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INQUIRE=DOC17D
ITEM NO=00444067

ENVELOPE

CDSN = LGX727 MCN = 92098/30003 TOR = 920981730
OTTTCZYUW RUEKJCS2536 0981733-CCCC--RUEALGX.
ZNY CCCCC

HEADER

O 071733Z APR 92
FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC
INFO RUEADWD/OCSA WASHINGTON DC
RUENAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RUEADWD/PTC WASH DC
RUEKCCG/USDP-CCC WASHINGTON DC
RHLBAAA/USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM
RUWTPGA/12 AF BERGSTROM AFB TX//IN//
RUEOACC/CDRPSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//AORC-POG-SB//
RUWSMXI/MAC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
RUCQVAB/USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL
RUEOFAA/COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC//J2//
RULKQAN/MARCORINTCEN QUANTICO VA
RUEALGX/SAFE

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
 Release () Excise () Deny () Declassify
Date AUG 17 2000 Exemption _____

O 071719Z APR 92
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7185
INFO RHEHAAA/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
RUEHBO/AMEMBASSY BOGOTA 9185
RUEHCV/AMEMBASSY CARACAS 1281
RUEHLP/AMEMBASSY LA PAZ 1644
RUEHQT/AMEMBASSY QUITO 8155
RHLBAAA/USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM
RUEHMI/USOFFICE MRC MIAMI 2121
BT

CONTROLS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 05140

THE WHITE HOUSE FOR SITUATION ROOM
SOUTHCOM FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

/***** THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE *****/

BODY

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, ACOA, PE
SUBJECT: A/S ARONSON MEETING WITH PERUVIAN
- HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINATOR

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: A/S ARONSON MET AS SCHEDULED WITH MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINADORA.

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DISCUSSION CENTERED ON THE EVENTS OF THE PREVIOUS NIGHT AND THE NEED FOR A SOLUTION WITHIN THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND THE IMMEDIATE RESTORATION OF HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS. A/S DESCRIBED THE U.S. POSITION, WHILE MEMBERS OF THE COORDINADORA STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF U.S. POLICIES TO RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER. END SUMMARY.

3. A/S ARONSON MET AS SCHEDULED WITH MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINATOR ON APRIL 6. HE OUTLINED THE U.S. POSITION, RECOGNIZING THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT PERU, BUT MAINTAINING THAT THESE DO NOT JUSTIFY THE EXTRACONSTITUTIONAL ACTIONS TAKEN LAST NIGHT. TAKING NOTE OF THE STRONG STATEMENTS ISSUED BY THE WHITE HOUSE AND DEPARTMENT OF STATE, HE CALLED ON THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU TO RELEASE ALL DETAINEES, RESTORE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, RESTORE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND TO SEEK NECESSARY REFORMS WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

4. A/S ARONSON EMPHASIZED THAT HE HAD COME TO PERU TO DISCUSS A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES WITH THE GOP, INCLUDING ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT, THE FIGHT AGAINST NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING, HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE THREAT OF SENDERO LUMINOSO. HE NOTED THAT THE U.S. HAD COME PREPARED WITH A NUMBER OF POSITIVE INITIATIVES TO OFFER IN THESE FIELDS, BUT THAT UNFORTUNATELY, HE WOULD NOT NOW BE ABLE TO HOLD THESE IMPORTANT TALKS BECAUSE OF THE EVENTS OF APRIL 5. HE NOTED THAT MUCH OF HIS VISIT HAD BEEN CANCELLED, INCLUDING HIS SCHEDULED MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FUJIMORI. HE ANNOUNCED THAT THE U.S. WAS SUSPENDING ALL NON-HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU.

5. ON A MORE POSITIVE NOTE, A/S ARONSON SAID THAT HE HAD REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED TO FOREIGN MINISTER BLACKER MILLER THROUGHOUT THE DAY, THE IMPORTANCE OF RELEASING FROM DETENTION, JOURNALIST AND SENDEROLOGIST GUSTAVO GORRITI. A/S ARONSON WAS ABLE TO REPORT THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED WORD FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT GORRITI WOULD BE RELEASED.

6. A/S EXPRESSED EMPATHY WITH PERU'S GRAVE, MULTIPLE CRISES, MORE TERRIBLE THAN THOSE FACING

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ANY OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE LAST THING PERU NEEDED NOW IS A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS ACCOMPANIED BY NEARLY UNIVERSAL INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION. HE HOPED THAT ALL PERUVIANS IN POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP, SUCH AS THOSE IN THE COORDINADORA, WOULD UNITE TO TRY TO FIND A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS THROUGH DIALOG.

