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Case Number: S200200010

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 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PE
 SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON JUNE 1986
 PRISON RIOTS IN PERU

1. [REDACTED] SUMMARY: THE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (AI) SPECIAL
 REPORT ON THE JUNE 1986 PRISON RIOTS HAS BEEN MADE
 PUBLIC IN PERU. THE REPORT APPEARS WELL RESEARCHED
 AND PRESENTS A SHARPLY NEGATIVE PORTRAIT OF THE GOP'S
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HANDLING OF THE PRISON RIOTS WHICH RESULTED IN THE

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DEATHS OF AT LEAST 156 INMATES AND THE DISAPPEARANCES OF ABOUT 90 MORE. THE REPORT DETAILS THE MASS SUMMARY EXECUTIONS OF SURRENDERED PRISONERS AT LURIGANCHO PRISON AND TORTURE AND EXECUTION OF INMATES AT FRONTON. IT ALSO SPELS OUT THE "DELIBERATE" FAILURE OF GOP INSTITUTIONS TO INVESTIGATE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR VIOLATIONS. THE MOST SURPRISING CONCLUSION IS THAT THE NAVY SPIRITED AWAY SOME 60 SURVIVORS AT FRONTON WHOM LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND OTHER OBSERVERS HAD ASSUMED WERE DEAD AND BURIED IN THE DESTROYED CELLBLOCK. WE ARE UNABLE TO VERIFY THIS ALLEGATION; THE THRUST OF THE REST OF THE REPORT IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR CABLES AND OUR DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT, ALTHOUGH NOT ON ALL POINTS.

GOP HAS BEEN HARD-PRESSED TO RESPOND, TRYING TO QUESTION THE CREDIBILITY WITHOUT ADDRESSING SPECIFIC POINTS IN THE REPORT. THE GOP HAS SUDDENLY CALLED ATTENTION TO CERTAIN FAVORABLE PASSAGES IN A RECENT UN REPORT ON DISAPPEARANCES IN PERU IN AN ATTEMPT TO REBUT AI. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY GOP WILL PERCEIVE OUR OWN HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT -- SCHEDULED FOR RELEASE NEXT WEEK -- AS SUPPORTING AI'S POSITION, ALTHOUGH OUR REPORT ALSO CONTAINS FAVORABLE COMMENTS. AI REPORT FORESHADOWS INCREASING FOREIGN SCRUTINY OF PERU'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, WITH POSSIBLE NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS FOR GARCIA'S IMAGE ABROAD. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S (AI) REPORT ON THE JUNE 18-19, 1986 PRISON UPRISINGS/KILLINGS REACHED THE PERUVIAN MEDIA FEBRUARY 8. THE 82-PAGE DOCUMENT CONTAINED AN EXHAUSTIVE ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC COMMUNIQUES, JOURNALISTIC ACCOUNTS, AND INTERVIEWS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, PRISON SURVIVORS, AND RELATIVES.

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3. (U) AI REACHED THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE UPRISINGS AND PERU'S RESPONSE:

PRISON RIOTS -- SETTING AND INITIAL GOP REACTION:

-- MEMBERS OF THE PERUVIAN NAVY HAD THREATENED SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) PRISONERS BEFORE THE UPRISINGS OCCURRED. AI TOOK NOTE OF THE PRISONERS' CLAIM THAT THEIR IMPENDING

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TRANSFER TO A NEW MAXIMUM-SECURITY PRISON WOULD BE A COVER FOR THEIR ASSASSINATION;

-- THE RIOTING PRISONERS DID NOT EXPLICITLY THREATEN TO KILL THEIR NINE HOSTAGES, NOR DID THEY IMPOSE A DEADLINE ON THE MEETING OF THEIR LIST OF 26 DEMANDS;

-- THE GOP ACTED PREMATURELY IN ABANDONING ATTEMPTS TO TALK WITH THE RIOTERS; ONCE THE MILITARY WAS PLACED IN CONTROL OF THE PRISONS, CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES WERE PREVENTED FROM TALKING WITH PRISONERS;

4. (U) THE RETAKING OF THE PRISONS -- LURIGANCHO AND SANTA BARBARA:

-- A COMBINED ARMY/POLICE (GR) FORCE RETOOK LURIGANCHO PRISON WITH MINIMAL RESISTANCE THE NIGHT OF JUNE 18. POINTING TO PRESIDENT GARCIA'S SUBSEQUENT REMARKS AND THE FINDINGS OF AN UNPUBLISHED POLICE INVESTIGATION, AI CONCLUDED THAT AS MANY AS 100 PRISONERS WHO HAD SURRENDERED WERE SUMMARILY EXECUTED BY POLICE AND ARMY PERSONNEL, AT THE DIRECTION OF ARMY AND POLICE OFFICERS;

