

[REDACTED]
n/a
Case Number: 200102877

PTQ6676

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ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00
	INL-01	DEAE-00	DINT-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00	EB-00	OIGO-01
	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	JUSE-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OPIC-01	PRS-00	P-00
	SP-00	SS-00	STR-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00	PRM-01	DRL-04
	G-00	SAS-00	SWCI-00	/024W			

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P 242116Z APR 98
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2709
INFO USCINCSO MIAMI FL
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

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DEPT FOR USAID
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD AND J-5

E.O. 12958: DECL: 4/24/08
TAGS: PHUM, SNAR, PE
SUBJECT: DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY'S MEETING WITH PERUVIAN HUMAN RIGHTS
LEADERS

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REF: (A) 98 LIMA 02571 (B) 96 SECSTATE 245791 (C) 96 LIMA 10200

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY POL COUNS JIM WAGNER, AMERICAN EMBASSY LIMA,
FOR REASON 1.5(D).

SUMMARY

2. (C) FOLLOWING HIS APRIL 21 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FUJIMORI

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(SEPTTEL), ONDCP DIRECTOR GENERAL BARRY MCCAFFREY HAD AN EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL MEETING WITH THE LEADERS OF PERU'S HUMAN RIGHTS NGO COMMUNITY. THE HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS WERE PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF THE FUJIMORI REGIME'S EFFORTS TO DISMANTLE JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS AND INTIMIDATE PRESS CRITICS, AND SAID THEIR MAIN CHALLENGE IS EDUCATING PERUVIAN SOCIETY TO RECOGNIZE AND OPPOSE GOVERNMENT ABUSE OF POWER. THEY EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN THAT PICTURES OF DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY SHAKING HANDS WITH MONTESINOS, WHICH WERE TAKEN DURING THE DIRECTOR'S 1996 VISIT, MAY HAVE DONE MUCH TO CONFUSE THE PERUVIAN PUBLIC AS TO U.S GOALS, AND PROBABLY FORTIFIED MONTESINOS. DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY EXPLAINED THAT HIS POLICY IS TO DEMONSTRATE RESPECT FOR A COUNTRY'S LEADERS IN PUBLIC, AND FIRMLY RAISE ANY OUTSTANDING PROBLEM AREAS IN PRIVATE. HE URGED THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITY TO VIEW THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IN BROADER TERMS THAT INCLUDE BOTH COUNTERNARCOTICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS/DEMOCRACY ISSUES. HE NOTED THAT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP IS GOVERNMENT TO GOVERNMENT AND THAT WE DO NOT PICK PERU'S REPRESENTATIVES JUST AS THEY DO NOT SELECT OURS. HE ALSO REMINDED THE GROUP THAT, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, PERU'S DESTINY IS IN THE HANDS OF PERUVIANS LIKE THEM. END SUMMARY.

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3. (C) AT A LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE AMBASSADOR AT HIS RESIDENCE, ONDCP DIRECTOR GENERAL MCCAFFREY MET WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS NGO COMMUNITY IN PERU. THE PERUVIAN GUESTS PRESENT AT THE GATHERING WERE SOFIA MACHER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (OR COORDINADORA), THE UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION WHICH SERVES AS THE PRINCIPAL VOICE ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE NGO COMMUNITY, AND THE HEADS OF THE "BIG FIVE" HUMAN RIGHTS NGO'S ON THE COORDINADORA'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: CARLOS BASOMBRIO, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF LEGAL DEFENSE (IDL); FRANCISCO SOBERON, GENERAL COORDINATOR OF PRO-HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION (APRODEH); PABLO ROJAS, EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (COMISEDH); IVAN BAZAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE ECUMENICAL FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT (FEDEPAZ); AND ERNESTO ALAYZA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR STUDIES AND ACTION FOR PEACE (CEAPAZ).

STATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN PERU

4. (C) AFTER MAKING AN OPENING STATEMENT ABOUT HIS IMPRESSIONS OF THE JUST-CONCLUDED SUMMIT OF THE AMERICAS IN SANTIAGO, EXPRESSING

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HIS GRATIFICATION AT THE SPEED AND STRENGTH WITH WHICH DEMOCRACY HAS TAKEN ROOT THROUGHOUT THE HEMISPHERE, EXCLUDING CUBA, AND CONGRATULATING PERU FOR ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS, DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY ASKED FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS REPRESENTATIVES' VIEWS.

