

[REDACTED]

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Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.5(D)

PTQ1061

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ACTION SCT-00

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-10	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	ARA-01	A-00
	CA-02	CCO-00	CG-00	SMEC-00	COME-00	CTME-00	INL-01
	OASY-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EAP-01	EB-00
	EUR-01	FAAE-00	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	INSE-00
	IO-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00	NRCE-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-03	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01	OPIC-01
	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00	CIO-00	SP-00	SSO-00
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 DOJ WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
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 AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS

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 AMEMBASSY QUITO  
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 AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR  
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 AUG 2002 S200200010

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Case Number: S200200010

JUSTICE FOR TVCS -- J LANCASTER  
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD  
ROME PASS EMBASSY VATICAN

E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/05/07

TAGS: PTER ASEC PREL PGOV PE JA

SUBJECT: HOSTAGE CRISIS TALKS LIKELY TO BE LONG AND LABORIOUS

1. CLASSIFIED BY JAMES MACK, DCM, REASON: 1.5 (D).
2. [REDACTED] SUMMARY: ONCE UNDERWAY, WE EXPECT TALKS BETWEEN THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT AND MRTA TERRORISTS TO BE TOUGH AND PROTRACTED. THE GOP, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE ROOM TO CRAFT A PACKAGE AGREEMENT WITH THE MRTA, IF THE MRTA FINALLY RETREATS FROM ITS UNREALISTIC DEMAND THAT THE GOP RELEASE ITS IMPRISONED MILITANTS. IN THE ABSENCE OF A REAL MEDIATOR, MEMBERS OF THE GUARANTOR COMMISSION WILL LIKELY HAVE TO WORK HARD TO KEEP NEGOTIATIONS ON TRACK. CONTINUED UNITED STATES SUPPORT FOR THE GOP'S NEGOTIATING EFFORTS, AS WELL AS FOR THE WORK OF THE GUARANTORS' COMMISSION, WILL HELP NURTURE THE INCIPIENT DIALOGUE. END SUMMARY.

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[REDACTED]  
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FINDING COMMON GROUND  
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3. [REDACTED] THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT AND TUPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MRTA) TERRORISTS FINALLY ARE INCHING TOWARD SUBSTANTIVE TALKS TO RESOLVE THE LONGSTANDING HOSTAGE CRISIS. MRTA'S INSISTENCE THAT THE GOP RELEASE IMPRISONED MRTA MILITANTS WAS THE PRINCIPAL REASON WHY DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN STALLED FOR SO LONG. PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S DECISION TO WEAR DOWN THE MRTA WITH POLICE PRESSURE OUTSIDE THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE ALSO DELAYED THE START OF NEGOTIATIONS. MOREOVER, FREQUENT GOP AND MRTA POSTURING TO THE PRESS HAS ONLY SERVED TO HARDEN POSITIONS AND TO MAKE STARTING A REAL DIALOGUE MORE DIFFICULT.

4. [REDACTED] FROM THE BEGINNING, MRTA LEADER NESTOR CERPA CARTOLINI HAS FOCUSED UNREALISTICALLY ON SECURING THE RELEASE OF OVER 400 MRTA PRISONERS. THE CHALLENGE BEFORE THE GOP AND GUARANTORS IS TO CONVINCE CERPA THAT HE CAN RELEASE THE HOSTAGES WITHOUT HAVING ACHIEVED HIS PRINCIPAL DEMAND. ARCHBISHOP CIPRIANI HAS ALREADY CONVEYED TO CERPA THAT HE HAS ACHIEVED TREMENDOUS PROPAGANDA

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GAINS FOR MRTA WHICH CAN ONLY BE PRESERVED IF CERPA RELEASES ALL THE HOSTAGES UNHARMED. MOREOVER, THE GOP WOULD DO WELL TO STROKE CERPA'S VANITY, NOTING THAT HE IS NOW THE MOST WIDELY KNOWN MRTA LEADER SUCH THAT HIS PERSONAL INTERESTS WOULD BE THREATENED, NOT HELPED, BY THE RELEASE OF HIGHER RANKING MRTA LEADERS.

