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RELEASED IN PART  
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
ARA/NEA REARCS

PAGE 01 OF 03 LIMA 07038 00 OF 05 141636Z 006604 0058745  
ACTION: OAS (01)

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BEEN RESOLVED BY THAT TIME. EMBASSY IS URGING THE GOP TO AFFORD THE ICRC FULL ACCESS. END SUMMARY

INFO: PE (02) DAND (01) SPA (01) PMC (01) RJ (01) RSG (01) BL (02)  
ARA (01) PPC (01) PPA (01)  
----- 14/1651Z A2 RD (TOTAL COPIES: 013)

ACTION ARA-00

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-15 AID-00 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 DS-00 EAP-00  
EB-00 EUR-00 HA-09 H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 IO-19  
JUSE-00 LAB-04 L-00 ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02 PA-01  
PRS-01 P-01 RP-10 SCT-03 SIL-00 SP-00 SR-00  
SSO-00 SS-00 STR-20 USIE-00 /100V  
-----328058 141645Z /44 38

O 141628Z MAY 92  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8397  
INFO THE WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
USDELNST GENEVA IMMEDIATE

ARA COLLECTIVE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AMEMBASSY ROME STATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN REVIEW AUTHORITY: OSCAR J. OLSON  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA DATE/CASE ID: 19 APR 2002 200200424  
AMEMBASSY MADRID CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA REASON: 1.6(6)  
TRSYDEPT WASHDC DECLASSIFY AFTER: 13 MAY 2017  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
SECDEF WASHDC  
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

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WHITE HOUSE FOR NSC  
USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD  
DEPARTMENT PASS USOAS

VIENNA FOR PICKERING  
ROME FOR VATICAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PHUM, PTER, OAS, PE  
SUBJECT: ICRC ON CASTRO CASTRO PRISON

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.  
2. SUMMARY: ICRC DELEGATE KOBEL TOLD US MAY 13 THAT, DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS, HE STILL DID NOT HAVE ACCESS TO CASTRO CASTRO PRISON, OSTENSIBLY BECAUSE OF "REORGANIZATION." THE ICRC, HOWEVER, HAS VISITED 17 BADLY WOUNDED SL AT THE POLICE HOSPITAL AND THE 71 UNWOUNDED WOMEN WHO HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO THE CHORRILLOS PRISON. ICRC REPRESENTATIVES WENT MAY 13 TO INTERVIEW SOME SL MALE PRISONERS WHO HAD BEEN MOVED TO ICA AND THOUGHT THEY WOULD GET ACCESS. KOBEL HAD A PRECISE COUNT OF THE SL POPULATION AT CASTRO CASTRO AS OF MAY 4 AND WAS SURE HE COULD IDENTIFY ANY WHO MIGHT BE MISSING -- ONCE HE GOT ACCESS. THE GOP DID NOT HAVE THE ICRC'S BASE LINE FIGURES FOR SL PRISONERS. [ ] DID NOT SHARE HIS ORIGINAL PRISONER COUNT WITH US; BUT HE DISMISSED CLAIMS BY THE "ABOGADOS DEMOCRATICOS," THAT 60 SENDERO WERE "MISSING." [ ] PLAYED A PART IN OBSERVING THE "NEGOTIATED" SURRENDER OF SIX SL WOMEN THE EVENING OF MAY 8. [ ] HOPED THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE OASGA IN MASSAU WOULD BE

PREPARED TO ASK POINTED QUESTIONS IN PUBLIC OF [ ] IF THE ACCESS ISSUE HAD NOT

3. [ ] DEBRIEFED POLCOUNS MAY 13 ON EVENTS LEADING UP TO AND FOLLOWING THE MAY 6 CRACK DOWN AT CASTRO CASTRO PRISON. [ ] HOPED EMBASSY INTERVENTION MIGHT FACILITATE ACCESS. FAILING THAT, HOWEVER, HE WANTED THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN MASSAU TO USE THE INFORMATION PROVIDED TO ASK POINTED QUESTIONS TO WHICH [ ] (FROM THE U.N.) WOULD HAVE TO RESPOND PUBLICLY. (WE ARE DOING OUR BEST HERE TO REINFORCE [ ] MESSAGE WITH THE GOP; [ ] MONITORING IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOP'S PENAL POLICY.) [ ] INSISTED ON ACCESS UP TO MAY 6

