

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(D)

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ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01
	SIL-00	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-16	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/083W			

-----C109C4 182122Z /38

O 182110Z MAY 93
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8435
 INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY TOKYO
 AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 USEC BRUSSELS
 USMISSION GENEVA
 USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 05652

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PGOV, PREL, PE

EXTEND CLASSIFICATION

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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SUBJECT: PERUVIAN SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL
- COMMITTEE TO INTERVIEW ROBLES IN
- ARGENTINA

REF: LIMA 5559

1. (U) SUMMARY: THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE "LA CANTUTA" DISAPPEARANCES TRAVELED MAY 17 TO INTERVIEW GEN. ROBLES IN BUENOS AIRES. THE MAJORITY SUSPENDED THE MAY 14

n/a

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR
 DATE/CASE ID: 29 JUL 2002 S200200010
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 25X6
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 18 MAY 2019

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n/a

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CCD PLENARY SESSION OF THE UNTIL MAY 19 OVER THE "LA CANTUTA" INVESTIGATION. THE OPPOSITION DEMANDS THAT THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE BE GIVEN POWER TO SUMMON MILITARY OFFICERS ALLEGED TO BE INVOLVED TO TESTIFY. THE MAJORITY SAYS THAT CONGRESS CANNOT INTERVENE IN THE CASE NOW THAT A JUDICIAL PROCESS -- IN MILITARY COURTS -- HAS BEEN OPENED. END SUMMARY.

BUENOS AIRES OR BUST

2. (U) THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONSTITUENT CONGRESS (CCD) THAT IS INVESTIGATING THE "LA CANTUTA" DISAPPEARANCES TRAVELED TO BUENOS AIRES LATE MAY 17 TO INTERVIEW THE RECENTLY-DEPARTED GEN. RODOLFO ROBLES (ONE MEMBER, CARLOS CUARESMA, LEFT EARLY MAY 18 FOLLOWING A BRIEF HOSPITALIZATION THAT RESULTED FROM HIS PARTICIPATION IN A HUNGER STRIKE). THE TRIP WAS APPROVED BY CCD PRESIDENT JAIME YOSHIYAMA EARLY

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MAY 17; COMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE AUTHORIZED A TOTAL OF EIGHT HOURS IN ARGENTINA AND WILL RETURN TO LIMA AROUND MIDNIGHT MAY 18.

3. (U) BEFORE DEPARTING, COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROGER CACERES TOLD THE PRESS HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT THE TRIP WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE: "ROBLES HAS ALREADY SAID EVERYTHING HE HAD TO SAY. WHAT WE NEED IS PROOF, AND I DO NOT THINK HE HAS PROOF, OR THAT IT EVEN EXISTS..." CACERES ASSERTED THAT THE GENERAL HAD ALREADY OFFERED SO MANY DETAILS OF HIS ACCUSATIONS THAT HE DOUBTED THERE WOULD BE ANY MORE TO ADD.

4. [REDACTED] EARLY ON MAY 14, CACERES AND COMMITTEE MEMBER GLORIA HELFER HAD TENTATIVELY DECIDED TO TRAVEL TO BUENOS AIRES MAY 15 TO INTERVIEW ROBLES, ACCORDING TO LUZ MARIA CERRON, HELFER'S ASSISTANT AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE STAFF AID. THE DECISION TO TRAVEL AT THAT TIME WAS SPUR-OF-THE-MOMENT, AND THE PREPARATIONS WERE

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PROCEEDING IN TYPICAL DISORGANIZED FASHION. THE TWO CCD MEMBERS, CERRON ACKNOWLEDGED, MADE ARRANGEMENTS PRIOR TO SEEKING FORMAL APPROVAL FOR THE TRIP FROM EITHER THE COMMITTEE OR YOSHIYAMA, AND PRIOR TO OBTAINING ANY OFFICIAL FUNDING FOR TRAVEL. CERRON NOTED SHE WAS PREPARING A LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR HER BOSS TO ASK ROBLES; SHE DID NOT KNOW WHAT, IF ANY, PREPARATIONS CACERES HAD MADE FOR THE INTERROGATION. CONGRESS PRESIDENT JAIME

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YOSHIYAMA PUT THE TRIP ON HOLD FOR SEVERAL DAYS.