-- A COMBINED AIR FORCE/POLICE (GR) FORCE RETOOK THE SANTA BARBARA WOMEN'S PRISON. THE EVENTS SURROUNDING

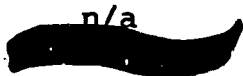
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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PE
 SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON JUNE 1986

THE DEATHS OF TWO WOMEN PRISONERS WERE NEVER CLARIFIED.
 ACCORDING TO TESTIMONY BY THE SURVIVORS, AI CONCLUDED
 THAT THE SURVIVORS WERE BEATEN AND MISTREATED AFTER THEY
 SURRENDERED.

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5. (U) THE STORMING OF EL FRONTON:

-- A COMBINED NAVY/POLICE FORCE RETOOK THE FRONTON PRISON
 BEGINNING JUNE 19 AND ENDING ONLY IN THE AFTERNOON OF
 JUNE 20. AI CLAIMED THE NAVY USED EXCESSIVE FORCE, AND
 TORTURED AND SUMMARILY EXECUTED PRISONERS WHO SURRENDERED.
 AI CRITICIZED THE ABSENCE OF AN OFFICIAL PUBLISHED LIST
 OF FRONTON INMATES BUT CONCLUDED ON THE BASIS OF INTERNAL
 PRISON RECORDS THAT THERE WERE AT LEAST 152 SL INMATES AT
 FRONTON BEFORE THE RIOT. OF THIS TOTAL, 35 SURVIVORS WERE
 PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED (ONE DIED LATER FROM HIS WOUNDS)

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AND 30 WERE CLAIMED TO HAVE DIED (BUT ONLY FOUR BODIES WERE LATER IDENTIFIED AS THOSE OF FRONTON INMATES). THE REMAINDER -- APPROXIMATELY 90 PERSONS -- HAD BEEN ASSUMED TO HAVE PERISHED IN THE FINAL ASSAULT, WHICH DESTROYED THE MAIN CELLBLOCK AND THE PRESUMABLY TRAPPED PRISONERS WHOM THE GOP CLAIMED HAD CONSTRUCTED TUNNELS. (OUR HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ACCEPTED THE LATTER THESIS.)

6. (U) FRONTON: CLANDESTINE PRISONERS?:

- AI CLAIMED THAT AT LEAST 60 OF THE UNACCOUNTED FOR PRISONERS HAD IN FACT SURRENDERED AND HAD BEEN TRANSPORTED SECRETLY BY THE NAVY TO NAVY INSTALLATIONS NORTH OF CALLAO. AI BASED THIS ON AN INTERVIEW WITH AN ANONYMOUS NAVAL OFFICER WHO CLAIMED TO HAVE SEEN THE PRISONERS AS LATE AS EARLY AUGUST. AI CITED AS SUPPORTING EVIDENCE TESTIMONY THAT INDICATED THAT THE FIRST GROUP OF PRISONER TO HAVE SURRENDERED AT FRONTON DID SO BEFORE THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE CELLBLOCK; AI CLAIMED THAT THE NAVY HAD DESTROYED THE SL COMPLEX ONLY AFTER ALL PRISONERS HAD SURRENDERED, IN ORDER NOT TO HAVE TO ACCOUNT FOR THE SECRET CAPTIVES.

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7. (U) POST-RIOT COVERUP:

- AI PROVIDED AMPLE DOCUMENTATION OF THE GOP'S DECISION TO BURY THE BODIES OF DEAD PRISONERS WITHOUT A FULL AUTOPSY, WITHOUT NOTIFYING RELATIVES, IN SCATTERED CEMETERIES UP TO 150 MILES FROM LIMA. MANY OF THE BODIES WERE IN UNMARKED OR MISMARKED GRAVES. AI CONCLUDED THAT OBEYED "GOVERNMENT ORDERS CALCULATED TO IMPEDE OR DELAY IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THE KILLINGS."

-- ACCESS BY CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES TO LURIGANCHO AND ESPECIALLY FRONTON WAS IMPEDED; FRONTON EVENTUALLY WAS DECLARED A NAVAL BASE OUTSIDE CIVILIAN JURISDICTION.

THE HANDLING OF THE FRONTON RIOT.