5. [REDACTED] THE GOP HAS ALREADY HINTED AT A NUMBER OF CARROTS IT CAN OFFER THE MRTA. FUJIMORI HAS REPEATEDLY INDICATED THAT HE IS PREPARED TO AUTHORIZE THE MRTA HOSTAGE TAKERS SAFE PASSAGE TO A THIRD (AND AS YET UNSPECIFIED) COUNTRY. THE PERUVIAN PRESIDENT HAS ALSO NOTED THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER REVIEWING THE GOP'S TOUGH

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PRISON REGIMEN FOR PERSONS CONVICTED ON TERRORISM OR TREASON CHARGES. (NOTE: THE GOP WAS ALREADY CONSIDERING WAYS TO IMPROVE PRISON CONDITIONS WHEN THE HOSTAGE CRISIS INTERVENED. END NOTE.)

[REDACTED]

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6. [REDACTED] PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAS DECLARED REPEATEDLY THAT HE WILL NOT RELEASE A SINGLE MRTA PRISONER. THE GOP, HOWEVER, MAY STILL HAVE SOME ROOM TO MANEUVER ON THIS ISSUE AS A FALLBACK POSITION. THE GOP COULD CONCEIVABLY ASK THE AD HOC COMMISSION REVIEWING THE CASES OF PERSONS UNJUSTLY ACCUSED OF TERRORISM TO REVIEW THE SENTENCING OF MRTA PRISONERS. ALTERNATIVELY, THE GOP COULD ALSO OFFER TO SPEED UP THE TRIALS OF MRTA SUSPECTS AWAITING SENTENCING (SENTENCING CAN OFTEN TAKE UP TO TWO YEARS). ACCORDING TO LOCAL PRESS REPORTS, EIGHT MRTA MILITANTS ARE SLATED TO FINISH THEIR SENTENCES IN 1997, FOUR OTHERS IN 1998, AND 13 IN 1999. AS A LAST RESORT, THE GOP MAY BE ABLE TO FIND A LEGAL MECHANISM TO MOVE UP THEIR RELEASES WITHOUT DRAWING PUBLIC ATTENTION TO THE COMPROMISE.

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[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 03 LIMA 001157

JUSTICE FOR TVCS -- J LANCASTER  
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TAGS: PTER ASEC PREL PGOV PE JA

SUBJECT: HOSTAGE CRISIS TALKS LIKELY TO BE LONG AND LABORIOUS

MISSING A MEDIATOR  
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7. [REDACTED] THE PRESENCE OF A REAL MEDIATOR WOULD DRAMATICALLY IMPROVE THE CHANCES OF THE GOP AND MRTA SUSTAINING A DIALOGUE AND REACHING AGREEMENT. AT THIS STAGE, HOWEVER, WE DO NOT EXPECT THE GOP TO GRANT ANY THIRD PARTY A ROLE AS A REAL MEDIATOR IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS OUT OF FEAR THAT A MEDIATOR WOULD ONLY PRESSURE THE GOP TO MAKE CONCESSIONS. THE GUARANTOR COMMISSION, COMPOSED OF ARCHBISHOP JUAN LUIS CIPRIANI, CANADIAN AMBASSADOR ANTHONY VINCENT, ICRC CHIEF DELEGATE TO PERU MICHEL MINNIG, AND INTERIM JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TERUSUKE TERADA, HAS NOT BEEN EMPOWERED TO MEDIATE THE HOSTAGE CRISIS. NONETHELESS, IN THE ABSENCE OF CLEAR GUIDELINES FOR THEIR WORK WE EXPECT THE

[REDACTED]

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GUARANTORS WILL BE FORWARD-LEANING IN THEIR EFFORTS TO FACILITATE GOP-MRTA TALKS.