4. [ ] HAS TRADITIONALLY VISITED CASTRO CASTRO THREE TIMES A WEEK. FOLLOWING THE APRIL 5 COUP, HOWEVER, ARMY GENERAL LUIS ROJAS NERA, COMMANDER OF THE 18TH ARMORED DIVISION AND CHIEF OF THE NORTHERN LIMA ZONE, INFORMED [ ] THAT HENCEFORTH THEY WOULD HAVE TO GET PERMISSION FOR EACH VISIT TO CASTRO CASTRO. [ ] BALKED. THE TWO FINALLY AGREED THAT [ ] WOULD CONTINUE ITS REGULAR MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY

VISITS. [ ] EVEN PARTICIPATED, AT THE REQUEST OF BOTH PARTIES, IN THE APRIL 15 "SEARCH" OF THE SL PAVILIONS. (BY PRIOR AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE SL, SAID, THE POLICE WERE ALLOWED TO SEARCH EVERYWHERE, BUT NOT TO BODY SEARCH THE SL INMATES. NO WEAPONS WERE FOUND AT THE TIME, BUT THE POLICE DID NOT SEARCH THE UNDERGROUND SERVICE TUNNELS CONNECTING THE VARIOUS PAVILIONS THAT RADIATE LIKE SPOKES OFF OF A CENTRAL HUB. [ ] NOTED AT THE TIME THAT IT WAS "INCREDIBLE" THAT THE POLICE HAD AGREED TO SL TERMS AND CONDITIONS. IN RETROSPECT, HE RECOGNIZED THE APRIL 15 VISIT WAS MORE A "RECONNAISSANCE" OF THE STRUCTURAL MODIFICATIONS THE SL HAD MADE OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS INSIDE THE PAVILIONS, RATHER THAN A REAL SEARCH.)

THE CRACKDOWN BEGINS

5. THE POLICE OPERATION BEGAN ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 6 WITHOUT PRIOR NOTIFICATION TO THE ICRC. (SINCE THAT TIME THE ICRC HAD BEEN DENIED ACCESS TO CASTRO CASTRO EXCEPT AS NOTED IN PARAS 7-8.) ON MAY 8, [ ] GOT ACCESS TO THE 25 WOMEN (14 MRTA, AND 11 SL) THAT WERE TRANSFERRED AS A RESULT OF THE ACTION ON MAY 6 TO THE SANTA MONICA PRISON IN CHORRILLOS. (THE MRTA WOMEN WENT WILLINGLY WITH ALL THEIR BELONGINGS, BUT THE SL WOMEN HAD BEEN ROUNDED UP ON THE RUN AND

NEEDED MORE CLOTHES, SOAP, ETC WHICH [ ] PROVIDED.) NONE OF THE 25 WOMEN, ACCORDING TO [ ], HAD BEEN WOUNDED. AT SANTA MONICA THEY WERE SEGREGATED IN INDIVIDUAL CELLS. CHORRILLOS TOLD [ ] THAT IN THEIR ORIGINAL ASSAULT ON MAY 6 THE POLICE HAD SIMULTANEOUSLY BLOWN HOLES IN THE MAIN DOOR, SIDE WALL AND THE ROOF OF THE WOMEN'S PAVILION. SHE CLAIMED THAT

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THE 11 SL WOMEN HAD BEEN CAPTURED ON THE THIRD FLOOR AND TAKEN TO THE ROOF WHERE THEY WERE LOWERED BY ROPES TO THE GROUND BELOW. WHILE ALL OF THIS WAS GOING ON, ACCORDING TO THE SL CAMARADA, THE POLICE DROPPED THEIR GUARD. THE SL MALE PRISONERS IN PAVILION 4B, USING PRIVATE KEYS TO THE INTERNAL DOORS, SNUCK UNDETECTED THROUGH THE CONNECTING HUB BETWEEN THE PAVILIONS AND CAUGHT THE POLICE BY SURPRISE, FORCING THEM TO RETREAT. BY THIS ACCOUNT, THE SL MEN BRANDISHING ONLY KNIVES OVERWHELMED THE HEAVILY ARMED POLICE, SEIZED SOME OF THEIR WEAPONS AND PERMITTED THE REST OF THE SL WOMEN TO FLEE TO PAVILION 4B. THE POLICE FELL BACK IN DISARRAY AFTER TAKING CASUALTIES AND LOSING SOME WEAPONS. [ ] DID NOT NECESSARILY CREDIT THIS SL ACCOUNT OF MAY 6, BUT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD GET AROUND.