5. (C) AT FIRST, MACHER AND HER COLLEAGUES TIPTOED AROUND THEIR MAIN CONCERN, CONCEDED THAT POLITICALLY MOTIVATED KILLINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES HAD DECLINED SHARPLY IN RECENT YEARS, BUT CLAIMING THAT TORTURE WAS A CONTINUING AND WIDESPREAD PRACTICE, AS WAS

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE. THEY ATTACKED THE FUJIMORI REGIME'S RECENT EFFORTS TO DISMANTLE OR WEAKEN JUDICIAL INSTITUTIONS AND TO SILENCE PRESS CRITICISM (REFTEL A), SAYING THAT, WITH THE APPARENT DEFEAT OF SENDERO LUMINOSO (INEXPLICABLY, ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE HOSTAGE CRISIS, THEY MADE NO MENTION OF THE MRTA), THEY HAD EXPECTED THE GOP TO MAKE A DECISIVE TURN TOWARD DEMOCRACY. HOWEVER, THIS HAD CLEARLY NOT HAPPENED. THE COORDINADORA'S LEADERS MADE SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE REMOVAL OF CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL AND OTHER JUDGES WHO HAD EXPRESSED VIEWS AND ISSUED RULINGS INIMICAL TO THE REGIME'S INTERESTS, AS WELL AS TO THE GOP'S WITHDRAWAL OF CITIZENSHIP FROM BARUCH IVCHER, THE ISRAELI-BORN, NATURALIZED PERUVIAN MAJORITY OWNER OF A TELEVISION CHANNEL CRITICAL OF MUCH GOVERNMENT BEHAVIOR. INSTEAD OF PROMOTING NATIONAL UNITY AND RECONCILIATION, FOLLOWING THE PERIOD OF INTERNAL CONFLICT, THE GOVERNMENT'S DISREGARD FOR THE RULE OF LAW AND DETERMINATION TO DOMINATE THE JUDICIARY HAD FOSTERED A FEELING OF CIVIC POWERLESSNESS AND PERSONAL INSECURITY. THEY LISTED THE MAIN CHALLENGE FACING THEM AS BEING TO EDUCATE PERUVIAN SOCIETY HOW TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST GOVERNMENT ABUSE OF POWER.

6. (C) DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY PRAISED THE WORK OF THE COORDINADORA, AND RECOGNIZED THE DIFFICULTY OF EDUCATING A SOCIETY ACCUSTOMED TO AUTHORITARIAN RULE TO ADOPT A MORE DEMOCRATIC MIND-SET. HE DESCRIBED A RECENT SURVEY OF PUBLIC OPINION IN LATIN AMERICA WHICH FOUND THAT, IN ALL BUT ONE OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, THE MAJORITY OF RESPONDENTS SAID THEY PREFERRED THE OLD DICTATORIAL WAY

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OF LIFE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES OF TODAY.

THE MCCAFFREY/MONTESINOS RELATIONSHIP

7. (C) EVENTUALLY, THE COORDINADORA REPRESENTATIVES RAISED THE
 PRINCIPAL ITEM ON THEIR AGENDA. AFTER ACKNOWLEDGING THAT DIRECTOR
 MCCAFFREY'S WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH THEM MADE A STRONG POLITICAL
 STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THEY EXPRESSED THEIR CONCERN
 THAT HIS RELATIONS WITH "THE DARK FORCES" ABUSING THE PEOPLE'S
 HUMAN RIGHTS AND MAKING A MOCKERY OF THE RULE OF LAW INEVITABLY

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BRINGS INTO QUESTION THE INTEGRITY OF OVERALL USG OBJECTIVES IN PERU. REFERRING TO DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY'S PREVIOUS VISIT, WHEN THE GOP GAVE WIDE DISTRIBUTION TO PHOTOGRAPHS OF HIM SHAKING HANDS WITH MONTESINOS (REFTELS B AND C), MACHER FEARED THAT SUCH IMAGES HAD DONE MUCH TO DISPEL WHATEVER SUSPICIONS PERUVIANS MAY HAVE ENTERTAINED ABOUT MONTESINOS' PAST HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND PRESENT INFLUENCE, AND FORTIFIED THE PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER AT A TIME WHEN HE WAS BEING WIDELY CRITICIZED FOR, AMONG OTHER THINGS, ALLEGEDLY PROTECTING DRUG TRAFFICKERS AND THEIR OPERATIONS.