5. (U) THE PROPOSAL FOR THE TRIP WAS OPPOSED BY PRIME/FOREIGN MINISTER OSCAR DE LA PUENTE. SPEAKING ON A RADIO INTERVIEW PROGRAM MAY 15, DE LA PUENTE SAID HE CONSIDERED A TRIP TO BUENOS AIRES BY THE CONGRESSMEN UNNECESSARY. ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO TAKE A TRIP EVERY TIME THERE IS SOME ACCUSATION, HE SAID. SINCE GENERAL ROBLES VOLUNTARILY LEFT THE COUNTRY, DE LA PUENTE SAID, HE WAS FREE TO RETURN ANY TIME HE DESIRED. HE SAID THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WOULD ANNOUNCE THIS WEEK STEPS IT WOULD TAKE TO OBTAIN INFORMATION FROM GENERAL ROBLES THROUGH THE ARGENTINE

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ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-17 AID-01 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00
DODE-00 DOEE-00 EAP-01 EB-01 EUR-01 HA-09 H-01
INM-02 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-19 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01
SIL-00 SNP-00 SP-00 SR-00 SS-00 STR-16 TRSE-00
T-00 USIE-00 RPE-01 /083W

O 182110Z MAY 93

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n/a
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[REDACTED]

n/a

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8436
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO
USEC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PGOV, PREL, PE

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SUBJECT: PERUVIAN SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL

FOREIGN MINISTRY.
INVESTIGATION IN SUSPENSE

6. (U) THE CCD SUSPENDED PLENARY DEBATE LATE MAY 14 BECAUSE OF AN INABILITY TO AGREE ON THE POWERS WHICH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE "LA CANTUTA" DISAPPEARANCES SHOULD HAVE TO COMPEL THE TESTIMONY OF PERSONNEL WHO MAY BE SUBJECT TO CIVILIAN OR MILITARY JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS. EARLIER, THE OPPOSITION HAD RELEASED A LETTER THREATENING TO WALK OUT OF THE CCD IF THEIR DEMANDS WERE NOT MET (REFTEL). OPPOSITION LEADER HENRY PEASE (DEMOCRATIC LEFT - MDI) REMARKED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD NO DESIRE TO HAVE THE TRUTH REVEALED. SPEAKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT MAJORITY, OSWALDO SANDOVAL DECLARED THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE BLACKMAILED BY SUCH TACTICS. WITH NEITHER SIDE WILLING TO BACK DOWN FOR THE MOMENT, THE SESSION WAS SUSPENDED UNTIL MAY 19.

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7. (U) EACH SIDE IS CITING AN ARTICLE OF THE 1979 CONSTITUTION TO SUPPORT ITS CASE. THE GOVERNMENT MAJORITY, CITING ARTICLE 233 OF THE OLD CONSTITUTION, IS ARGUING THAT ONCE JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS HAVE BEEN INITIATED, THE CONGRESS HAS NO POWER TO INVOLVE ITSELF UNTIL THE MATTER IS RESOLVED JUDICIALLY. THE MINORITY, IN CONTRAST, CITED ARTICLE 180 OF THE CONSTITUTION WHICH GIVES

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CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES THE SAME POWER TO DEMAND DOCUMENTS OR COMPEL WITNESSES TO TESTIFY AS THE COURTS HAVE. SOME ARGUE THAT SINCE CONGRESS DOES NOT RENDER JUDGMENTS, BUT ONLY INVESTIGATES GOVERNMENT ACTIONS, COMMITTEE TREATMENT OF THE "LA CANTUTA" CASE IS NOT PRECLUDED BY A COURT CASE. A PRECEDENT OFTEN CITED IS THE CONGRESS' INVESTIGATION IN 1986 OF THE PRISONS MASSACRE, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH CIVILIAN AND MILITARY JUDICIAL INVESTIGATIONS OF THESE EVENTS.

OPPOSITION'S FRONT CRACKS A BIT

8. (U) DURING THE SESSION, THE THREE MEMBERS OF THE "RENOVATION" AND THREE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "DEMOCRATIC COORDINATOR" CALLED ON ALL SIDES TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE. "RENOVATION" IS HEADED BY RAFAEL REY REY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS AND CLOSELY LINKED TO THE MAJORITY. THE "DEMOCRATIC COORDINATOR" (CD) IS HEADED BY EX-APRISTA JOSE BARBA CABALLERO.

