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TAGS: PHUM, PINR, PE

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH WOLA AND HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

1. SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED.

2. SUMMARY: ANNE MANUEL, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/AMERICAS (HRW/A), AND COLETTA YOUNGERS, SENIOR ASSOCIATE FOR THE ANDES FROM THE WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA (WOLA), CALLED ON THE ARA/AND OFFICE
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DIRECTOR AND PERU DESK OFFICER ON NOVEMBER 5 TO DISCUSS CONCERNS ABOUT PRESS REPORTS OF AN ALLEGED USG INTELLIGENCE RELATIONSHIP WITH VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS. MANUEL AND YOUNGERS USED THE MEETING TO NOT ONLY DISCUSS MONTESINOS, BUT ALSO TO URGE THE USG TO REMAIN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PRESSING PERU ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. MANUEL

IM/IPS/CR/IR/WOL Date: 4/23/97

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AND YOUNGERS MADE SEVERAL SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING ACTIONS THE USG MIGHT TAKE IN PERU REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS. END SUMMARY.

MONTESINOS

3. MANUEL AND YOUNGERS STATED THAT MONTESINOS, WHOM THEY ASSERTED IS WIDELY REGARDED AS DE FACTO HEAD OF THE PERUVIAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIN), HAD BEEN THE "MASTERMIND BEHIND AND COMMANDER OF" THE COLINA DEATH SQUAD IMPLICATED IN THE LA CANTUTA AND BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRES. MANUEL AND YOUNGERS ADMITTED, HOWEVER, THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE ANY DIRECT EVIDENCE THAT MONTESINOS HAD ACTUALLY ORDERED THESE MURDERS. THE NGO REPRESENTATIVES ALSO ALLEGED THAT MONTESINOS HAD CONTRIBUTED TO A COVER UP OF THE "CAJARA" MASSACRE. MANUEL AND YOUNGERS ALSO STATED THAT THERE WAS SERIOUS AND MOUNTING EVIDENCE THAT MONTESINOS HAD RECEIVED PAYMENTS FROM DRUG TRAFFICKERS.

4. MANUEL AND YOUNGERS CRITICIZED THE USG REACTION TO THE ALLEGATIONS WHICH HAVE SWIRLED AROUND MONTESINOS. THEY ARGUED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT STATEMENTS MADE BY USG OFFICIALS THAT "NO SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU IS KNOWN TO ENGAGE IN, ENCOURAGE OR FACILITATE THE ILLICIT

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PRODUCTION OR DISTRIBUTION OF SUCH DRUGS OR SUBSTANCES" HAD NOT BEEN THE PROPER RESPONSE TO ALLEGATIONS OF CONNECTIONS BETWEEN NARCOTRAFFICKERS AND MONTESINOS. RATHER, MANUEL AND YOUNGERS ARGUED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD HAVE INDICATED THAT PERUVIAN AUTHORITIES SHOULD INVESTIGATE THE DRUG AND OTHER CHARGES AGAINST MONTESINOS.

5. THE HRW/A AND WOLA REPRESENTATIVES ALSO CALLED THE VISIT OF ONDCP DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY TO LIMA THE "ABSOLUTE CROWNING" OF MONTESINOS, AND WONDERED WHETHER MCCAFFREY HAD FELT "AMBUSHED" WHEN MONTESINOS SAT IN DURING A MCCAFFREY MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FUJIMORI. THE HRW/A AND WOLA REPS EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THE USG HAD IN THEIR VIEW DONE NOTHING TO CLARIFY THE SITUATION AFTER THE MCCAFFREY VISIT.

HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES

6. YOUNGERS NOTED THAT THE USG ROLE IN THE POST AUTO-GOLPE PERIOD (1992 - 1995) HAD BEEN HELPFUL. WOLA OVER THE LAST YEAR, HOWEVER, HAD BEEN CONCERNED THAT THE

USG HAD NOT BEEN AS VOCAL ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES, AND THAT THIS HAD BEEN INTERPRETED IN PERU AS A SIGN OF LESSENERD USG INTEREST ON THIS SUBJECT. YOUNGERS DID NOTE THAT AMBASSADOR JETT HAD RECENTLY MADE A GOOD STATEMENT WHEN HE

STATED THAT THE USG "WAS NOT CONGRATULATING ANY ONE OFFICIAL" WHEN IT NOTED PROGRESS THE GOP HAS MADE. YOUNGERS ALSO NOTED THAT THE USG SHOULD HAVE SPOKEN OUT PUBLICLY AGAINST THE PERUVIAN CONGRESS' CONSTITUTIONAL

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INTERPRETATION WHICH WOULD ALLOW PRESIDENT FUJIMORI TO SEEK A THIRD TERM AND THE RENEWAL IN OCTOBER OF FACELESS COURT LEGISLATION.