7. ON BEHALF OF THE COORDINADORA, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR PILAR COLL THANKED A/S ARONSON FOR TAKING TIME TO MEET WITH THE COORDINADORA EVEN UNDER SUCH TRYING CIRCUMSTANCES. SHE AGREED ON THE NEED OF ALL PARTIES TO SUPPORT AND FACILITATE DEMOCRACY AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

8. FRANCISO SOBERON OF APRODEH EMPHASIZED THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS MUST FIRST BE RESOLVED, AND PRESIDENT FUJIMORI CALLED TO

/***** BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 *****/
ACCOUNT FOR HIS ACTIONS. HE NOTED THAT CONGRESS, EVEN THOUGH NOT FORMALLY IN SESSION, HAD MANAGED TO EXERCISE ITS RIGHT TO DECLARE THE PRESIDENCY VACANT. SOBERON EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE U.S. WOULD TAKE POSITIONS, BOTH BILATERALLY AND IN INTERNATIONAL FORA WHICH WOULD SUPPORT A CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION. SOBERON WENT ON TO EXPRESS THE CONCERN OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS THAT THEY COULD BECOME VICTIMS OF THE CURRENT WAVE OF DETENTIONS PRESENTLY AFFECTING POLITICAL ACTIVISTS.

9. A/S ARONSON NOTED THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAD JUST DECLARED THE LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIARY BRANCHES VACANT. NOW THE CONGRESS HAD DECLARED THE PRESIDENCY VACANT. IT LEFT LITTLE COMMON GROUND FOR EITHER DIALOG OR CONSENSUS IF BOTH SIDES CONTINUED TO ESPOUSE MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE POSITIONS. CLARIFYING THE U.S. POSITION, ARONSON UNDERLINED THAT THE U.S. HAD URGED THE GOP TO RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY. HOW THAT WAS ACHIEVED WAS A PERUVIAN QUESTION FOR PERUVIANS TO RESOLVE.

10. ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER, JOSE BORNEO OF CEAPAZ, NOTED THAT IN A STRICTLY LEGAL CONSTRUCTION, THE PERUVIAN CONSTITUTION DOES NOT ALLOW THE PRESIDENT TO

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DISSOLVE CONGRESS UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES MAY DO SO UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, AFTER WHICH ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD WITHIN 30 DAYS. FURTHERMORE, THE CONGRESS IS EMPOWERED TO DECLARE THE PRESIDENCY VACANT. MORE THAN TWO THIRDS OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED THEIR OPINION THAT PRESIDENCY SHOULD BE DECLARED VACANT AND THE FIRST VICE PRESIDENT MAXIMO SAN ROMAN DECLARED PRESIDENT.

11. EVEN IN THE PRACTICAL, POLITICAL SPHERE, BORNEO NOTED THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO DIALOG, NOT THE POLITICAL PARTIES. PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAD DECLINED TO DIALOG WITH SENATE PRESIDENT FELIPE OSTERLING, DESPITE OSTERLING'S WILLINGNESS TO DIALOG WITH THE PRESIDENT UNDER PERSONALLY HUMILIATING CIRCUMSTANCES. (NOTE: OSTERLING IS UNDER HOUSE ARREST. A/S ARONSON ATTEMPTED TO MEET WITH OSTERLING IN PERSON, BUT WAS PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY THE PRESENCE OF ARMED MILITARY GUARDS. HE DID SPEAK TO OSTERLING BY TELEPHONE.) IF THE PRESIDENT WAS UNWILLING TO DIALOG WITH OSTERLING, BORNEO THOUGHT HE WOULD FIND IT HARDER STILL TO DIALOG OTHERS.

12. BORNEO OPINED A POLITICAL SOLUTION BASED ON NATIONAL CONSENSUS WOULD HAVE TO ENCOMPASS THE DEFEAT OF SENDERO LUMINOSO AND SWEEPING ECONOMIC CHANGES WHICH WOULD GIVE THE TWO THIRDS OF PERUVIANS LIVING IN ABSOLUTE POVERTY A BETTER STANDING OF LIVING. INSTEAD, THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-SUBVERSION STRATEGY, FORMULATED IN THE SERIES OF LEGISLATIVE DECREES LAST NOVEMBER, MERELY SUBORDINATED ALL LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT TO MILITARY CONTROL. PERUVIANS, BORNEO SAID, WANTED A CONSTITUTIONAL RESOLUTION, NOT A "HAITIAN RESOLUTION," AND DID NOT THINK FUJIMORI WAS LIKELY TO FACILITATE A MEANINGFUL DIALOG.

