

EXCISE

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TELEGRAM

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ACTION 12-15

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO DIRECTOR (100-30) IMMEDIATE ACTION

SECRET LIMA 13499

E.O. 12958: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PAGE, FE
SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS REPRESENTATIONS

- REF: A. LIMA 12340
- B. LIMA 12341
- C. LIMA 12723
- D. USSFO LIMA 262202Z OCTOBER 87
- E. LIMA 13116

1. (SECRET//NOFORN - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY. WE HAVE MADE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS OF USG CONCERN ABOUT REPORTED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WITH MOST OF PERU'S KEY ACTORS, INCLUDING PRESIDENT GARCIA, VICE PRESIDENT SANCHEZ, INTERIOR MINISTER BARSALLO, FOREIGN MINISTER WAGNER, DEFENSE MINISTER LOPEZ ALBUJAR AND INTERIOR VICE MINISTER HANTILLA (INDIRECTLY). IN RESPONSE WE HAVE RECEIVED A MIXTURE OF DISSEMBLING, EXPLICIT ADVOCACY OF LIQUIDATION OF TERRORISTS AND UNDERSTANDING OF OUR POSITION. GARCIA DEFENDED HIS PARTY, BUT INDICATED ELEMENTS OF IT OCCASIONALLY GET OUT OF CONTROL. HE SUGGESTED "INTELLIGENCE ELEMENTS" OF THE POLICE MIGHT BE INVOLVED IN SOME CASES. SANCHEZ SAID A "DIRTY WAR" LIKE IN VENEZUELA THIRTY YEARS AGO WAS INEVITABLE, BUT ADDED THAT HE OPPOSED IT. BARSALLO DISSEMBLED BUT SEEMED UNAWARE OF SOME DETAILS. WAGNER AND LOPEZ ALBUJAR DUCKED. HANTILLA GOT MAD AT US. WE WILL KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON THESE INTERLOCUTORS, AS WELL AS OTHERS, BUT DO NOT ADVOCATE GOING PUBLIC AT THIS TIME. END SUMMARY.

3. EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE RAISED WITH GOP LEADERS, INCLUDING PRESIDENT GARCIA, US CONCERNS OVER RECENT REPORTS OF ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY INDIVIDUALS AFFILIATED WITH ELEMENTS OF THE POLICE FORCES AND THE RULING APRA PARTY. WE HAVE BEEN CAREFUL TO PROTECT-SENSITIVE SOURCES AND, THEREFORE, IN OUR REPRESENTATIONS HAVE REFERRED TO INCIDENTS DESCRIBED IN THE LOCAL PRESS, PARTICULARLY THE APPARENT FAILED ATTEMPT TO BOMB THE HEADQUARTERS OF PRO-SENDERO LUMINOSO NEWSPAPER EL DIARIO (REF A), THE ATTEMPT BY APRA PARTY YOUTH SECRETARY JAIME BEDON GIL TO KIDNAP IZQUIERDA UNIDA DEPUTY JUSTINIANO APAZA ORDOCHEZ (REF B), AND THE PLETHORA OF REPORTS THAT APRA IS FORMING PARAMILITARY UNITS PERHAPS WITH THE COMPLIANCE OF THE INTERIOR MINISTRY AND ELEMENTS OF THE POLICE. THIS MESSAGE DESCRIBES IN SOME DETAIL THOSE REPRESENTATIONS.

4. PRESIDENT GARCIA, DURING A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT ALAN GARCIA ON OCTOBER 21, THE AMBASSADOR OBSERVED THAT US RELATIONS WITH PERU, INCLUDING OUR VARIOUS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, WERE VERY SENSITIVE TO REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. RECENT INCIDENTS--INCLUDING THE BOMB NEAR EL DIARIO AND THE ATTEMPT AGAINST APAZA--

SUGGEST THAT ELEMENTS OF THE ARMED FORCES, THE POLICE OR THE APRA PARTY MAY BE TAKING THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS AND CLEARING ACCOUNTS WITH THOSE THEY BELIEVE TO BE TERRORISTS. IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE, THE AMBASSADOR SAID, THAT THERE WAS THE FURTHERATION WITH POLICE OPERATIONS OF TERRORIST ATTEMPTS, BUT DID NOT SETTLE'S OF ACCUSES OUTSIDE THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM WOULD UNDERMINE THE INTEGRITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM PERU HAS SO CAREFULLY STITCHED TOGETHER OVER THE LAST SEVEN YEARS AND SERIOUSLY AFFECT PERU'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. HOWEVER, THE SENDERO LUMINOSO IS TRYING TO PROVOKE THE GOVERNMENT INTO THIS TRAP.

5. THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY EXCERATED APRA (ALMOST) CAST SOME DOUBT ON THE POLICE WHO DID NOT MENTION THE MILITARY. HE DENIED APRISTAS WERE TAKING THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS. PARTY MEMBERS WERE SO SATISFIED WITH THEIR GOVERNMENT SALARIES, THE PRESIDENT SAID WAGNY, THAT THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN PARAMILITARY ACTIVITIES. ON THE APAZA INCIDENT HE OFFERED A VERSION OF EVENTS SIMILAR TO THE OFFICIAL ONE. INTERIOR MINISTER BARSALLO TOLD THE CONGRESS THE DAY BEFORE (REF C). BEDON GIL WAS DRUNK, STARTED HAVING HIS GUN ARROUND, FORCED A MAN SITTING IN A CAR OUTSIDE APAZA'S PENSION WAITING FOR A FRIEND TO ENTER THE PENSION, THE FRIEND TURNED OUT TO BE APAZA. THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED EMBARRASSMENT THAT THE YOUTH SECRETARY OF HIS PARTY WOULD DO SOMETHING SO OUTRAGEOUS AND ESSENTIALLY DISMISSED THE

ISSUE AS AN ISOLATED CASE RESOLVED BY RELIEVING BEDON OF HIS JOB. GARCIA CHARGED THAT REPORTS APRA ELEMENTS WERE BEING ARMED WITH POLICE WEAPONS WERE INVENTIONS BY THE PRESS. HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, AND SO NEGATIVELY AS TO DISMISS THE MATTER, WHAT PUBLIC REACTION WOULD BE IF ONE OF THE NORTH KOREAN AK-47S ACQUIRED BY THE POLICE WERE DISCOVERED IN THE HANDS OF AN APRISTA. AT ANOTHER POINT IN THE CONVERSATION, HOWEVER, THE PRESIDENT TAINTED HIS OVERALL EXCERATION OF HIS PARTY BY ASSERTING THAT NINETY-TWO APRISTAS HAD BEEN KILLED BY TERRORISTS AND OBSERVING THAT FRUSTRATED UNDERLINGS SOMETIMES ACT WITHOUT APPROVAL FROM THEIR SUPERIORS. HE ADMITTED TO BEING AWARE OF SEVERAL CASES IN WHICH APRISTAS HAD ACTED ON THEIR OWN.

6. GARCIA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE EL DIARIO BOMB CASE "SHIELDED BAD." HE ASSURED THE AMBASSADOR THAT APRA WAS NOT INVOLVED, BUT SUGGESTED THAT "INTELLIGENCE ELEMENTS" OF THE POLICE MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

7. VICE PRESIDENT SANCHEZ. THE AMBASSADOR HAD MET WITH FIRST VICE PRESIDENT LUIS ALEGGIO SANCHEZ ON OCTOBER 9 AND RAISED THE EL DIARIO AND APAZA ISSUES IN THE CONTEXT OF US CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN PERU. HIS RESPONSE WAS MIXED AS IT HAS BEEN ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS HE HAS DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS WITH HIM. ON THE ONE HAND SANCHEZ

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ASSERTED THAT A "DIRTY WAR" IS INEVITABLE, JUST AS IT WAS IN VENEZUELA IN 1959 WHEN ROQUELO BETHENOUNT WAS PRESIDENT AND CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ WAS HIS INTERIOR MINISTER. HE CHARACTERIZED THE VENEZUELAN EFFORT AS SUCCESSFUL. YET, HE SAID, HE OPPOSED A "DIRTY WAR" IN PERU AND ARGUED THAT IT WOULD NOT WORK. TURNING TO THE SPECIFIC CASES AT HAND, SANCHEZ DENIED THE APRA PARTY WAS INVOLVED, ASSERTING IN EFFECT THAT THE SAME WORDS GARCIA WOULD USE SEVERAL DAYS LATER THAT APRISTAS WERE NOT IN THE MOOD TO TAKE RISKS BECAUSE THEY WERE ENJOYING THEIR DODGY GOVERNMENT JOBS. FORMER POLICE PERSONNEL. ANOTHER QUESTION, THE VICE PRESIDENT VOLUNTEERED.

IN ANY CASE, PRESIDENT GARCIA WAS CERTAINLY NOT INVOLVED, SANCHEZ INSISTED.

