING "USED" BY SENDERO. SENDERO WITHDREW ITS DEAD FROM THE BATTLEFIELD, HE ASSERTED, AND THEN HAD ITS FOLLOWERS FILE "DENUNCIAS" WITH HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, CLAIMING THE DEAD COMBATANTS WERE "DISAPPEARED" BY THE ARMY. THIS LED TO A BLIZZARD OF PETITIONS AND LETTERS FROM ABROAD, HE SAID, DEMANDING THE REAPPEARANCE OF THOSE SAID TO BE MISSING. HE COMPLAINED THAT "FOREIGNERS ABROAD DO NOT UNDERSTAND OUR REALITY," AND THE OPERATIONAL AND LOGISTIC LIMITATIONS IMPOSED ON THE ARMY IN SIERRA HIGHLANDS AGAINST AN INVISIBLE ENEMY.

13. POLCOUNS ARGUED THAT CASUALTIES ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE WERE ONE THING, DISAPPEARANCES BROUGHT ABOUT BY NIGHTTIME KNOCKS ON THE DOOR QUITE ANOTHER. RAISING THE CASE OF CCALLOCCUNTO, POLCOUNS REVIEWED IN DETAIL MUCH OF WHAT EMBASSY AND WASHINGTON KNOW OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CASE. COL. PAGADOR FIRST TRIED TO BRUSH OFF THE POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, SAYING IT WAS "ILLOGICAL" FOR THE MILITARY TO HAVE ATTACKED A HUMAN RIGHTS WORKER. BESIDES, HE CONTINUED, THIS WAS JUST ONE OF "HUNDREDS" OF SUCH CASES TRANSITING HIS OFFICE. PAGADOR CHANGED HIS TUNE WHEN EMBOFFS DETAILED THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF THE CASE AND REFUSED TO LET A VAGUE PROMISE "TO INVESTIGATE" SUFFICE. EMBOFFS EXPLAINED THAT ALL FINGERS, PERUVIAN AND FOREIGN, POINTED TO CLEAR MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY AND THAT PROMPT RESOLUTION OF THE CASE WAS ESSENTIAL. POLCOUNS REITERATED THE NEED FOR THE GOP TO EXPEND SPECIAL EFFORTS PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS AND ACTIVISTS. PAGADOR SAID THAT THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE WAS NOT LOST ON HIM.

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14. AS EMBOFFS WAITED FOR AN AIDE TO MAKE SOME INITIAL INQUIRIES, PAGADOR EXPOUNDED AT LENGTH ABOUT THE VARIOUS PROBLEMS FACING THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IN DEALING WITH CHARGES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE. HE ROLLED THROUGH A LONG LIST OF MILITARY COMPLAINTS: THAT THE ARMY HAD NO ALLIES; THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS WERE IN LEAGUE WITH SENDERO; THAT FOREIGNERS, PARTICULARLY EUROPEANS, THINK SENDERO'S IS A JUST CAUSE; THAT THE MOD HAD NO INDEPENDENT SOURCES OF

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INFORMATION, BUT WAS INSTEAD COMPLETELY DEPENDENT UPON THE INFORMATION THE JOINT COMMAND (COMANDO CONJUNTO) DECIDED TO PASS ALONG; THAT VIOLENCE ONLY BEGETS MORE VIOLENCE, ETC. POLOFF REFUSED TO LET SLIDE THE CHARGE THAT THE MAINSTREAM HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS WERE SENDERO FRONTS. IF THAT WERE SO, WHY HAVE THEY BEEN HARASSED AND SUFFERED THEIR OWN CASUALTIES AT THE HANDS OF SENDERO? IF VIOLENCE ONLY BEGETS MORE VIOLENCE, WHY RESPOND WITH NIGHTTIME DISAPPEARANCES?

15. COL. PAGADOR SMILED WANLY AND SAID, "THERE ARE SOME THINGS IN LIFE WE JUST CAN'T CHANGE." HE ASKED RHETORICALLY HOW IT CAN BE THAT NELSON MANDELA CAN REFUSE TO REJECT VIOLENCE YET BE GREETED IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE AS A HERO. POLCOUNS REPLIED THAT MANDELA'S ABILITY TO DO SO WAS A DIRECT RESULT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S LOSS OF LEGITIMACY IN THE EYES OF MANY. POLCOUNS CONCLUDED THAT, WITH THE CASE OF CCALLOCCUNTO, BOTH THE GOP AND THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE WERE NOW PRESENTED WITH A MAJOR TEST OF THEIR ABILITY TO "CHANGE SOME THINGS IN LIFE" AND TO MAINTAIN ITS CREDIBILITY ABROAD.

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 BACK TO THE MFA (AND THE COPS)

16. DURING AMBASSADOR'S FOURTH OF JULY RECEPTION, POLCOUNS RAISED THE CCALLOCCUNTO CASE SUCCESSIVELY WITH VICE FOREIGN MINISTER RIVERO'S ASSISTANT, FIRST SECRETARY MARTINETTI, WITH UNDERSECRETARY FOR PLANNING AND SPECIAL POLICY, AMBASSADOR FERNANDEZ-CORNEJO, AND WITH MFA CHIEF OF SECRETARIAT AND DCM-DESIGNATE TO WASHINGTON JORGE VALDEZ CARRILO.

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EACH STRESSED THAT THE MFA WAS WELL AWARE OF THE DAMAGING IMPLICATIONS THE CASE COULD HAVE FOR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

17. IN A SEPARATE JULY 4 CONVERSATION WITH DICOTE CHIEF VICTORIANO BLANCO CARRILLO, BLANCO INFORMED POLOFF THAT HE HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH AN UNNAMED ARMY GENERAL WHO HAD LED HIM TO BELIEVE THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT CCALLOCCUNTO WOULD EVER REAPPEAR ALIVE. IT WAS HIS OPINION THAT CCALLOCCUNTO WAS PROBABLY DEAD AND UNLIKELY EVER TO BE FOUND. IF NOT, BLANCO ARGUED, SHE WOULD HAVE BEEN RELEASED OR PUBLICLY PRESENTED AND CHARGED BY NOW. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE NOT TO DO SO SIMPLY HAS BEEN TOO GREAT, HE BELIEVED, UNLESS SHE WERE ALREADY DEAD AND BURIED.

 COMMENT

18. IF CCALLOCCUNTO IS INDEED DEAD, IT MAKES SENSE FOR THE POLICE TO TRY TO BLAME IT ON THE MILITARY, AND FOR THE MILITARY TO ATTEMPT TO PIN BLAME ON THE

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POLICE OR OTHERS. IT IS OUR GUT FEELING, HOWEVER,
THAT DICOTE CHIEF BLANCO HAS IT RIGHT: THAT, AFTER
TWENTY-FIVE DAYS OF "DISAPPEARANCE," GUADALUPE
CCALLOCCUNTO OLANO IS PROBABLY DEAD, KILLED BY
ELEMENTS OF THE PERUVIAN MILITARY. WE WILL CONTINUE
TO PRESSURE THE GOP ON THIS CASE BOTH AT THE FOREIGN
AND DEFENSE MINISTRIES.
QUAINTON

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