7. MANUEL AND YOUNGERS MADE SEVERAL SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING STEPS THE USG MIGHT TAKE TO ADVANCE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN PERU. SPECIFIC IDEAS ADVANCED DURING THE NOVEMBER 5 MEETING BY HRW/A AND WOLA INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

A) MORE FREQUENT USE OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS, BOTH BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN WASHINGTON AND BY EMBASSY LIMA, TO HIGHLIGHT GOP HUMAN RIGHTS DEFICIENCIES

B) SUPPORT FOR AN UNHRC SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR OR INDEPENDENT EXPERT FOR PERU

C) AN EXPERTS GROUP TO ASSESS GOP IMPLEMENTATION OF GOLDMAN COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING JUDICIAL REFORM

D) EMBASSY INQUIRIES CONCERNING GOP PROGRESS IN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPECIFIC CASES OF ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES (NOTE: YOUNGERS MADE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO 16 CASES WHICH PRESIDENT FUJIMORI APPARENTLY PROMISED WOULD BE INVESTIGATED).

8. ARA/AND DIRECTOR DURING THE NOVEMBER 5 MEETING ALSO INVITED THE NGO REPRESENTATIVES TO GIVE ADDITIONAL THOUGHT TO OTHER ACTIONS THE USG MIGHT TAKE TO ADDRESS HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS IN PERU AND TO SHARE THEIR IDEAS WITH

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ARA/AND AT THEIR CONVENIENCE.
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"IT DOESN'T MAKE SENSE TO PULL OUR HAIR OUT OVER THE FACT THAT THE U.S. IS MAKING DEMANDS IN THE AREAS OF DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS ISN'T BAD FOR THE COUNTRY. THE PROBLEM OCCURS WHEN THE INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS ARE BIASED AND OBSCURE THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS..."

"AN ANTI-SUBVERSIVE POLICY THAT ACHIEVES PUBLIC SUPPORT CAN'T BE ANTI-DEMOCRATIC NOR VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS..."

"OUTSIDE OF THIS, THERE IS NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN OUR NATIONAL GOAL OF PERFECTING DEMOCRACY, RESPECTING HUMAN
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RIGHTS AND THE U.S. DEMANDS, HOWEVER IMPERTINENT THEY SEEM."

"UNDER THE TERMS OF THIS DEBATE, WE MUST ASK WHAT IS THE PRESENT ROLE OF FORMER CAPTAIN VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS IN THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT. OR, BETTER STILL, WHAT IS THE VALUE OF HIS CONTINUING IN THE ROLE HE IS PRESENTLY PLAYING TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PRESIDENT FUJIMORI."

"OF COURSE, THIS IS A QUESTION PRESIDENT FUJIMORI MUST ANSWER. HE KNOWS BETTER THAN ANYONE. BUT THAT DOESN'T STOP US FROM ASKING THE PRESIDENT TO THINK ABOUT THE FOLLOWING HYPOTHESIS: MONTESINOS WAS USEFUL IN PLANNING THE APRIL 5 COUP AND WAS NECESSARY FOR CONTROLLING THE ARMED FORCES DURING THIS PERIOD..."

"BUT THESE CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE BEEN OVERCOME. THE REFORMS ARE ALMOST COMPLETE AND...THE PROBLEMS ARE THE OPPOSITE: WHAT WE ARE WORKING ON NOW IS THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF FULL DEMOCRACY THAT IS AUTHENTIC AND CONVINCING TO OUR OWN PEOPLE AND THOSE ABROAD."

"FOR THIS NEW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS COULD BECOME AN OBSTACLE. UNLESS...HE ASSUMES AN OPEN ROLE, ACCOUNTABLE AND CONTROLLABLE BY CONGRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION."

"PRESIDENT FUJIMORI MUST DECIDE WHAT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY IN THIS NEW CONTEXT IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES."

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3. COMMENT: "EXPRESO" IS SO CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH

THE GOVERNMENT AS TO BE CONSIDERED ALMOST A HOUSE ORGAN.
IT SUPPORTED FUJIMORI'S SELF-COUP LAST APRIL AND HAS NOT
OPPOSED HIM ON ANY IMPORTANT ISSUE SINCE. IT HAS,
HOWEVER, OCCASIONALLY EXPRESSED MISGIVINGS ABOUT
MONTESINOS. STILL, WE FOUND IT INTERESTING THAT
"EXPRESO" CHOSE TO SEIZE THE OPENING OFFERED BY
SECRETARY ARONSON AND ASK THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION: "IS
MONTESINOS HELPING OR HURTING PERU?" COREY-ARCHER

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