13. A/S ARONSON NOTED THAT VARIOUS FACTIONS IN HAITI HAD ALSO BASED THEIR POSITIONS ON THEIR OPPOSING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HAITIAN CONSTITUTION. THIS HAD PRODUCED GRIDLOCK WHILE HAITI SUFFERED MORE WITH EACH PASSING DAY. HE HOPED THAT PERU WOULD NOT FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF HAITI IN THIS REGARD.

14. BORNEO NOTED THAT THE GOP IS VERY

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VULNERABLE TO THE GOOD WILL OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS. HE HOPED THAT THE U.S., THROUGH WISE POLICIES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A PEACEFUL, CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTION. HE OPINED THAT THE GRANTING OF UNCONDITIONAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE GOP CONTRIBUTED TO THE TYPE OF MILITARY BEHAVIOR SUPPORTING THE CURRENT, UNCONSTITUTIONAL REGIME. HE NOTED THAT U.S. FIRM INSISTENCE ON NATIONAL DIALOG HAD BORN FRUIT IN OTHER COUNTRIES AND HOPED THAT U.S. WOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO DEMAND A DIALOG AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS IN PERU.

15. A/S ARONSON AGREED THAT THE FUJIMORI ADMINISTRATION HAD MADE GREAT SACRIFICES TO END PERU'S ISOLATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL COMMUNITY, AND HAD MADE REAL PROGRESS. HE CONSIDERED IT ONE OF THE REAL TRAGEDIES THAT THE EVENTS OF APRIL 5 HAD JEOPARDIZED THAT PROGRESS.

16. A/S ARONSON ALSO NOTED THAT THE U.S. DOES NOT GIVE UNCONDITIONAL AID TO PERU. ALL U.S. AID IS HEAVILY CONDITIONED ON BOTH ANTI-NARCOTICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS. UNTIL APRIL 5, SOME MODEST PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE IN HUMAN RIGHTS, SUCH AS ICRC AND PROSECUTOR ACCESS TO MILITARY DETENTION CENTERS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CENTRAL REGISTRY OF DETAINEES. TWO OF THE NINE CONGRESSIONALLY CONDITIONED HUMAN RIGHTS CASES HAD SEEN SOME PROGRESS. A/S ARONSON NOTED THAT WHILE HE DID NOT WANT TO EXAGGERATE PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS, NEITHER SHOULD IT BE TRIVIALIZED.

17. INFLUENCING A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT TO IMPROVE ITS HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE WAS ALWAYS DIFFICULT, A/S ARONSON NOTED, AND MORE SO WHEN CONGRESS OR OTHERS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITY DEMANDED SWEEPING PROGRESS WITH NO ASSISTANCE RESOURCES. OFTEN U.S. ASSISTANCE WAS THE INCENTIVE THAT SPARKED PROGRESS, BUT THAT DENIAL OF ASSISTANCE WAS JUST AS LIKELY TO ACT AS A DISINCENTIVE. A/S ARONSON NOTED CONTRASTING U.S. EXPERIENCES IN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA. IN EL SALVADOR, WHERE AID WAS NOT CUT OFF, BUT HEAVILY CONDITIONED, PROFOUND HUMAN RIGHTS REFORMS HAD BEEN INCORPORATED INTO THE FINAL PEACE AGREEMENTS. IN CONTRAST, IN GUATEMALA, WHERE AID HAD BEEN TERMINATED ON HUMAN RIGHTS

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GROUNDS IN THE 1980S , THE STRIFE HAD GROUND ON FOR ANOTHER TWELVE YEARS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS WERE NOTABLY WORSE. A/S ARONSON ACCEPTED THE COORDINADORA'S VIEW THAT AID WITHOUT CONDITIONS COULD ONLY EXACERBATE THE SITUATION, BUT HOPED THAT THE COORDINADORA WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT CONDITIONS WITHOUT ASSISTANCE DIDN'T WORK EITHER.