8. [REDACTED] WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE COLLECTIVE TALENT, PATIENCE AND EXPERIENCE OF THE GUARANTOR COMMISSION. PRO-GOVERNMENT ARCHBISHOP CIPRIANI IS UNIQUELY POISED TO INFLUENCE BOTH FUJIMORI AND CERPA. FORMER HOSTAGE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR VINCENT CAN PLAY THE ROLE OF AN EFFECTIVE HONEST BROKER. JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TERADA, ALTHOUGH FORMALLY ONLY AN OBSERVER ON THE COMMISSION, WILL BE ABLE TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE GOP, AS WELL AS MAKE AVAILABLE GOJ RESOURCES TO HELP SEAL AN AGREEMENT. ICRC CHIEF DELEGATE MINNIG MAINTAINS THAT HE WILL CONFINE HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO DISCUSSION OF HUMANITARIAN ISSUES, A POSITION WITH WHICH BOTH THE ICRC AND GOP ARE MOST COMFORTABLE. WE ANTICIPATE CIPRIANI AND MINNIG WILL SUPPRESS THEIR DIFFERENCES FOR THE GOOD OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS.

9. [REDACTED] IN ADDITION, ALL THE MEMBERS HAVE LIMITATIONS AND HAVE NO REAL LEVERAGE THEY COULD BRING TO BEAR ON EITHER SIDE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE IMPLIED THREAT OF CUTTING JAPANESE AID LEVELS TO THE GOP. CIPRIANI IS CLEARLY PRO-FUJIMORI. MINNIG WILL CONFINE HIS ROLE AND TERADA'S PART MAY BE RESTRICTED. VINCENT IS AN HONEST BROKER WITH LIMITED SPANISH.

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POTENTIAL STUMBLING BLOCKS  
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10. [REDACTED] BOLSTERED BY UNIVERSAL CONDEMNATION OF THE MRTA BY PERUVIANS AND THE RECENTLY RENEWED BACKING OF JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES, PRESIDENT FUJIMORI IS WELL POSITIONED TO ENGAGE [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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THE MRTA. NEVERTHELESS, WE EXPECT THE PERUVIAN PRESIDENT, ACCUSTOMED TO ACTING RATHER THAN TALKING, WILL REMAIN UNCOMFORTABLE WITH SUSTAINING A DIALOGUE WITH A TERRORIST GROUP. HE CONTINUES TO REPRIMAND JOURNALISTS FOR REFERRING TO THE UPCOMING PRELIMINARY TALKS AS "NEGOTIATIONS" AND INSISTS THAT EDUCATION MINISTER DOMINGO PALERMO IS THE GOP'S INTERLOCUTOR WITH THE MRTA, NOT A NEGOTIATOR. FUJIMORI WILL HAVE TO AVOID THE TEMPTATION OF CUTTING OFF TALKS WHEN THE GOING GETS TOUGH OR REVEALING TO THE PRESS ANY TENTATIVE GAINS AT THE TABLE BEFORE AN ACCORD IS COMPLETED.

11. [REDACTED] IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER CERPA, PRIMARILY A MILITARY STRATEGIST, HAS THE CAPABILITY TO NEGOTIATE A PEACEFUL END TO THE HOSTAGE CRISIS. IF CERPA REMAINS EMOTIONALLY TIED TO HIS MAXIMUM DEMAND FOR THE RELEASE OF OVER 400 MRTA PRISONERS, THE PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT CONCEDE. IF CERPA INSISTS ON SAFE PASSAGE TO THE PERUVIAN AMAZON REGION, THE GOP MAY NOT AGREE FEARING THE MRTA, A VIRTUALLY SPENT TERRORIST FORCE, WOULD BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO RECONSTITUTE ITSELF. IF CERPA TAKES ON A FANATICAL POSTURE AND DECIDES TO SQUARE OFF WITH PERUVIAN SECURITY FORCES (AS HE DID AS A LABOR UNION LEADER IN A TEXTILE FACTORY 18 YEARS AGO), THE GOP WOULD EVENTUALLY BE FORCED TO GIVE HIM HIS "MARTYRDOM."

