

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(D)

PAGE 01 LIMA 03842 01 OF 04 132209Z
ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	EB-01	DODE-00	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
	SSO-01	L-03	CTME-00	NRCE-00	TRSE-00	PM-01	PA-01
	FAAE-00	CCO-00	INRE-00	CA-02	CG-00	ACDA-13	A-01
	USSS-00	USIE-00	JUSE-00	FBIE-00	DOEE-00	M-01	DS-01
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P 132056Z MAR 90
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6561
 INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
 USMISSION GENEVA
 USUN NEW YORK 2220

SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 03842

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD
 DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1
 ARA/FO FOR ROBERTA JACOBSON

EXTEND CLASSIFICATION

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PHUM, PTER, PGOV, ASEC, PE
 SUBJECT: THE CASE OF THE BASHFUL BOMBERS

REF: STATE 3443 (NOTAL)

1. ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE RECENT BOMBINGS
 OF HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS IN LIMA REMAINS A MYSTERY, AND

PAGE 02 LIMA 03842 01 OF 04 132209Z

THE CAUSE FOR MUCH WORRIED THEORIZING. SPECULATION

n/a

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR
 DATE/CASE ID: 16 JUL 2002 S200200010
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 25X1

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n/a

Case Number: S200200010

CENTERS ON BOTH SENDERO LUMINOSO AND THE RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND. END SUMMARY.

3. NO GROUP HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR ANY OF FOUR RECENT LIMA BOMBINGS (REPTEL). THE OFFICES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND THE ANDEAN COMMISSION OF JURISTS (ACJ) WERE THE TARGETS OF VIRTUALLY SIMULTANEOUS PRE-DAWN BOMBINGS, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 18. THE OFFICES OF THE PERUVIAN CHAPTER OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL (AI) WERE BOMBED IN THE EARLY HOURS OF SUNDAY, MARCH 4. THE APARTMENT OF ROSARIO IDONEA, THE PERSONAL SECRETARY TO MINISTER OF DEFENSE VELASQUEZ GIACARINI, WAS SIMILARLY ATTACKED TWO HOURS LATER. THE PAUCITY OF CLUES TO THE IDENTITY OF THE ATTACKERS IS CAUSING MUCH SPECULATION AND WORRYING AMONG LIMA'S HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS.

4. COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES

THE BOMBINGS OCCURRED IN PAIRS, EXACTLY TWO WEEKS APART. THEY WERE EVIDENTLY TIMED TO DAMAGE PROPERTY AND AVOID CASUALTIES. IN BOTH THE ACJ AND AI CASES, THE BOMBS WERE TOSSED ONTO SECOND-FLOOR BALCONIES. UNLIKE MOST OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ACTIVE HERE, THE TARGETED HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ARE INTERNATIONAL IN CHARACTER. THE LIMA-BASED ACJ AND THE LONDON-BASED AI HAVE OBSERVER STATUS BEFORE THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (UNHRC), WHICH JUST CONCLUDED ITS LATEST SESSION IN GENEVA, HOME OF THE RED CROSS.

5. IT IS NONETHELESS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE EVEN IF ALL FOUR BOMBINGS WERE CONDUCTED BY THE SAME

[REDACTED]
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PAGE#03 LIMA 03842 01 OF 04 132209Z

PERPETRATORS. THE BOMBS THEMSELVES APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN OF DIFFERENT COMPOSITION. IN THE ICRC ATTACK THE PERPETRATORS APPARENTLY TOSSED SEVERAL STICKS OF DYNAMITE OVER THE ICRC'S 13 FOOT HIGH PROTECTIVE WALL. THE ACJ ATTEMPT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SEVERAL MILITARY "PINEAPPLE" GRENADES TOSSED AT THE BUILDING EVEN THOUGH GRENADE FRAGMENTS WERE FOUND AT THE SCENE, ONE POLICE REPORT SAYS THE ACJ BOMB WAS "HOME-MADE," USING ALUMINUM POWDER AND POTASSIUM

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Case Number: S200200010

CHLORIDE). ALTHOUGH THE DAMAGE WAS MINOR IN THREE OF THE CASES, THE DAMAGE TO AI'S OFFICES WAS SUBSTANTIAL; INSURANCE ADJUSTERS SAY THE BUILDING MAY HAVE SUFFERED IRREVERSIBLE STRUCTURAL DAMAGE. UNCONFIRMED PUBLISHED REPORTS SUGGEST THE USE OF PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES IN THE AI ATTACK.

