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Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

Page:

Channel: n/a

01 OF 04 252138Z PAGE 01 LIMA 07114

ACTION ARA-01

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CORE-00 /083W RPE-01 -----CFEFFA 252139Z /38

O 252131Z JUN 93

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9416

INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES AMEMBASSY CARACAS

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY QUITO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

DIA WASHDC

NSC WASHDC

USMISSION GENEVA

USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

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SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 07114

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

01 OF 04 07114 LIMA

PAGE 02 PHUM, PGOV, PE TAGS:

PERUVIAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE SUBJECT:

ISSUES TWO CONTRADICTORY OPINIONS

ON LA CANTUTA INVESTIGATION

A. LIMA 6877, B. LIMA 6963 (NOTAL) REF:

(C) SUMMARY THE MAJORITY OPINION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE LA CANTUTA DISAPPEARANCES CALLS ON PRESIDENT FUJIMORI TO REMOVE ARMY CHIEF HERMOZA, SINCE HERMOZA HAS BEEN IMPLICATED IN COVERING UP THE

Current Class:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: OSCAR J. OLSON DATE/CASE ID: 2 AUG 2001 200003853

Page: 1

Current Class: W Current Handling: n/a Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

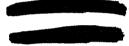
Page: 2

Channel: n/a

ALLEGED INTELLIGENCE OPERATION. THE DOCUMENT ACCUSES SEVERAL MILITARY AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ABDUCTIONS, BUT ESPECIALLY TARGETS HERMOZA AND PRESIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE ADVISER MONTESINGS. THE MINORITY OPINION REPORTEDLY CONCLUDES THAT THERE IS NOT ENOUGH PROOF TO BLAME ANYONE FOR THE DISAPPEARANCES, OR TO EVEN ESTABLISH THAT A CRIME HAD OCCURRED, AND THAT THE MILITARY COURTS SHOULD PURSUE THE CASE. END SUMMARY.

THE TWO REPORTS FINALLY ISSUED

2. (C) GENERAL NICOLAS HERMOZA RIOS SHOULD BE SEPARATED FROM HIS POSITIONS AS CHAIRMAN OF THE PERUVIAN ARMED FORCES JOINT COMMAND AND COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, ACCORDING TO A RECOMMENDATION IN THE MAJORITY OPINION OF THE "LA CANTUTA"



LIMA 07114 01 OF 04 252138Z PAGE 03 CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE REPORT. HERMOZA AND SEVERAL OTHERS ARE NAMED IN THE REPORT AS INVOLVED EITHER IN THE LA CANTUTA DISAPPEARANCES OR THE SUBSEQUENT COVER-UP. ROGER CACERES, GLORIA HELFER AND CARLOS CUARESMA, THE THREE NON-GOVERNMENT-PARTY MEMBERS OF THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEE, SIGNED THE MAJORITY OPINION THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 24. THE TWO CAMBIO 90/NUEVA MAYORIA MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, GILBERTO SIURA AND JAIME FREUNDT-THURNE, COMPLETED THEIR VERSION OF THE REPORT LATER IN THE EVENING. POLOFF OBTAINED AN ADVANCE COPY OF THE MAJORITY OPINION AND A READOUT ON THE DRAFTING AND DEBATE PROCESS JUNE 24 FROM

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MAJORITY OPINION BLAMES MANY

3. (U) THE FORTY-NINE PAGE OPINION COMES DOWN HARD ON THOSE SUSPECTED OF PARTICIPATION IN THE JULY 18, 1992 ABDUCTIONS OF NINE STUDENTS AND A PROFESSOR FROM THE NATIONAL EDUCATION UNIVERSITY

· Current Class:

Current Class: 4

Page: 3

Channel: n/a

Current Handling: n/a

Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

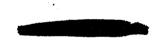
(AKA "LA CANTUTA"). THE REPORT HOLDS MILITARY ELEMENTS (THOUGH NOT THE ARMY AS AN INSTITUTION) RESPONSIBLE BECAUSE THE ABDUCTORS WERE ABLE TO ENTER THE UNIVERSITY AND REMOVE THE VICTIMS WHILE ALL ENTRIES TO THE CAMPUS WERE UNDER THE CONTROL OF AN ARMY UNIT. THERE ARE NUMEROUS CONFIDENTIAL



PAGE 04 LIMA 07114 01 OF 04 WITNESSES WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED BEYOND DOUBT. THE REPORT SAYS, THAT A GROUP OF MEN WITH MILITARY EQUIPMENT ENTERED THE UNIVERSITY AND TOOK AWAY THE STUDENTS AND PROFESSOR. "THERE ARE SUFFICIENT SIGNS TO INDICATE THAT THE INTERVENTION...CORRESPONDS TO AN INTELLIGENCE OPERATION CARRIED OUT BY A SPECIALIZED UNIT OF THE SECURITY FORCES, WHICH INCLUDED SOME MILITARY AGENTS, " THE OPINION STATES.