8. INTERIOR MINISTER BARSALLO. IN A MEETING WITH BARSALLO OCTOBER 26, AMBASSADOR AND DCM EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN OVER REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY GOVERNMENT AND APRA PERSONNEL THAT HAVE APPEARED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY IN EVEN THE MODERATE CENTRIST PRESS. BARSALLO GAVE THE PARTY LINE ON DEPUTY APAZA'S "EAR-KIDNAPPING" IN TERMS THAT WERE VERY SIMILAR TO GARCIA'S AND TO WHAT HE TOLD THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ON OCTOBER 20. AMBASSADOR AND DCM PRESSED BARSALLO HARD ON THE EL DIARIO INCIDENT. THE MINISTER DENIED INVOLVEMENT BY HIS MINISTRY OR PARTY BUT DID NOT APPEAR TO HAVE SUFFICIENT COMMAND OF THE DETAILS TO WARRANT HIS CONFIDENCE THAT HIS COLLEAGUES WERE CLEAN.

9. FOREIGN MINISTER WAGNER. ON NOVEMBER 2, THE AMBASSADOR BRIEFED THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND DIRECTOR OF AMERICAN AFFAIRS AMBASSADOR EDUARDO PONCE ON HIS CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT GARCIA, EMPHASIZING THE REPRESENTATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS. WAGNER AND PONCE LISTENED INTENTLY, BUT DID NOT REACT.

10. DEFENSE MINISTER LOPEZ ALBUJAR. AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED BY MAAG CHIEF DATT AND ARMA, RAISED HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE DURING AN OCTOBER 22 CALL ON NEW DEFENSE MINISTER GENERAL ENRIQUE LOPEZ ALBUJAR (REF D). THE MINISTER STONEWALLED, DENYING THAT ANTI-TERRORIST ELEMENTS HAD TAKEN THE LAW INTO THEIR OWN HANDS AND WERE SETTLING SCORES EXTRA-LEGALLY. IF THEY WERE, HE SAID, THE GOP WOULD STOP THEM.

11. INTERIOR VICE MINISTER MANTILLA. WE ADVISED VICE MINISTER OF INTERIOR MANTILLA THROUGH HIS BROTHER THAT ACTS SUCH AS THE BOMBING OF EL DIARIO NEWSPAPER HAD CAUSED GREAT CONSTERNATION IN WASHINGTON AND HAD FORCED A REAPPRAISAL OF OUR ASSISTANCE. MANTILLA WAS TOLD THAT FUNDS SET ASIDE FOR THE REFURBISHING AND EXPANSION OF THE MINISTRY'S ANTI-NARCOTICS TRAINING BASES WERE IN JEOPARDY. WHEN APPROVAL TO PASS THE FUNDS WAS FINALLY RECEIVED, WE AGAIN WARNED THAT CONTINUED REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES WOULD ENDANGER FURTHER ASSISTANCE.

12. TO ASSURE THAT MANTILLA DID NOT MISINTERPRET THE AMBASSADOR'S DEMONSTRATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS WITH BARSALLO AS A PERSONAL ATTACK AGAINST HIM, WE IMMEDIATELY RECONTACTED HIS BROTHER WHO CONFIRMED THAT THE VICE MINISTER WAS WROTH ABOUT THE AMBASSADOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSIONS WITH BARSALLO. IT WAS EXPLAINED TO MANTILLA'S BROTHER THAT THE AMBASSADOR'S COMMENTS WERE NOT DIRECTED AT ANYONE IN PARTICULAR, BUT THAT HE WAS LEGITIMATELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE EFFECT CONTINUED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COULD HAVE ON RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND PERU. MANTILLA'S BROTHER WAS TOLD THAT BOTH THE PRESS AND VARIOUS PERUVIAN CONTACTS OF THE EMBASSY, INCLUDING APRISTAS, WERE COMMENTING THAT TERRORISTS WERE BEING KILLED BY THE GOVERNMENT. MANTILLA'S BROTHER DENIED THEY WERE DOING SO AND ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY PROOF. HE WAS TOLD THERE WAS NOT AS YET, BUT THAT IF THEY CONTINUED OR STARTED TO CARRY OUT SUCH ACTIONS, EVIDENCE WOULD INEVITABLY SURFACE AS IT HAD IN OTHER COUNTRIES. MANTILLA'S BROTHER SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION, BUT THAT WE MUST TRY TO UNDERSTAND THEIRS. HE NOTED THAT THEY WERE UNDER PRESSURE FROM ALL SIDES OVER TERRORISM AND THAT THERE WAS LITTLE THEY COULD ACCOMPLISH, SINCE THE CURRENT LAWS AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM WERE WEAK AND FAVORED THE TERRORISTS, WHO NORMALLY WERE RELEASED BY THE COURTS AFTER ONLY ONE OR TWO MONTHS IN JAIL, EVEN WHEN THERE WAS STRONG EVIDENCE TO CONVICT THEM AND THEY HAD PREVIOUS ARREST RECORDS FOR TERRORISM. IT WAS SUGGESTED TO MANTILLA'S BROTHER THAT THE BEST WAY TO SOLVE THAT PROBLEM WAS TO CHANGE THE LAWS AND STRENGTHEN THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. THE POINT WAS MADE STRONGLY THAT THERE ARE BETTER WAYS TO COPE WITH TERRORISM THAN TO SUMMARILY EXECUTE PEOPLE, WHICH IN THE LONG RUN WOULD WORK AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