MILITARY COURT SENDS LIST OF QUESTIONS TO ROBLES

9. (U) MEANWHILE, THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF MILITARY JUSTICE (CSJM), IN A MOVE WHICH WOULD FORESTALL FURTHER CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION UNDER THE MAJORITY'S INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, ANNOUNCED MAY 14 THAT IT WAS

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

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OPENING AN INVESTIGATION AGAINST MILITARY
PERSONNEL ALLEGEDLY INVOLVED IN THE "LA CANTUTA"
DISAPPEARANCES. THE CSJM THEN REQUESTED THAT
THE MFA INTERCEDE WITH THE ARGENTINE MFA TO
OBTAIN WHATEVER EVIDENCE ROBLES HAS TO SUPPORT
HIS ACCUSATIONS. VIA THIS PROCEDURE, THE CSJM
SENT A LIST OF 22 QUESTIONS IT WANTS ROBLES TO
ANSWER. AMONG THE QUERIES ARE: WHAT OR WHO WAS
THE GENERAL'S SOURCE FOR HIS ACCUSATIONS? WHY
DID HE WAIT SO LONG BEFORE MAKING HIS ACCUSATIONS
PUBLIC? WHAT EVIDENCE DOES HE HAVE TO BACK UP
HIS CHARGES? AND DID THE GENERAL SUPPORT JOINT
COMMAND CHIEF GEN. HERMOZA FOLLOWING HERMOZA'S
TESTIMONY BEFORE THE CCD SPECIAL COMMITTEE?

SPECIAL COMMITTEE NOT BACKED BY RESOURCES

10. [REDACTED] TOLD POLOFFS LATE MAY

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01
	SIL-00	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-16	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/083W			

-----C10A13 182124Z /38

O 182110Z MAY 93
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8437
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY QUITO

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a
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USEC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 04 LIMA 05652

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O.12356: DECL: OADR
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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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SUBJECT: PERUVIAN SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL

14 SHE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT THE CCD COMMITTEE, REGARDLESS OF THE POWERS EVENTUALLY ACCORDED IT, COULD EVER DISCOVER THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ABDUCTIONS AT THE CHOSICA-BASED UNIVERSITY.

[REDACTED] SAID THE COMMITTEE ESSENTIALLY EXISTED IN NAME ONLY. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE COMMITTEE:

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- HAS NO BUDGET;
- DOES NOT HAVE STAFF;
- DOES NOT HAVE EQUIPMENT, SUPPLIES, TELEPHONES, OR EVEN ITS OWN OFFICES; AND
- HAS ONLY ONE INVESTIGATOR WHO WORKS "TWO HOURS A DAY TWICE A WEEK."

11. [REDACTED] RATHER THAN THE CCD APPROPRIATING SPECIFIC BUDGETS FOR STANDING AND SPECIAL COMMITTEES, EACH COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MUST REQUEST FUNDS FROM CONGRESS PRESIDENT JAIME YOSHIYAMA. HE HAS SOLE AUTHORITY TO DECIDE WHAT SUPPORT IS GRANTED. IN THE "LA CANTUTA" COMMITTEE, [REDACTED] CHAIRMAN ROGER CACERES HAS NOT YET MADE A REQUEST. [REDACTED] ATTRIBUTED THE FAILING TO CACERES' "MANAGERIAL FAULTS."

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12. [REDACTED] THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE CURRENTLY HAS ONLY ONE INDIVIDUAL -- A CACERES APPOINTEE --

[REDACTED]

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

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[REDACTED]

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WORKING FOR IT. THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE
COMMITTEE, GLORIA HELFER (MDI), CARLOS CUARESMA
(FIM), JAIME FREUNDT-THORNE (NM/C90), AND
GILBERTO SIURA (NM/C90), DEPEND UPON PERSONAL
AIDES.

[REDACTED]

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WHAT IS CACERES' REAL MOTIVE?

13. [REDACTED] EXPRESSED FRUSTRATION AND
MYSTIFICATION OVER ROGER CACERES' TACTICS. IN
HER VIEW HE WAS CAUTIOUS WHEN HE SHOULD HAVE
BEEN BOLD, DREW BACK AND SOUGHT GOVERNMENT
APPROVAL FOR ACTIONS WHEN HE SHOULD HAVE
ASSERTED HIS AUTHORITY, AND HAD DONE LITTLE TO
CREATE A TRUE INVESTIGATIVE VEHICLE. AT FIRST
SHE ATTRIBUTED THIS TO CACERES' MANAGERIAL
SHORTCOMINGS.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] IT COULD BE, SHE
ASSERTED, THAT HE WAS SUBJECT TO A GREAT DEAL OF
GOVERNMENT PRESSURE TO KEEP THE "LA CANTUTA"
INVESTIGATION UNDER CONTROL.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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DYNAMICS WITHIN THE OPPOSITION

14. [REDACTED] MDI LEADER HENRY
PEASE IS THE PRIME MOVER IN MOBILIZING THE
OPPOSITION TO CONFRONT THE GOVERNMENT. HE HAS
ALMOST GLEEFULLY SEIZED THE ISSUE AND INTENDS TO
PRESS IT TO ITS ULTIMATE CONCLUSION. PEASE,