(U) THE REPORT STRONGLY CRITICIZES THE MILITARY FOR OBSTRUCTING THE COMMITTEE'S INVESTIGATION. IT ACCUSES BOTH HERMOZA AND DEFENSE MINISTER VICTOR MALCA OF BEING

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LIMA 07114 02 OF 04 252141Z PAGE 01 ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 DOEE-0 TEDE-0 OMB-01 SP-00 RPE-01	00 EAP-01 00 INR-00 PA-01 SR-00	AID-01 EB-01 IO-19 PM-02 SS-00 /083W	AMAD-01 EUR-01 L-03 PRS-01 STR-16	CIAE-00 HA-09 ADS-00 P-01 TRSE-00	C-01 H-01 NSAE-00 SIL-00 T-00	OASY-00 INM-02 OIC-02 SNP-00 USIE-00
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O 252131Z JUN 93 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9417 INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES AMEMBASSY CARACAS AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

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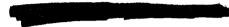
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Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

Page: 4

Channel: n/a

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AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
DIA WASHDC
NSC WASHDC
USMISSION GENEVA

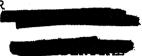


SECTION 02 OF 04 LIMA 07114

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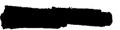
PAGE 02

LIMA 07114 02 OF 04 252141Z

TAGS: PHUM, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: PERUVIAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
POLITICALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MILITARY'S
ACTIONS AND ITS LACK OF COOPERATION. THE
MAJORITY MEMBERS ALSO COMPLAIN THAT THE MILITARY
COURT "ILLEGALLY IMPEDED THE ATTENDANCE BEFORE
THIS COMMITTEE OF THE ATTORNEY VLADIMIRO
MONTESINOS TORRES." PRESIDENTIAL INTELLIGENCE
ADVISER MONTESINOS WAS SUMMONED TO GIVE TESTIMONY
BECAUSE HIS NAME CONTINUALLY SURFACED DURING THE
INVESTIGATION AS ONE OF THE ALLEGED MASTERMINDS
BEHIND THE DISAPPEARANCES.

(U) IN ADDITION TO ATTRIBUTING POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY TO HERMOZA AND MALCA, THE REPORT CLAIMS THAT THE FOLLOWING SHARED IN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HAVING AUTHORIZED, PARTICIPATED IN OR COVERED UP THE ABDUCTIONS: ARMY SPECIAL FORCES CHIEF GEN. LUIS PEREZ DOCUMET; NOMINAL NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIN) DIRECTOR GEN. JULIO SALAZAR MONROE; AND ARMY INTELLIGENCE CHIEF GEN. JUAN RIVERO LAZO. SALAZAR AND MONTESINOS ARE ALLEGED TO HAVE IN ADDITION, THE REPORT DIRECTED THE OPERATION. NAMES THOSE ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN PART OF THE UNIT THAT CARRIED OUT THE KIDNAPPING: CARLOS ERNESTO MIRANDA BALAREZZO, COL. FEDERICO NAVARRO, LT. COL. ROBERTO HUAMAN, MAJ. SANTIAGO ENRIQUE MARTIN RIVAS, CAPT. ELISEO PICHILINGUE, LT. MANUEL GUZMAN CALDERON AND LT. AQUILINO THE ARMY UNIT THAT OCCUPIED AND PORTELLA.

Current Class:



Current Class: Current Handling: n/a

Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

Page: 5

Channel: n/a

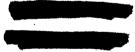


PAGE 03 LIMA 07114 02 OF 04 252141Z CONTROLLED THE UNIVERSITY AT THE TIME OF THE DISAPPEARANCES IS ALSO HELD RESPONSIBLE.

6. (U) THE REPORT EVEN GOES ON TO CRITICIZE THE CCD PRO-GOVERNMENT MAJORITY: "THE POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MAJORITY OF THE CONGRESS HAS ALSO BEEN DEMONSTRATED SINCE IT ABDICATED ITS POWERS OF INVESTIGATION AND OVERSIGHT."