13. OTHER OFFICIALS. WE HAVE MADE OUR PITCH TO OTHER OFFICIALS, INCLUDING POLICE OFFICERS. FOR INSTANCE, CIVIL GUARD NARCOTICS POLICE CHIEF ZARATE WAS PRESENT AT SEVERAL MEETINGS IN WASHINGTON THE LAST WEEK OF SEPTEMBER IN WHICH USG OFFICIALS RAISED THE ISSUE WITH BARSALLO. ON OCTOBER 5 POLOFFS INQUIRED ABOUT ALLEGED PARAHILITARY ACTIVITIES WITH A POLICE MAJOR (REF A) WHO CLAIMED THAT THE APRA PARTY, NOT THE POLICE, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EL DIARIO INCIDENT. THE SUBJECT HAS COME UP NATURALLY IN OTHER CONVERSATIONS WITH APRA AND GOP OFFICIALS. FOR INSTANCE, DURING A LUNCH AT THE RESIDENCE WITH LIMA MAYOR JORGE DEL CASTILLO AND VICE MAYOR ANTONIO BIONDI NOVEMBER 3, THE LATTER--A LONGTIME APRISTA--COMMENTED, "WE ARE IN A WAR; IT'S EITHER THEY KILL US OR WE KILL THEM; THE THING TO DO IS BE SURE WE TAKE NO PRISONERS." THE NEXT DAY APRA DEPUTY AND PRESIDENTIAL CONFIDANT COMMENTED TO POLCOONS THAT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PUNO AN ANTI-TERRORIST SPECIAL FORCE KILLED ABOUT SEVENTY PEOPLE, AT LEAST A DOZEN OF WHOM WERE GENUINE TERRORISTS, THAT TOOK CARE OF THE PROBLEM, HE AVERRED. ON BOTH OCCASIONS WE TOOK STRONG EXCEPTION. IN CUCCO OCTOBER 28 THE AMBASSADOR ACCOMPANIED BY DATT

AND ARMA DISCUSSED HUMAN RIGHTS WITH GENERAL

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LOCK, COMMANDER OF THE FOURTH MILITARY DISTRICT WHICH NOW INCLUDES AN EMERGENCY ZONE. SURPRISINGLY, LOCK RAISED THE ISSUE AND SEEMED TO UNDERSTAND THE MORAL, POLITICAL AND TACTICAL ADVANTAGES OF AVOIDING VIOLATIONS.

14. COMMENT. WE HAVE MADE A STRONG CASE FOR RESPECTING HUMAN RIGHTS WITH MOST OF THE KEY ACTORS, WHILE PROTECTING OUR SOURCES. IF MANTILLA'S REACTION AND REPORTING FROM SENSITIVE SOURCES ON POLICE ATTITUDES ARE ANY INDICATION, IT IS BEING KEENLY FELT. IN RESPONSE, WE ARE GETTING A MIXTURE OF DISSEMBLING AND UNBAGGED APOLOGY OF ELIMINATING TERRORISTS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE CASE. SO FAR, WE HAVE NOT GONE PUBLIC, BUT IN OUR DRAFT ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT (REF E) WE HAVE A VEHICLE FOR INCREASING THE PRESSURE. WE INTENTIONALLY CRAFTED IT WITH SUCH A PROSPECT IN MIND, INSERTING MORE JUDGMENTS OF OUR OWN ON THE CREDIBILITY OF CHARGES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.

WATSON

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