18. A/S ARONSON ALSO OPINED THAT THE PERUVIAN EXECUTIVE MUST TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO ESTABLISH A POLITICAL DIALOG. IT MUST, IN EFFECT, RETREAT FROM ITS ACTIONS OF APRIL 5. DIALOG WITH PERSONS UNDER HOUSE ARREST WAS NOT A MEANINGFUL DIALOG, HE OPINED.

19. ROSA MUJICA, OF THE PERUVIAN INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATION IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE, THEN ADDRESSED THE GOP'S ANTI-SUBVERSION STRATEGY. AS FORMULATED IN THE NOVEMBER LEGISLATIVE DECREES, IT DID NOT CHANGE THE GOP STRATEGY, IT HARDED IT. CONGRESS OVERTURNED MANY OF THE DECREES, BUT THE COUP WILL REENFORCE THEM YET AGAIN, AND ONLY SENDERO LUMINOSO WILL PROFIT. AT A/S ARONSON'S QUESTIONING, MUJICA NOTED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND OTHERS HAD OFFERED A SERIES OF ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS, WHICH WOULD HAVE INCLUDED POLITICAL APPROACHES WITH BROAD PUBLIC SUPPORT. ARONSON NOTED THAT HE HAD

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ALREADY TESTIFIED TO CONGRESS THAT THE MILITARY OPTION SHOULD BE ONLY PART OF AN OVERALL STRATEGY TO COMBAT SENDERO LUMINOSO.

20. A/S ARONSON SUGGESTED THAT ONE POSSIBLE POINT UPON WHICH REASONABLE PEOPLE COULD AGREED MIGHT BE ON THE NEED TO REFORM THE PERUVIAN JUDICIARY, WHICH AT PRESENT WAS ABLE TO CONVICT LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF TERRORISTS BROUGHT TO TRIAL. COLOMBIA HAD FACED SIMILAR PROBLEMS WITH A WEAK JUDICIARY CORRUPTED BY NARCOTRAFFICERS. NEVERTHELESS, WITH BROAD INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE, COLOMBIA HAD REFORMED ITS JUDICIARY, WITHOUT SACRIFICING CIVIL LIBERTIES, AND NOW HAD A CONVICTION RATE OF OVER 65 PERCENT IN NARCOTICS CASES. SIMILAR REFORMS IN THE PERUVIAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM WOULD CONSTITUTE A MAJOR BLOW TO SENDERO. ARONSON OPINED THAT PROBABLY A NATIONAL CONSENSUS DID EXIST IN PERU

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ON THE NEED TO REFORM THE JUDICIARY, BUT THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN PURSUED IN THE RIGHT WAY. HE NOTED THAT THE U.S. WAS ALREADY PROVIDING SOME ASSISTANCE IN JUDICIAL REFORM, BUT NOTED THAT MORE COULD BE DONE IN THE FUTURE WITH THE INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

21. IN RESPONSE TO CONCERNS EXPRESSED ABOUT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S EARLIER VERBAL ATTACKS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AS THE "LEGAL ARM OF TERRORISM," ARONSON EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF THE DANGER SUCH LABELS REPRESENTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AND ASSURED THOSE PRESENT THAT THE U.S. HAD CONVEYED ITS CONCERN ON THIS POINT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, ARONSON URGED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS TO DENOUNCE TERRORIST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AS ENERGETICALLY AS THEY DID THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT. HE NOTED AS AN EXAMPLE THE RECENT AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON SENDERO VIOLATIONS.

22. COMMENT: THE MEETING, WHICH WAS FILMED BY USIS FOR RELEASE TO THE MEDIA, WAS A SERIOUS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, ALBEIT MORE FOCUSED ON THE CURRENT CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS THAN ON TRADITIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS. IT WAS, HOWEVER, PERHAPS MOST VALUABLE FOR ITS PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR PERUVIAN HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS. THE THE SPECIFIC DEMANDS CONTAINED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION WERE ESPECIALLY WELL RECEIVED. FOLLOWING THE HOUR AND HALF MEETING, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY PILAR COLL EXPRESSED GENUINE SATISFACTION WITH THE MEETING, BUT ASKED ONLY THAT A/S ARONSON BE ASSURED THAT PERUVIAN BASED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE CONSISTENTLY REPORTED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OF TERRORISTS EQUALLY WITH THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT, AN ASSERTION WHICH EMBASSY FULLY ENDORSES. END COMMENT. QUANTON##

ADMIN

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