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ACTION SCT-03

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	ARA-01	A-01	CA-02	CCO-00
	CG-00	CIAE-00	COME-00	CTME-00	C-01	OASY-00	DOEE-00
	DOTE-00	DS-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	FAAE-00	FBIE-00
	HA-09	H-01	IMMC-01	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-19	JUSE-00	L-03	ADS-00	M-01	NRCE-00	NSAE-00
	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01
	SIL-00	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-17	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	USSS-00	ASDS-01	RPE-01	/093W	

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O 232002Z APR 93  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7747  
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM  
DIA WASHDC  
SECDEF WASHDC  
NSC WASHDC

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SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD  
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PHUM, PTER, EAID, US, PE  
SUBJECT: ARMY SHOW OF FORCE: CRISIS  
SUBSIDES, TENSIONS REMAIN

REF: A) LIMA 4558; B) LIMA 4603

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S APRIL 22 SPEECH (SEPTTEL) DEFUSED IMMEDIATE CONCERNS OVER

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THE ARMY'S APRIL 21 SHOW OF FORCE AGAINST CONGRESS. THE INCIDENT, HOWEVER, UNDERSCORED CONTINUING TENSIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY OVER EFFORTS TO PUNISH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. IT ALSO ILLUSTRATED THE RANGE OF OTHER PROBLEMS IN THE ARMY (SALARIES, MORALE, LEADERSHIP, TREATMENT OF COUP PLOTTERS) THAT AFFECT THE PRESIDENT'S ABILITY TO ADDRESS CIVIL-MILITARY ISSUES. THE OPPOSITION, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, AND COUP PLOTTERS WILL KEEP THE ARMY HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ISSUE ALIVE. CONSEQUENTLY, CONGRESSIONAL AND JUDICIAL SOVEREIGNTY -- AND FUJIMORI'S LEADERSHIP -- WILL CONTINUE TO BE TESTED. END SUMMARY.

3. FUJIMORI'S APRIL 22 SPEECH (SEPTTEL) ENDED THE WAR OF WORDS, UNDERSCORED BY TANK MOVEMENTS, BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE CONGRESS. THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE INCIDENT -- THE

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 INVESTIGATION OF THE "LA CANTUTA" DISAPPEARANCES -- CONTINUES, AS DO OTHER INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED MILITARY HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.

4. WHAT MADE ARMY GENERAL COMMANDER HERMOZA LOSE HIS COOL, GIVEN THE ARMY'S TRACK RECORD IN AVOIDING SERIOUS PUNISHMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS? WE BELIEVE SEVERAL ELEMENTS COMBINED IN HIS REACTION:

--A PERVASIVE FEELING IN THE ARMY THAT THEIR MEMBERS ARE ON THE FRONT LINES OF A WAR, AND THUS SHOULD BE SHIELDED FROM CRITICISM;

--A CONVICTION THAT THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR REQUIRES SOME DISAPPEARANCES AND KILLINGS OF SUSPECTED TERRORISTS, AS WAS THE CASE (THEY SAY) IN LA CANTUTA;

--OUTRAGE THAT INFORMATION ABOUT ARMY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LA CANTUTA OPERATION (WHICH EMBASSY FINDS HIGHLY CREDIBLE) WAS LEAKED TO THE PRESS, PROBABLY BY JAILED COUP PLOTTERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS, WITH THE PROSPECT OF MORE TO COME.

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--A PERVASIVE BELIEF THAT THE ARMY IS A "TUTELARY INSTITUTION" THAT SHOULD BE ABOVE CONGRESS AND THE JUDICIARY (THE FACT THAT THE CCD IS NOT QUITE THE SAME AS THE CONGRESS FUJIMORI DISSOLVED PROBABLY AUGMENTS THIS BELIEF);

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--CONCERN, ON HERMOZA'S PART, THAT THE INVESTIGATION WOULD AFFECT HIM PERSONALLY, AND UNDERMINE HIS HOLD OVER THE ARMY, GIVEN EXISTING LOW MORALE OVER SALARIES, PRESIDENTIAL MEDDLING IN PROMOTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS, AND HERMOZA'S OWN LEADERSHIP;

--A LACK OF SMARTS, ON HERMOZA'S PART, ON HOW TO DEAL WITH CRITICISM FROM CIVILIANS.