6. THE ATTACK ON THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S SECRETARY ADDS A CONFUSING WRINKLE TO THE SEARCH FOR A PATTERN. NO ONE SEES IT AS BEING OF THE SAME MOLD AS ATTACKS ON DEFENDERS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SPECULATION RUNS THE GAMUT: IT IS OBVIOUS WHY SENDERO LUMINOSO (SL) WOULD WANT TO ATTACK THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE'S STAFF - BUT WHY NOT ATTACK THE MINISTER HIMSELF (ESPECIALLY SINCE THE RIVAL MRTA KILLED A PREVIOUS MOD, GEN. LOPEZ ALBUJAR, IN JANUARY)? AND WHY A HARASSMENT ATTACK INSTEAD OF ONE THAT LEAVES A RIVER OF BLOOD, WHICH IS MORE SL'S STYLE? ON THE OTHER HAND, WHAT ABOUT THE RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND (CRF)? RELATIONS BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AND THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR (THE CRF'S WIDELY PRESUMED ROOST UNDER MINISTER MANTILLA) PROBABLY REACHED NEW LOWS WITH THE MARCH 1 CALL BY A MILITARY PROSECUTOR FOR CHARGES AGAINST MANTILLA FOR HIS ROLE IN THE JUNE

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PAGE 01 LIMA 03842 02 OF 04 132211Z
ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
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P 132056Z MAR 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6562
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY QUITO

[REDACTED]
n/a
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[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
 USMISSION GENEVA
 USUN NEW YORK 2221

[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 04 LIMA 03842

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD
 DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1
 ARA/FO FOR ROBERTA JACOBSON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PHUM, PTER, PGOV, ASEC, PE
 SUBJECT: THE CASE OF THE BASHFUL BOMBERS

1986 LURIGANCHO PRISON MASSACRE. RELATIONS BETWEEN
 THE TWO MINISTRIES HAVE NOT DETERIORATED TO THE POINT
 WHERE THE MOI WOULD OPENLY ATTACK THE MOD. HOWEVER,
 WE DO NOT RULE OUT THAT THE MOI MAY HAVE SENT MOD A
 POINTED MESSAGE TO "BACK OFF" IN ITS ACCUSATIONS

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 PAGE 02 LIMA 03842 02 OF 04 132211Z

AGAINST MANTILLA.

7. COULD THE HUMAN RIGHTS ATTACKS HAVE BEEN SENDERO?

OF PERU'S THREE MAJOR TERRORIST GROUPS, SENDERO IS
 THE ONLY ONE WHICH TYPICALLY SHUNS PUBLICIZING EVEN
 ITS MAJOR ACTIONS. IT IS CLEAR THAT SL VIEWS HUMAN
 RIGHTS (AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS) WITH
 UNDISGUISED CONTEMPT. THE ICRC HAS FOUR DELEGATIONS
 ACTIVE IN THE RURAL EMERGENCY ZONES (AYACUCHO,
 APURIMAC, HUANCAYO AND TINGO MARIA), AND IS SAID TO
 HAVE HAD SOME SORT OF CONFRONTATION WITH SENDERO
 CADRE IN AYACUCHO IN EARLY FEBRUARY. RECENT AI
 REPORTS ON PERU (PUBLISHED LAST AUGUST AND NOVEMBER)
 INCREASED THEIR CRITICISMS OF SENDERO. A STAFF
 LAWYER AT THE ACJ RECEIVED A DEATH THREAT FROM
 SENDERO IN EARLY FEBRUARY. SOME HUMAN RIGHTS
 ACTIVISTS BELIEVE SL IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACKS,

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Case Number: S200200010

SEEKING TO DRAW ATTENTION TO PERU AND DISCREDIT THE GOVERNMENT WHILE THE UNHRC WAS IN SESSION.