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n/a

[REDACTED]

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SAID [REDACTED] WAS THE PRIME DRAFTER OF THE MAY 14 LETTER TO YOSHIYAMA, AND THE OPPOSITION'S PRINCIPAL STRATEGIST. ANTERO FLORES ARAOZ OF THE POPULAR CHRISTIAN PARTY (PPC) IS WORKING CLOSELY WITH PEASE ON THE ISSUE PROVIDING LEGAL AND TACTICAL ADVICE. IF THE JESUIT-TRAINED PEASE HAD A SHORTCOMING, [REDACTED] IT WAS THAT HE HAD LITTLE PATIENCE WITH THOSE LESS INTELLECTUALLY ENDOWED THAN HIM.

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15. [REDACTED] ON THE OTHER HAND, [REDACTED] JOSE BARBA IS RESISTING CONFRONTATION WITH THE

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ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-17	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00
	DODE-00	DOEE-00	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INM-02	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-19	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01
	SIL-00	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-16	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/083W			

-----C10A29 182125Z /38
O 182110Z MAY 93
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES PRIORITY
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USEC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA
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[REDACTED] SECTION 04 OF 04 LIMA 05652

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD

n/a

[REDACTED]

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SUBJECT: PERUVIAN SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL

GOVERNMENT AND COUNSELING AGAINST IT IN
OPPOSITION MEETINGS. HE APPARENTLY BELIEVES
THAT THE OPPOSITION WOULD INEVITABLY LOSE IN ANY
OPEN CHALLENGE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THE VARIOUS DEGREES OF A "WALK-OUT"

16. [REDACTED] THE THREAT BY OPPOSITION MEMBERS OF THE
CCD TO WITHDRAW FROM THE CCD (REFTEL) IS REAL,
[REDACTED] BUT IT WOULD ONLY BE
SYMBOLIC IN ITS EARLY STAGES. AS PRESENTLY
ENVISIONED, DESPITE A SYMBOLIC WITHDRAWAL FROM
THE CCD'S PLENARY, MEMBERS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR
COMMITTEE WORK.

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ARCHBISHOP CALLS ON OFFICIALS TO TELL THE TRUTH

17. (U) SPEAKING TO PRESS MAY 14, LIMA
ARCHBISHOP AND EPISCOPAL COUNCIL PRESIDENT
AUGUSTO VARGAS ALZAMORA SAID OFFICIALS
IMPLICATED IN ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS
SHOULD PUBLICLY DEFINE THEIR PERSONAL
RESPONSIBILITY IN THE MATTER. QUESTIONED BY
REPORTERS, THE ARCHBISHOP CALLED GENERAL ROBLES'
CHARGES "VERY SERIOUS." OFFICIALS SHOULD
DEMONSTRATE SINCERITY AND NOT ATTEMPT TO COVER-
UP THE FACTS, HE DECLARED.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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BEHIND THE LEGAL MANEUVERING

n/a

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18. [REDACTED] COMMENT: THE GOVERNMENT COULD WELL BE SUFFOCATING THE "LA CANTUTA" INVESTIGATION IN CONGRESS. THERE ARE SEVERAL LINES TO SUCH A STRATEGY: FIRST, HAMSTRING THE COMMITTEE ITSELF. THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS APPARENTLY BEEN GIVEN NO RESOURCES TO CARRY OUT ITS MANDATE. SECOND, THE COMMITTEE IS HEADED BY AN INDIVIDUAL WHO NAVIGATES PERU'S POLITICAL WATERS WITH SKILL AND MAY NOT WANT TO UPSET HIS PARTY'S ALLIANCES. ON THE MILITARY SIDE, THE COURT SYSTEM IS SLOW TO ACT ON CASES INVOLVING ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. OPENING CASES IN THE MILITARY SYSTEM HAS OFTEN BEEN USED AS A TACTIC TO PREEMPT ACTION IN VENUES LESS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE MILITARY COMMAND.

19. [REDACTED] THE OPPOSITION'S THREAT TO "STUDY ITS PARTICIPATION IN THE CCD" IS SYMBOLIC AND DIRECTED TOWARD INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCES. THE OAS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION DELEGATION IS IN PERU THIS WEEK, GIVING THE BOYCOTT THREAT ADDITIONAL LEVERAGE. EVEN IF THE OPPOSITION WINS ITS POINT AND MILITARY OFFICERS TESTIFY IN CONGRESS, THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEE IS WORKING WILL MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR THE COMMITTEE TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THE DISAPPEARANCES.

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[REDACTED]

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