-- AI ALSO CRITICIZED THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT THAT MILITARY AND POLICE PERSONNEL INVOLVED IN THE LURIGANCHO KILLINGS BE TRIED BY A MILITARY COURT (AN

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"ABDICATION OF RESPONSIBILITY"). AI ALSO LAMENTED THE ABSENCE OF ANY PUBLIC INFORMATION ABOUT THIS MILITARY TRIAL AND CLAIMED THAT THE 30 POLICE DEFENDANTS WHO HAD BEEN JAILED ORIGINALLY HAD BEEN RELEASED BY NOVEMBER.

-- AI ALSO CRITICIZED THE ABSENCE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION PROMISED BY PRESIDENT GARCIA, AS WELL AS THE ABSENCE OF ANY ACTION BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE TO INVESTIGATE THE KILLINGS.

8. (U) AI CONCLUDED THAT "ALTHOUGH INITIALLY PRESIDENT GARCIA MADE PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND HELPED TO REVEAL THE SUMMARY EXECUTION OF AT LEAST 100 OF THE INMATES IN ONE OF THE PRISONS, SINCE THEN THERE HAS BEEN A DELIBERATE COVERUP OF THE FACTS BY CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES, AS WELL AS

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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, PREL, PE

SUBJECT: AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON JUNE 1986

BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES, TENDING TO HIDE THE NOTORIOUS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS THAT OCCURRED DURING THE INCIDENTS AND THAT POSSIBLY CONTINUE. WHAT IS QUESTIONABLE ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE IS NOT THE LACK OF INFORMATION OR NOT TO HAVE INVESTIGATED THE FACTS A FEW

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DAYS AFTER THEY HAD OCCURRED BUT, RATHER, THE FAILURE TO ACT ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION IT ALREADY POSSESSED."

9. (U) AI'S RECOMMENDATIONS:

-- AI'S DETAILED LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS INCLUDED THAT THE GOP CARRY OUT ITS PROMISE OF AN IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION OF THE PRISON KILLINGS. IT ALSO URGED THE GOP TO INVESTIGATE THE WELFARE AND WHEREABOUTS OF THE UNACCOUNTED FOR PRISONERS, AS WELL AS OF ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE, BEATINGS, AND DENIAL OF MEDICAL TREATMENT TO THE SURVIVING PRISONERS. IT RECOMMENDED THAT THE GOP NOTIFY ALL RELATIVES OF THE DECEASED AND OFFER COMPENSATION WHERE THE DEATH WAS THE FAULT OF GOP AGENTS. AI ALSO URGED THE GOP TO TAKE MEASURES TO END THE HOLDING OF "POLITICAL PRISONERS" INCOMMUNICADO IN MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

10. (U) REACTION TO THE REPORT:



-- THE GOP WAS STUNG BY THE REPORT'S ASSERTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS. FIRST VICE PRESIDENT SANCHEZ SAID FEBRUARY 9 THAT AI "HAD THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH WHAT IT WANTED, BUT THAT IT DID NOT MEAN IT WAS TRUE." CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION PRESIDENT TAMBINI SAID AI CHARGES WERE "FALSE AND SELF-SERVING;" HIS SENATE COUNTERPART, ANDRES QUINTANA, CALLED THE REPORT "SUPERFICIAL." SUPREME COURT PRESIDENT UGARTE CALLED UPON AI TO "PRESENT PROOF OF SUPPOSED EXECUTIONS AND VIOLA-

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TIONS." THE GOVERNMENT PRESS AND OTHER SPOKESMEN CLAIMED AI HAD ERRED IN NOT INFORMING THE GOP ABOUT THE REPORT BEFORE GIVING IT TO THE MEDIA (AI CLAIMS IT GAVE THE REPORT TO THE GOP IN LATE JANUARY). THE DIRECTOR OF THE GOP DAILY "LA CRONICA" STOOPED TO MENTION ALLEGATIONS



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(WITHOUT EXPLICITLY ACCEPTING THEM) IN OTHER COUNTRIES THAT AI OBEYED THE DICTATES OF THE CIA.

11. (U) BY FEBRUARY 10, THE THRUST OF THE GOP/APRA RESPONSE WAS TO HIGHLIGHT SOME FAVORABLE SECTIONS OF THE DECEMBER 1986 PERU REPORT OF THE UN WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES. FONMIN WAGNER CLAIMED FEBRUARY 11 THAT THE AI REPORT CONTAINED "GROSS ERRORS" AND COULD NOT ENJOY THE SAME REPUTATION AND AUTHORITY AS THE UN REPORT (THE UN REPORT MENTIONED THE PRISON RIOTS ONLY BRIEFLY; IT ALSO CONTAINED A NUMBER OF CRITICISMS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, WHICH PROBABLY IS WHY IT HAD NOT BEEN MENTIONED EARLIER). REACTION BY THE OPPOSITION AND BY LOCAL HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAS BEEN MUTED SO FAR; THE MARXIST PRESS IS REPRINTING LARGE SECTIONS OF THE REPORT EACH DAY.