8. BUT NONE OF PERU'S MAINSTREAM DOMESTIC HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS (ORGANIZED INTO THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS) HAS BEEN HIT. WHY NOT? THE COORDINATOR AND ITS CONSTITUENT GROUPS HAVE BEEN QUITE PUBLIC IN THEIR DENUNCIATIONS OF SENDERO, MORE SO THAN THE INTERNATIONAL GROUPS. (TRUE TO FORM, THE ICRC HAS YET TO MAKE ANY STATEMENT ON THE BOMBING, AND EVEN SUCCEEDED IN KEEPING ITS NEWS OUT OF THE PAPERS FOR SEVERAL WEEKS.) SEVERAL OF THE DOMESTIC HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS ARE ACTIVE IN PROVIDING HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING TO RURAL, ANTI-SENDERO CIVIL

[REDACTED]

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PAGE 03 LIMA 03842 02 OF 04 132211Z

DEFENSE GROUPS, THE "RONDAS CAMPESINAS."

9. HOW ABOUT THE RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND (CRF)?

THE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES OF THE CRF HAVE LONG BEEN A TARGET OF AI AND ACJ CRITICISM. THE HUMANITARIAN AND PRISONER-RELIEF ACTIVITIES OF THE ICRC MIGHT ALSO MAKE THEM A TARGET OF CRF RETRIBUTION. THE ABSENCE OF ANY EFFORTS TO CLAIM RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BOMBINGS - RARE FOR THE CRF - SUGGESTS EITHER THAT THE CRF DID NOT DO IT, OR THAT THEY WANTED OTHERS TO BE BLAMED. (BUT IF THE LATTER: WHY DID THEY NOT LEAVE PLANTED PRO-SENDERO LITERATURE BEHIND?) POLICE SOURCES REPORT, HOWEVER, SUCH WIDESPREAD REORGANIZATION AND CONFUSION WITHIN THE INTERIOR MINISTRY THESE DAYS THAT THEY VIEW IT AS UNLIKELY THAT THE CRF COULD ORGANIZE AND EXECUTE A CONCERTED BOMBING CAMPAIGN NOW. (WE CANNOT RULE OUT, HOWEVER, THAT OUR POLICE CONTACTS COULD BE THROWING US A RED HERRING, SEEKING TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM CRF.)

10. FRANCISCO SOBERON, LEADER OF THE LEFTIST "APRODEH" HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP, DECLARED THAT CRF WAS BEHIND THE AI BOMBING. (SOBERON HAD HIMSELF RECEIVED TWO TELEPHONE THREATS FROM THE CRF BEFORE THE FIRST OF THE BOMBINGS. HE IS NOT, HOWEVER, AI'S LOCAL SPOKESMAN, AS SOME INTERNATIONAL PRESS ACCOUNTS

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n/a

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Case Number: S200200010

LABELED HIM). AI'S DIRECTOR, OSCAR PENA, HAS REPEATEDLY REFRAINED FROM FINGER-POINTING. HE AND OTHER AI STAFFERS HAVE NOT RULED OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SENDERO COMPLICITY. THE ACJ HAS ALSO REFUSED TO "CHOOSE" A CULPRIT, BUT IS CLEARLY TROUBLED BY THE CONFLICTING POLICE REPORTS THEY HAVE RECEIVED.

11. [REDACTED] NOTES THAT THE RED CROSS HAS

B1

PAGE 04 LIMA 03842 02 OF 04 132211Z

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PAGE 01 LIMA 03842 03 OF 04 132213Z
ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-01	INR-05	EUR-01	SS-01	OIC-02
	CIAE-00	EB-01	DODE-00	IO-19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00
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	DS-01	IMMC-01	OIS-01	SCT-03	P-02	/071 W	
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P 132056Z MAR 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6563
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 2222

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 04 LIMA 03842

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

n/a

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n/a

Case Number: S200200010

DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1
ARA/FO FOR ROBERTA JACOBSON

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RECENTLY EXPANDED ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.
SINCE NOVEMBER THE ICRC HAS BEEN ALLOWED DAILY ACCESS
TO PRISONERS HELD IN THE DETENTION CENTERS OF THE
COUNTER-TERRORISM (DIRCOTE) POLICE, A MOVE WHICH THEY
CREDIT WITH LEADING TO A NOTICEABLE REDUCTION IN THE

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[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 03842 03 OF 04 132213Z

NUMBER OF TORTURE COMPLAINTS. [REDACTED] BELIEVES THAT
SOME ELEMENTS WITHIN "THE GOVERNMENT" (I.E., THE CRF)
IS RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS BOMBING. HE FURTHER CITES THE
CURSORY ("TEN MINUTE") POLICE INVESTIGATION WHICH LED
MINISTER MANTILLA TO TELL HIM MRTA WAS RESPONSIBLE.
WE NOTE ALSO THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO MOI/POLICE
FOLLOW-UP TO THIS INITIAL "INVESTIGATION."