8. (C) IN RESPONSE, DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY REMINDED THE GROUP THAT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IS BUILT ON CERTAIN BEDROCK PRINCIPLES, SUCH AS FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL, DEMOCRACY, AND THE RULE OF LAW, AND URGED THEM TO REFER BACK TO THOSE PRINCIPLES, IF AND WHEN THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE INTEGRITY OF U.S. DIPLOMACY OR ITS RESOLVE TO STAND ON PRINCIPLE IS SHAKEN. MCCAFFREY SAID THAT HE SHARED SOME OF THE COORDINADORA'S CONCERNS ABOUT MONTESINOS AND THAT HE FULLY

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REALIZED HE HAD BEEN USED BY MONTESINOS FOR HIS OWN PUBLIC-RELATIONS PURPOSES. HOWEVER, HE TOLD THE GROUP THAT WHENEVER THERE IS OVERALL BILATERAL COOPERATION ON ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST, AS IN THE CASE OF THE U.S. AND PERU ON COUNTERNARCOTICS, HIS POLICY IS TO SHOW DEFERENCE TO THE FOREIGN LEADERS IN PUBLIC, BUT TO BE FIRM AND CRITICAL IN PRIVATE REGARDING ANY PROBLEM AREAS. MOREOVER, HE URGED THE COORDINADORA TO RECOGNIZE THAT NEITHER COUNTERNARCOTICS NOR HUMAN RIGHTS/DEMOCRACY CAN BE VIEWED IN ISOLATION, AND THAT TO ACHIEVE OVERALL AND LONG-LASTING PROGRESS, THE STRATEGY MUST BE AN INTEGRATED ONE.

SELF-RELIANCE IS KEY

9. (C) THE HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS PRAISED AMBASSADOR JETT'S FREQUENT PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS ABOUT THE GROWING SHORTCOMINGS IN PERUVIAN DEMOCRACY, AND WISHED HE WOULD BE EQUALLY OUTSPOKEN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES COMMITTED BY THE PERUVIAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY REPLIED THAT THE USG NORMALLY DOES ALL IT CAN; GIVEN THE CIRCUMSTANCES. HOWEVER, HE REMINDED THEM THAT, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS PERUVIANS THEMSELVES WHO MUST BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR OWN DESTINY, AND ASKED THEM WHAT THEY THEMSELVES HAVE DONE TO CURB MONTESINOS' POWER AND INFLUENCE. HE CONCLUDED BY GIVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS HIS ASSURANCE THAT, IF THEY WERE TO WRITE TO HIM AND STAMP THEIR ENVELOPES "PERSONAL," HE

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HIMSELF WOULD READ THEIR LETTERS.

COMMENT

10. (C) THE MEETING WAS EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL ON ALL COUNTS. THE

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COORDINADORA CLEARLY ACHIEVED ITS GOALS OF ADDRESSING ITS ISSUES
DIRECTLY WITH A SENIOR U.S. OFFICIAL, AND RECTIFYING WHAT THEY
BELIEVE WAS THE NARCOTICS-ORIENTED IMBALANCE OF DIRECTOR
MCCAFFREY'S 1996 VISIT. FROM THE U.S. VIEWPOINT, THE MEETING WENT
A LONG WAY TOWARD LOGICALLY EXPLAINING THE MCCAFFREY/MONTESINOS
RELATIONSHIP, EVEN IF IT MAY NOT HAVE ENTIRELY REMOVED THE
COORDINADORA'S CONCERNS IN THIS REGARD. THE LOCAL ELECTRONIC AND
PRINT MEDIA GAVE DIRECTOR MCCAFFREY'S MEETING WITH THE COORDINADORA
REPRESENTATIVES WIDE COVERAGE, WHILE TWO TELEVISION STATIONS AND
ONE NEWSPAPER ALSO RAN VIDEOTAPES AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE DIRECTOR
GREETING THE HUMAN RIGHTS LEADERS.

JETT

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n/a

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