GET RID OF HERMOZA AND GO AFTER THE CULPRITS

- 7. (U) FOLLOWING ARE THE REPORT'S MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS:
- -- AN INTELLIGENCE OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CCD.
- -- THE CCD SHOULD DEMAND THAT THE PUBLIC MINISTRY OFFICE MOVE TO HAVE THE CIVILIAN COURT SYSTEM ASSUME THE INVESTIGATION OF THE DISAPPEARANCES.
- -- THE PUBLIC MINISTRY SHOULD IDENTIFY AND PROSECUTE THOSE INDIVIDUALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ABDUCTIONS.
- -- THOSE INDIVIDUALS SHOULD BE "DRASTICALLY PUNISHED."
- -- PRESIDENT FUJIMORI SHOULD REMOVE GEN. HERMOZA



PAGE 04 LIMA 07114 02 OF 04 252141Z FROM HIS OFFICIAL POSITIONS.

- -- THE CCD SHOULD "ENSURE THAT THE INVESTIGATIVE POWERS THAT THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION CONCEDES TO THIS COMMITTEE BE FULLY MAINTAINED."
- 8. (U) AN ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATION CALLS ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO CLARIFY THE ROLE OF

Current Class:



Current Class: 0/2 Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

Page: 6

Channel: n/a

SECURITY ADVISER MONTESINOS. THE REPORT NOTES THAT, ACCORDING TO SALAZAR AND HERMOZA, MONTESINOS IS AN UNPAID ADVISER WHO WORKS "24 HOURS A DAY" FOR THE SIN. THE REPORT ASKS FOR A DISCLOSURE OF HOW MONTESINOS EARNS A LIVING.

MINORITY OPINION: NO PROOF TO BLAME ANYONE

9. (U) THERE IS NOT ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO BLAME ANY INDIVIDUAL FOR THE DISAPPEARANCES, ACCORDING

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PAGE 01 LIMA 07114 03 OF 04 252142Z

ACTION ARA-01

OASY-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 C-01 ACDA-17 AID-01 INFO LOG-00 INM-02 EUR-01 HA-09 L-03 ADS-00 H-01 DOEE-00 EAP-01 EB-01 NSAE-00 OIC-02 IO-19 L-03 TEDE-00 INR-00 SIL-00 SNP-00 P-01 PRS-01 PM-02 PA-01 OMB-01 USIE-00 TRSE-00 T-00 STR-16 SS-00 SR-00 SP-00 CORE-00 /083W RPE-01 _____CFF064 252142Z /38

O 252131Z JUN 93

FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9418

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USMISSION GENEVA

USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

SECTION 03 OF 04 LIMA 07114

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

Current Class:

Page: 6

Current Class:
Current Handling: n/a
Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

Page: 7

Channel: n/a

PAGE 02

LIMA 07114 03 OF 04 252142Z

TAGS:

PHUM, PGOV, PE

SUBJECT:

PERUVIAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

TO SIURA AND FREUNDT'S MINORITY OPINION. THE PRESS REPORTED THAT THE MINORITY OPINION RECOMMENDS THAT THE MILITARY JUSTICE SYSTEM CARRY OUT THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE INCIDENT. SIURA TOLD THE MEDIA JUNE 24 THAT NO ONE COULD BE ACCUSED BASED ONLY ON TESTIMONY; HARD EVIDENCE IS NEEDED. ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, SIURA FORESEES CHAOS IN PERU IF THE CCD'S PLENUM APPROVES THE MAJORITY OPINION. FREUNDT REPORTEDLY REFERRED TO THE OPPOSITION'S DOCUMENT AS "NOT VERY SERIOUS."

WHY THE REPORT WAS DELAYED

10. FOLD US JUNE 24 THAT THE REPORT
HAD BEEN DELAYED SEVERAL DAYS BECAUSE COMMITTEE
MEMBERS FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT A
CONSENSUS, AND "BECAUSE ROGER (CACERES) IS A SLO
READER." WAS AMAZED THAT CACERES HAD SIGNED
THE MAJORITY OPINION, SINCE MANY HAD EXPECTED
HIM TO SHY AWAY FROM HARSH CRITICISM OF THE ARMY
AND OTHER GOP AUTHORITIES. CLAIMED THAT
IT WAS MORE DIFFICULT TO GET CUARESMA TO AGREE
TO THE WORDING, BECAUSE HE WANTED TO INCLUDE
FUJIMORI AS ONE OF THE RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUALS.
THE FINAL PRODUCT WAS THE RESULT OF A COMPROMISE

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PAGE 03 LIMA 07114 (

LIMA 07114 03 OF 04 252142Z

SIURA

AND FREUNDT DID NOT WANT TO ISSUE THEIR OPINION UNTIL AFTER THE OPPOSITION'S WAS DONE, ADDED, BECAUSE THEY INTENDED THEIRS TO BE A REACTION TO THE MAJORITY OPINION.