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12. WOULD YOU BELIEVE MRTA?

THE UNVERIFIED USE OF ALUMINUM POWDER, AN MRTA
TRADEMARK, IN THE ACJ BOMBING HAS LED SOME TO POINT
TO MRTA COMPLICITY. WHAT THE PRESS DOESN'T KNOW,
HOWEVER, IS THAT THE SL-CLAIMED BOMBING OF THE MARINE
HOUSE LAST NOVEMBER ALSO INVOLVED THE USE OF ALUMINUM
POWDER. THE MARCH 8 EDITION OF MRTA'S WEEKLY,
"CAMBIO," STRONGLY CONDEMNED THE ATTACKS AGAINST THE
HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS, CALLING IT "THE NEW OFFENSIVE BY
THE PARAMILITARY GROUPS OF THE RIGHT." MRTA IS NOT
KNOWN TO HAVE THREATENED, MUCH LESS ATTACKED, HUMAN
RIGHTS GROUPS. TO THE CONTRARY, IT ROUTINELY CALLS
FOR "THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS" AND HAS ITS OWN
ACTIVE HUMAN RIGHTS FRONT GROUPS (ONE OF THEM,
ADEPAZ, WAS RAIDED BY THE POLICE IN DECEMBER).

13. MIGHT IT HAVE BEEN MRTA TRYING TO EMBARRASS THE
GOVERNMENT? THIS TOO, ~~IS~~ POSSIBLE, BUT HOW PROBABLE?
REGARDLESS OF WHETHER THE ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO
SILENCE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS OR SIMPLY TO TRY TO

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Page: 7

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Case Number: S200200010

FRAME THE GOVERNMENT (OR SENDERO FOR THAT MATTER),
NONE OF THE BOMBED GROUPS BELIEVES MRTA WOULD RUN THE
RISK OF DISCOVERY AND INITIATE A CAMPAIGN AGAINST
THEM.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 03842 03 OF 04 132213Z

14. OTHER RECENT ACTIONS AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS:

BOTH SENDERO AND CRF RECENTLY HAVE MADE THREATS
AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS. AN ACJ LAWYER
RECEIVED DEATH THREATS FROM SENDERO. A LOCAL HUMAN
RIGHTS LAWYER WAS AWAKENED RECENTLY AT 3 AM BY ARMED
MEN BANGING ON HIS FRONT DOOR, CALLING OUT HIS NAME.
ANGEL ESCOBAR JURADO, PRESIDENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMITTEE IN THE EMERGENCY ZONE OF HUANCAMELICA, WAS
DETAINED OUTSIDE OF HIS OFFICE ON THE EVENING OF
FEBRUARY 27, BY FIVE TO SIX ARMED MEN DRESSED IN
CIVILIAN CLOTHES. WITNESSES SAY ESCOBAR SHOUTED
"TELL THEM THAT THEY ARE TAKING ME AWAY," AS HE WAS
DRAGGED OFF. HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS NOW LIST ESCOBAR
AS "DISAPPEARED." MILITARY COMPLICITY IS ASSUMED.

15. AND THE BOMBER(S) IS/ARE.....

NEITHER SL OR CRF COMPLICITY IN THE BOMBINGS CAN BE
RULED OUT. THE EVIDENCE SIMPLY DOES NOT ALL POINT IN
THE SAME DIRECTION, OR EVEN NECESSARILY TO JUST ONE
ATTACKER. IF THE ATTACKS ARE INDEED SL ACTIONS AIMED
AT INFLUENCING EUROPEAN/WORLD OPINION DURING THE
UNHRC SESSION, THIS SHOWS A GREATER SOPHISTICATION
AND ATTENTION TO INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA THAN SL HAS
PREVIOUSLY DEMONSTRATED. SL'S ONGOING PROPAGANDA
EFFORTS IN EUROPE (WHERE SL IS STILL SEEN BY SOME AS
SOMEWHAT AKIN TO ROBIN HOOD AND HIS MERRY MEN) WOULD
BE GREATLY DAMAGED, HOWEVER, WERE IT SEEN AS HAVING
BOMBED AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