THE REST OF THE ARMY HIERARCHY SIDED WITH HERMOZA OUT OF CONVICTION AND/OR LOYALTY TO THEIR SUPERIOR.

5. CONFLICT OVER HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATIONS,

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AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
 AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
 AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
 TAGS: PREL, KDEM, PHUM, PTER, EAID, US, PE  
 SUBJECT: ARMY SHOW OF FORCE: CRISIS  
 HOWEVER, IS INEVITABLE. THERE ARE AT LEAST  
 THREE OUTSTANDING CASES OF MULTIPLE  
 DISAPPEARANCES/KILLINGS ASCRIBED TO HIGH LEVELS  
 IN THE ARMY AND OR THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE:  
 BARRIOS ALTOS (NOVEMBER 1991); HUANCAYO  
 (JULY-SEPTEMBER 1992); AND LA CANTUTA (JULY  
 1992). ALL THREE CASES INVOLVED SELECTED  
 TARGETTING OF SUSPECTED SL MEMBERS BY ARMY  
 UNITS, WITH APPROVAL FAIRLY HIGH UP IN THE ARMY  
 HIERARCHY. THESE WERE NOT "ROGUE" OPERATIONS.  
 THANKS TO DISSIDENTS IN THE ARMY, ENOUGH  
 INFORMATION ABOUT THE VIOLATIONS HAS SURFACED TO  
 IDENTIFY THE PERPETRATORS, AND TO CLAIM CREDIBLY  
 THAT THE ARMY LEADERSHIP BORE SOME  
 RESPONSIBILITY.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, OPPOSITION CONGRESSMEN,  
 AND ARMY DISSIDENTS WILL CONTINUE TO FUEL THE  
 DEBATE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE WAR  
 AGAINST SL. (THE ARMY DISSIDENTS DO NOT ALL  
 CRITICIZE THE VIOLATIONS PER SE, BUT RATHER THE  
 ARMY LEADERSHIP'S EFFORTS TO AVOID  
 RESPONSIBILITY.) IRONICALLY, THIS DEBATE OCCURS  
 WHEN DISAPPEARANCES AND KILLINGS ATTRIBUTED TO  
 THE SECURITY FORCES HAVE DROPPED DRAMATICALLY  
 (TO ABOUT 10 PERCENT OF 1992 LEVELS), AND

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FOLLOWING TWO CONVICTIONS OF MILITARY OFFICERS  
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 IN MILITARY COURTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

7. FUJIMORI'S OPTIONS REMAIN LIMITED. THE USG HAS REEMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATIONS AND TO THE AUTONOMY OF THE CONGRESS. THE OPPOSITION WANTS NOT ONLY TO CLARIFY VIOLATIONS, BUT ALSO TO EMBARRASS FUJIMORI AND TO REASSERT CONGRESS' SOVEREIGNTY. ARMY OFFICERS, HOWEVER, WILL REMAIN EXCEPTIONALLY SENSITIVE TOWARDS ANY PUBLIC CRITICISM OF VIOLATIONS THEY BELIEVE WERE COMMITTED UNDER ORDERS AGAINST TERRORISTS. HERMOZA SUITED FUJIMORI AS A PLIABLE ARMY COMMANDER WHO WOULD ALLOW THE PRESIDENT TO MANAGE ARMY PROMOTIONS AND ASSIGNMENTS; HE IS NOT THE KIND OF LEADER WHO CAN DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH THE HIGHLY-CHARGED POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT THE GOP FACES.

8. THE PROSPECTS, THEREFORE, ARE FOR CONTINUED TENSION OVER HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, COMBINED WITH OTHER ELEMENTS OF MILITARY DISSATISFACTION THAT FUJIMORI HAS NEGLECTED (LIMA 1411). HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS WILL BE WRAPPED UP IN BROADER ISSUES OF CONGRESSIONAL AND JUDICIAL AUTONOMY, AND WILL TEST FUJIMORI'S LEADERSHIP.  
 BRAYSHAW##

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