7. [ ] WENT TO CASTRO CASTRO MAY 7 AND 8 SEEKING ENTRANCE UNSUCCESSFULLY, THE FIRST TIME BEING REFUSED ACCESS PERSONALLY BY MINISTER OF INTERIOR GENERAL BRIONES ON THE GROUNDS THAT HIS

SECURITY COULD NOT BE ASSURED. AT 6 PM ON MAY 8, HOWEVER, POLICE DIRECTOR GENERAL CUBA Y ESCOBEDO CALLED [ ] SAYING THAT THE SL HAD AGREED TO BE TRANSFERRED PEACEFULLY, BUT ONLY UNDER ICRC SUPERVISION. [ ] AND AN ASSISTANT ARRIVED AT THE PRISON AN HOUR LATER, BLUFFING THEIR WAY THROUGH PERIMETER GUARDS WHO HAD NOT GOTTEN GENERAL CUBA'S ORDERS TO LET THEM PASS. AT THE PRISON [ ] MET WITH A FEMALE PROSECUTOR AND HER ASSISTANT WHO HAD BEEN NEGOTIATING ALL DAY WITH THE SL FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF PRISONERS, PRESUMABLY WOMEN ONLY. THE PROSECUTOR, ANIMATED [ ] SAID BY A WELL MEANING BUT INFURIATING OBSESSION WITH FOLLOWING ESTABLISHED PROCEDURES, INSISTED ON WAITING FOR MEDICAL EXAMINER. (THE DOCTOR'S JOB WAS TO EXAMINE EACH WOMAN TO ENSURE THAT SHE HAD NOT BEEN RAPED BY GOP FORCES.) AT 9:30 THE DELEGATION WAS COMPLETE: [ ] SEVERAL PROSECUTORS, THE TERRORISM DUTY JUDGE AND MEDICAL EXAMINER.

8. RESISTING PRESSURE TO WEAR A FLACK JACKET, [ ] ENTERED THE COMPOUND AND HAILED THE SL USING A MEGAPHONE TO ASSURE THE PRISONERS THAT [ ] AND PREPARED TO OBSERVE AND GUARANTEE THAT THE TRANSFER WOULD TAKE PLACE PEACEFULLY AS AGREED. WHILE WAITING FOR THE SL TO RESPOND, [ ] MET AGAIN IN A GARAGE WITH GENERAL CUBA. THE GENERAL INSISTED THAT THE [ ] ONLY OBSERVE AND NOT GET DRAWN INTO

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SL, OTHERWISE THE DEAL WOULD COME APART. [ ] AGREED. FINALLY SIX SL WOMEN HEADED BY CYBEL ARREDONDO, THE CHILEAN WIDOW OF A FALLEN COMRADE, CAME INTO THE ROOM. [ ] WAS ALLOWED TO BE PRESENT IN THE INITIAL STAGE, BUT COULD NOT TALK TO THE PRISONERS. LATER, HOWEVER, [ ] WAS REQUIRED TO MOVE TO AN ADJACENT ROOM WHILE THE PRISONERS WERE BEING FINGERPRINTED AND DOCUMENTED. [ ] LEARNED AT SOME POINT THAT CYBEL ARREDONDO ARGUED THAT THE SL DEAD AND WOUNDED BE REMOVED FIRST AND THAT THE REST WOULD FOLLOW. THE GOP OFFICIALS REFUSED, AND PROPERLY SO [ ] AS THEY WOULD HAVE LOST