12.  COMMENT: ON THE WHOLE, THE AI REPORT APPEARS WELL RESEARCHED AND WELL DOCUMENTED. THE THRUST OF MOST OF THE REPORT -- THE GOP'S PRECIPITOUS RESORT TO THE MILITARY, THE SUMMARY EXECUTIONS AT LURIGANCHO, THE PROBABLE FOUL PLAY AT FRONT', AND THE CONSISTENT FAILURE OF ANY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT TO INVESTIGATE AND PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE -- IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT FOR 1986. WE OBVIOUSLY DISAGREE WITH AI'S DEFINITION OF SL INMATES AS "POLITICAL PRISONERS." WE ALSO QUESTION THE REPORT'S IMPLICATION THAT THE ARMED FORCES -- SPECIFICALLY THE NAVY -- PLANNED BEFORE THE PRISON RIOTS TO KILL PRISON INMATES. THE CLAIM BY AI THAT SL HAD NOT EXPLICITLY THREATENED THE LIVES OF THE HOSTAGES IS RIDICULOUS; GIVEN SL'S TRACK RECORD OF COLD-BLOODED ASSASSINATIONS AND TORTURE, WE BELIEVE THE HOSTAGES' LIVES WERE INDEED THREATENED. WE ARE NOT ABLE TO CONFIRM THE RELEASE OF ALL POLICEMEN ORIGINALLY CHARGED IN CONNECTION WITH THE LURIGANCHO KILLINGS; OUR


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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

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INFORMATION IS THAT 30-40 REMAIN IN JAIL.

13. [REDACTED] THE BIG QUESTION IS WHETHER THE NAVY SOMEHOW
 SPIRITED AWAY SOME 60 PRISONERS FROM FRONTON. ALTHOUGH
 TECHNICALLY FEASIBLE, WE ARE UNABLE TO PROVE THAT AI --

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WHICH IN THIS CASE RELIES OVERWHELMINGLY ON THE TESTIMONY OF ONE ANONYMOUS SOURCE -- IS CORRECT. WE KNOW THAT THE RESPECTED WEEKLY "CARETAS" WAS CONTACTED FIRST BY THE SOURCE AND STEERED HIM TOWARD AI; "CARETAS" FIRST PUBLISHED HIS ALLEGATIONS IN LATE JANUARY, PROMPTING A LENGTHY WRITTEN DENIAL BY THE NAVY OF THIS AND OTHER ALLEGED ABUSES. (THE NAVY REBUTTAL WAS MADE BEFORE THE PUBLICATION OF AI'S REPORT AND DOES NOT REBUT PERSUASIVELY SOME OF AI'S ALLEGATIONS REGARDING EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE, EXECUTIONS, TORTURE, AND THE ABSENCE/EXCLUSION AT TIMES OF CERTAIN CIVILIAN AUTHORITIES.) IT IS TRUE THAT THE NAVY AND THE GOP HAVE GONE TO GREAT LENGTHS TO AVOID SEARCHING THE RUBBLE OF THE FRONTON CELLBLOCK FOR BODIES; HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE NAVY TO MAINTAIN THE EXISTENCE OF 60 PRISONERS A SECRET, A POINT THE NAVY MADE TO "CARETAS." WE WILL, HOWEVER, TRY TO FOLLOW UP THIS ALLEGATION.

14. [REDACTED] THE GOP IS UPSET ABOUT THE REPORT AND ITS POTENTIAL TO DAMAGE PERU'S (AND GARCIA'S) IMAGE ABROAD. IT IS AWARE THAT THE PRECEDING GOVERNMENT ONLY MADE MATTERS WORSE WHEN IT DERIDED AN AI REPORT AND QUESTIONED AI BONA FIDES. THUS FAR, IT IS TRYING TO COUNTER NEGATIVE PUBLICITY ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS WITH THE UN WORKING GROUP ON DISAPPEARANCES REPORT. OUR OWN HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON PERU IS DUE TO BE PUBLISHED LATER THIS MONTH. IT IS POSSIBLE THE GOP MAY PERCEIVE OUR REPORT AS SUPPORTING AI'S CRITICISMS; ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOP COULD TRY TO CAPITALIZE ON CERTAIN POSITIVE STATEMENTS IN OUR REPORT. IN ANY CASE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE AI REPORT PROMISES INCREASED INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY OF PERU'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, WITH ATTENDANT PROBLEMS FOR GARCIA'S IMAGE OVERSEAS. WATSON

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