16. IT IS ALSO CONCEIVABLE THAT CRF IS RESPONSIBLE,
EITHER ATTACKING OUT OF SPITE OR TRYING TO FRAME

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Case Number: S200200010

PAGE 04 LIMA 03842 03 OF 04 132213Z

SENDERO SO AS TO SHOW THE UNHRC (AND THUS THE WORLD) THAT PERU IS UNDER ATTACK FROM A FANATICALLY MAOIST

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PAGE 01 LIMA 03842 04 OF 04 132213Z

ACTION ARA-01

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P 132056Z MAR 90
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GROUP THAT ATTACKS EVEN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS. IF SO,

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Case Number: S200200010

THE INCIDENTS SIGNAL A RETURN TO ACTIVE DUTY FOR THE GROUP, WHICH HAS BEEN RATHER QUIET IN LIMA FOR SOME TIME. IT WOULD ALSO BE A RISKY PROPOSITION FOR THOSE APRA PARTY ELEMENTS INVOLVED, COMING ONLY WEEKS

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PAGE 02 LIMA 03842 04 OF 04 132213Z

BEFORE THE APRIL PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

17. ALL THIS HAS LEFT LIMA'S HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS CONFUSED AND WORRIED. THE HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS HAVE MET FREQUENTLY SINCE THE AI BOMBING. NEWSPAPER ADS AND EDITORIALS OF SUPPORT HAVE PROLIFERATED. THE BOMBINGS WILL CONTINUE TO RECEIVE LOCAL ATTENTION THIS WEEK AS THE FOUR MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ATTEND A MARCH 14-16 "CONFERENCE FOR PEACE," COSPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THOUGH FRIGHTENED, NONE OF THE ACTIVISTS WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH SAY THEY HAVE BEEN INTIMIDATED. THE BOMBINGS SIMPLY DEMONSTRATE, THEY SAY, WHY THEY MUST CONTINUE WITH THEIR WORK.

18. POLCOUNS RAISED THE ISSUE OF THE BOMBINGS WITH THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIR'S DIRECTOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, FELIPE BERAUN, ON MARCH 5. WE CALLED FOR A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION OF THE INCIDENTS, STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GOP'S PROTECTING INDEPENDENT HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND STATED THAT THE USG WILL BE WATCHING FOR PROGRESS IN THE INVESTIGATIONS. BERAUN SAID THE MFA HAD ALREADY ASKED THE COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE (DIRCOTE) TO SHARE ITS INFORMATION WITH THEM, AND THAT THE BOMBINGS WERE "A VERY STUPID ATTEMPT" ON SOMEONE'S PART TO HURT PERU'S IMAGE WHILE THE UNHRC WAS IN SESSION. POLOFF HAS ALSO BEEN IN FREQUENT CONTACT WITH THE TARGETED GROUPS (ALL LONG-TIME CONTACTS) AND LOCAL GROUPS OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATOR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, AND EXPRESSED OUR CONDEMNATION OF THE ATTACKS. ACTIVISTS HAVE PROMISED TO PASS ALONG REPORTS OF ANY OTHER INCIDENTS OR THREATS, IF THEY OCCUR.

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UNCLASSIFIED

Page: 11

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Case Number: S200200010

PAGE 03 LIMA 03842 04 OF 04 132213Z

19. COMMENT: WE HAVE TRULY ENTERED THE FAMED "WILDERNESS OF MIRRORS." ANY OF PERU'S THREE TERRORIST GROUPS MIGHT HAVE HAD REASON TO ATTACK ANY OR ALL OF THE VICTIMS. FURTHERMORE, ANY OF THE THREE GROUPS MIGHT HAVE DONE IT IN THE HOPE THAT OTHERS WOULD BE BLAMED. IN ANY EVENT, THE PERPETRATORS KNEW FULL WELL THAT EVEN IF IMPLICATED THEY WOULD ESCAPE PUNISHMENT.

20. ABSENT A SIGNIFICANT POLICE BREAKTHROUGH, WE DOUBT WE WILL EVER KNOW WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE BOMBINGS. IF, HOWEVER, THE ATTACKS WERE INDEED SPONSORED BY GOVERNMENT PARTY ELEMENTS FOR WHATEVER REASON, THEN THEY ARE AMAZINGLY SHORT-SIGHTED: THE END RESULT HAS ONLY BEEN FURTHER APPREHENSION AND CONFUSION, WHICH ULTIMATELY PLAYS INTO SENDERO'S HANDS. END COMMENT.

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Page: 11

UNCLASSIFIED