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ALL THEIR LEVERAGE.) THE PROCESS BROKE OFF AT 11:30 AFTER THE SIX WOMEN HAD FINALLY BEEN PROCESSED. [ ] WENT HOME FRUSTRATED WITH THE OBSESSIVE FORMALISM, BUT GUARDEDLY HOPEFUL. THE FOLLOWING DAY, SATURDAY MAY 9, [ ] COULD NOT GET PAST THE WALL AS THE POLICE PREPARED FOR THE FINAL ASSAULT. INTERVIEWED LATER AT C/ORRILLOS BY JIMENEZ OF THE IAHRC, CLAIMED THAT THE SIX WOMEN HAD BEEN NEGOTIATING WITH THE GOP WHEN THEY GOT JUMPED AND TAKEN PRISONER. (COMMENT: THIS SEEMS DOUBTFUL UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT [ ] IS NOT SURE WHAT REALLY HAPPENED. END COMMENT)

STRUGGLE FOR ACCESS AFTER THE PRISON FELL

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10. SUNDAY, MAY 10 AFTER THE SL PAVILIONS HAD BEEN TAKEN, THE POLICE HOSPITAL TOLD [ ] IT HAD 53 WOUNDED. [ ] COULD VISIT THEM WITH PERMISSION FROM THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR. NO LUCK, MINISTER BRIONES WAS PERMANENTLY IN CONFERENCE. LATE ON MONDAY MAY 11 (OR POSSIBLY ON TUESDAY) [ ] FINALLY GOT INTO THE POLICE HOSPITAL WHERE BY OFFICIAL FIGURES 20 BADLY WOUNDED SL WERE SUPPOSED TO BE HELD. PERSONNEL THERE TOLD THEM THAT THERE ORIGINALLY HAD BEEN 29 WOUNDED, OF WHICH NINE HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED BACK TO "A PRISON," LOCATION UNSPECIFIED. THREE OF THE REMAINING 20 HAD DIED AT THE HOSPITAL. [ ] WAS ALLOWED TO SEE THE REST (10 MEN AND 7 WOMEN) EXCEPT FOR ONE WOMAN WHO WAS IN THE OPERATING ROOM. THEY WERE IN BAD SHAPE AND HAD FIELD DRESSINGS; BUT MOST HAD NOT BEEN OPERATED ON FOR LACK OF MEDICINES. [ ] GUARANTEED TO MAKE UP ANY SUPPLIES THE HOSPITAL USED. THE HOSPITAL BEGAN OPERATING ON THE REST OF THE SL WOUNDED WEDNESDAY, MAY 13. [ ] DID NOT KNOW THE STATUS OR NUMBER OF THE "LIGHTLY WOUNDED" STILL BEING HELD AT CASTRO CASTRO, NOR DID HE COMMENT ON THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE 53 FIRST MENTIONED BY THE HOSPITAL AND THE FINAL COUNT.

[ ] A LIST OF THE NEW GROUP OF 46 SL WOMEN WHO HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED THERE AFTER THE SURRENDER, INCLUDING CYBEL ARREDONDO'S PARTY OF SIX. BUT [ ] WAS NOT ALLOWED ACCESS TO THEM UNTIL WEDNESDAY MAY 13, ONE OR TWO DAYS AFTER THE

IAHRC. ALL 71 TERRORIST WOMEN MOVED TO CHORRILLOS (57 SL AND 14 MRTA) ARE REPORTEDLY UNWOUNDED. OTHER SL MALES WERE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN TRANSFERRED TO PRISONS IN ICA AND HUACHO. THE ICA TRANSFERS HAVE BEEN CONFIRMED AND [ ] REPRESENTATIVES WERE GOING THERE WEDNESDAY, MAY 13 WITH THE EXPECTATION THAT THEIR STANDARD AUTHORIZATION WOULD NOW GET THEM ACCESS. [ ] WAS NOT SURE THAT ANYBODY HAD EVER BEEN TRANSFERRED TO HUACHO; IT MAY HAVE BEEN JUST BAD INFORMATION.

