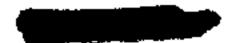
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ACTION SCT-03

CCO-00 CA-02 INFO LOG-00 ARA-01 A - 01ACDA-17 AID-01 COME-00 CTME-00 C-01 OASY-00 DOEE-00 CG-00 CIAE-00 FAAE-00 FBIE-00 DOTE-00 DS-00 EB-01 EUR-01 EAP-01 IMMC-01 INM-02 INSE-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 HA-09 H-01 ADS-00 NRCE-00 NSAE-00 M - 0.1JUSE-00 L-03 IO-19 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 OIC-02 OMB-01PA-01 OIS-01 TRSE-00 SR-00 SS-00 STR-17 SP-00 SNP-00 SIL-00 USSS-00 ASDS-01 RPE-01 /093W T = 0.0USIE-00

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 (SEPTEL) DEFUSED IMMEDIATE CONCERNS OVER

Current Class:

Page: 1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: DONALD A. JOHNSTON DATE/CASE ID: 12 DEC 2001 200102081

UNCLASSIFIED

Current Class: Current Handling: n/a

Document Number: 1993LIMA04656

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Channel: n/a

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 (SEPTEL) ENDED THE WAR OF WORDS, UNDERSCORED BY TANK MOVEMENTS, BETWEEN THE ARMY AND THE CONGRESS. THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE INCIDENT -- THE



PAGE 03 LIMA 04656 01 OF 02 231952Z 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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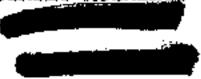
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Channel: n/a

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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.

CONFLICT OVER HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATIONS,



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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 7748 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO

Current Class: 6



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Current Handling: n/a

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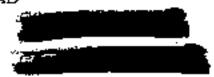
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AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM
DIA WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC
NSC WASHDC



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SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD



PAGE 02

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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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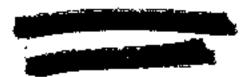
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FOLLOWING TWO CONVICTIONS OF MILITARY OFFICERS



PAGE 03 LIMA 04656 02 OF 02 231953Z 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.
- 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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