COMMENT

11. (C) THE REPORT IS SIGNIFICANT ON MORE THAN

Current Class:



Page: 7

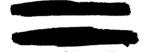
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Channel: n/a

Page: 8

ONE LEVEL. AS A CONCLUSION TO THE COMMITTEE'S INVESTIGATION, THE MAJORITY OPINION IS MUCH MORE STRONGLY-WORDED THAN WE EXPECTED. IN MANY WAYS THIS IS GOOD; THOSE WHO HAVE OBSTRUCTED THE INVESTIGATION NEED TO BE CHASTISED. ON A POLITICAL LEVEL, THE MAJORITY OPINION WILL ANGER THE ARMY COMMAND AND THE PRO-GOVERNMENT MAJORITY IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THE LATTER IN CONGRESS. WILL ADOPT ANY OF THE OPPOSITION DOCUMENT'S CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. DEBATE ON THE ISSUE WILL BE ACERBIC, AND THE CCD WILL MOST LIKELY ADOPT THE SIURA/FREUNDT RECOMMENDATION AND LET THE MILITARY JUSTICE SYSTEM TAKE ITS COURSE.

12. (C) ON YET ANOTHER LEVEL, WITH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE'S MANDATE ENDED, THE WHOLE PROCESS HAS BEEN ONE MORE EXAMPLE OF HOW WEAK THE CCD IS. THE MAJORITY HAS INSISTED ON SHOWING DEFERENCE TO BOTH THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND THE MILITARY. NEVERTHELESS, THE REPORT ALSO SHOWS THAT WITHIN



PAGE 04 LIMA 07114 03 OF 04 THE CCD THERE IS A DYNAMIC (BUT OUTNUMBERED) OPPOSITION THAT HAS BEEN ABLE TO INFLUENCE THE CONGRESS'S AGENDA IN SOME AREAS. MANY EXPECTED THE INVESTIGATION TO BE A WHITEWASH AND BELIEVED THAT CACERES WOULD ROLL OVER, YET THE OPPOSITION'S OPINION WENT SO FAR AS TO CALL FOR THE REMOVAL OF PERU'S TOP MILITARY CHIEF. (SEVERAL POLITICAL OBSERVERS TOLD US THEY WERE BAFFLED BY CACERES' FAILURE TO SUPPORT THE GOP; THEY SUGGESTED CACERES HAD A PERSONAL PROBLEM WITH HERMOZA.) FURTHERMORE, THE ISSUE IS BEING DEBATED OPENLY IN THE CCD AND THE MEDIA. ISSUE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LA CANTUTA DISAPPEARANCES THUS IS NOT DEAD; ALTHOUGH THE SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE COULD NOT GET THE BOTTOM OF THE INCIDENT, ITS INVESTIGATION HAS HELPED OTHERS (INCLUDING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY) TO FOCUS ON THE MATTER. WITH SO MANY EYES ON THE CASE, IT HAS BECOME VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE GOP AND THE MILITARY TO SWEEP

Current Class:

Page: 8

Current Class:

Current Handling: n/a

Document Number: 1993LIMA07114

Page: 9

Channel: n/a

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PAGE 01 LIMA 07114 04 OF 04 252142Z

ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-17 AID-01 AMAD-01 EUR-01 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DOEE-00 EAP-01 EB-01 HA-09 H-01 INM-02 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-19 NSAE-00 OIC-02 L-03 ADS-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 SIL-00 SNP-00 SS-00 SP-00 SR-00 STR-16 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00 RPE-01

RPE-01 CORE-00 /083W ------CFF067 252142Z /38

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SECTION 04 OF 04 LIMA 07114

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

LIMA 07114 04 OF 04 25

PAGE 02 LIMA 07114 TAGS: PHUM, PGOV, PE

SUBJECT: PERUVIAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

THIS INCIDENT UNDER THE RUG AS IT HAS WITH SIMILAR EVENTS IN THE PAST.

13. (C) THE FULL CCD IS SCHEDULED TO DEBATE THE REPORTS JUNE 25. THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE REPORTS WILL INCREASE CONFLICT WITHIN THE ARMY, AND BETWEEN CONGRESS AND ARMY LEADERSHIP.

Current Class:

Page: 9