[ ] ACE IN THE HOLE: PRECISE SL PRISONER COUNT

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12. [ ] DID NOT HAVE ANY INDEPENDENT FIGURES ON THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SL KILLED. HE DID HAVE, HOWEVER, A PRECISE LIST OF PRISONERS WHO WERE IN CASTRO CASTRO AT THE TIME THE OPERATION BEGAN. [ ] HAD CONDUCTED AN EXACT

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CENSUS OF THE PRISON POPULATION ON JANUARY 27  
AND HAD UPDATED IT ON THEIR THRICE WEEKLY VISITS  
EVER SINCE, RIGHT UP TO MAY 4. THE GOP, [REDACTED]  
EMPHASIZED, DID NOT HAVE THIS INFORMATION. AS  
SOON AS [REDACTED] GOT ACCESS TO THE PRISON, IT  
COULD TELL WHO WAS PRESENT AND WHO, IF ANYBODY,  
WAS MISSING. THE ONLY QUESTION, [REDACTED] SAID,  
WOULD BE THE STATUS OF THE 14 TERRORISTS EARLIER  
BEING HELD IN THE TRANSIT JAIL AT THE MINISTRY  
OF JUSTICE; HE WAS NOT SURE YET WHETHER THEY  
HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO CASTRO CASTRO BEFORE THE

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MAY 6 CRACK DOWN. [REDACTED]  
ALSO HAD KEPT TRACK OF SEVERAL HUNDRED  
"INDEPENDENT TERRORISTS," INCLUDING MANY SL  
SLEEPERS WHO WERE HIDDEN AMONG THE GENERAL  
CRIMINAL POPULATION AT CASTRO CASTRO.)  
FIGURES FOR SL PRISON POPULATION PRIOR TO MAY  
6. HE DID VOLUNTEER, HOWEVER, THAT THE  
"ABOGADOS DEMOCRATICOS," SL'S HOUSE LAWYERS,  
WERE CLAIMING THAT 60 SENDERO WERE "MISSING."  
[REDACTED] SAID EMPHATICALLY THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE  
THEM. IN ANY CASE, [REDACTED] TOP PRIORITY WAS TO  
GET ACCESS TO THE PRISON, WHICH WAS STILL OFF  
LIMITS, OSTENSIBLY FOR "REORGANIZATION." THE

[REDACTED] WAS FAXING  
FUJIMORI AN APPEAL MAY 13. [REDACTED] HAD WARNED THE  
NEA THAT IT WOULD LOOK BAD FOR THE GOP WHEN THE  
[REDACTED] GO PUBLIC WITH COMPLAINTS OF BEING  
DENIED ACCESS, JUST BEFORE THE OASGA IN NASSAU.  
THE NEA, HE THOUGHT, WAS DOING WHAT IT COULD.  
[REDACTED] ATTRIBUTED RECENT [REDACTED] ACCESS TO  
CHORRILLOS AND THE POLICE HOSPITAL TO HIS FRANK  
WARNING ABOUT ADVERSE PUBLICITY.

14. COMMENT: OFFICIAL GOP FIGURES SHOWED SOME  
13 PRISONERS UNACCOUNTED FOR AND POSSIBLY HIDING  
AT THE PRISON. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT [REDACTED]  
COUNT OF THE ORIGINAL SL PRISONER POPULATION AT  
CASTRO CASTRO IS FAR BETTER THAN ANYTHING THE  
GOP MIGHT POSSESS. RECORD KEEPING BY INPE, THE  
NOW DEFUNCT PERUVIAN PENITENTIARY AUTHORITY, WAS  
NOTORIOUSLY BAD. NYT AND TIME MAGAZINE

CORRESPONDENTS QUESTIONED US MAY 13 ON NEW  
ALLEGATIONS THAT MANY SL PRISONERS WERE  
"MISSING" AND THAT SOME OF THE 38 CORPSES IN THE  
MORGUE SHOWED SIGNS OF HAVING BEEN EXECUTED WELL  
AFTER THE PRISON WAS TAKEN. WE WILL KEEP TRYING  
TO IMPRESS THE GOP HERE WITH THE NEED TO GIVE  
[REDACTED] FULL ACCESS. END COMMENT.  
REPLACEMENT IN THERE URGENTLY. HE NOW THINKS HE  
MAY BE SENT TO TEHRAN IN AUGUST, A PLACE HE HAD  
EARLIER VOWED TO VISIT "ONLY IN A B-52."  
QUAINTON