12. [REDACTED] ANY HOSTAGE CRISIS THAT HAS GONE ON THIS LONG IS [REDACTED]

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ACTION SCT-00

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INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-10	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	ARA-01	A-00
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AMEMBASSY QUITO  
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JUSTICE FOR TVCS -- J LANCASTER  
 SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD  
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E.O. 12958: DECL: 02/05/07  
 TAGS: PTER ASEC PREL PGOV PE JA

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SUBJECT: HOSTAGE CRISIS TALKS LIKELY TO BE LONG AND LABORIOUS

SUSCEPTIBLE TO UNANTICIPATED ACCIDENTS, PROVOCATIONS, AND MEDICAL EMERGENCIES. FUJIMORI HAS REPEATEDLY PUT THE MRTA TERRORISTS ON NOTICE THAT IF THEY HARM ANY HOSTAGES THE CRISIS WILL TAKE ON "ANOTHER LOGIC." CERPA'S DETERMINATION NOT TO RELEASE ANY MORE HOSTAGES FOR MEDICAL REASONS IS WORRISOME AND HOW EACH SIDE WOULD REACT TO A MEDICAL FATALITY IS NOT CLEAR. THE MRTA HOSTAGE TAKERS' AFFINITY FOR FIRING WARNING AND COMMEMORATIVE SHOTS WHICH COULD POSSIBLY INJURE OR KILL SOMEONE IS ALSO A LINGERING CONCERN. ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE ANY NEW INTIMIDATING POLICE MOVEMENTS IN THE NEAR TERM, IF THE GOP EVENTUALLY REVERTS TO SUCH MANEUVERS, THEY COULD QUICKLY DESTABILIZE THE SITUATION. FINALLY, ONE OR MORE HOSTAGES WHO DECIDE TO TAKE MATTERS IN THEIR OWN HANDS COULD ALSO UNRAVEL ONGOING EFFORTS TO END THE HOSTAGE CRISIS PEACEFULLY.

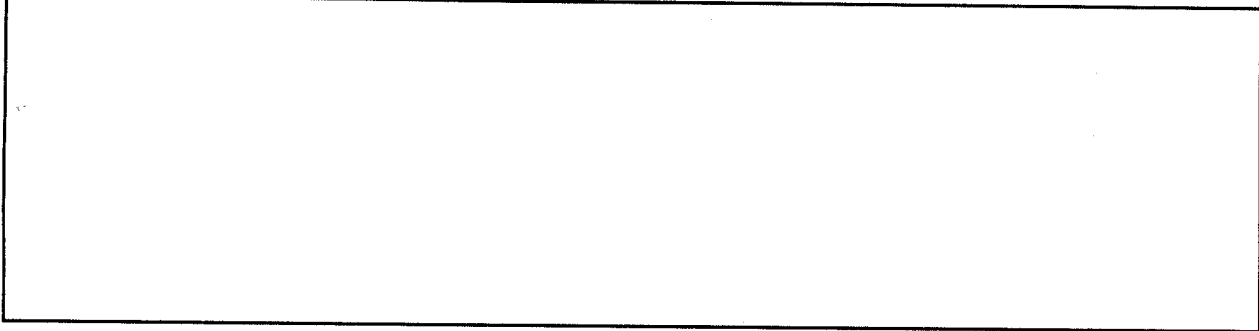
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WHAT CAN THE UNITED STATES DO?  
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13. [REDACTED] ALTHOUGH THE GOP HAS NOT REQUESTED USG ASSISTANCE TO RESOLVE THE HOSTAGE CRISIS, THE GOP IS EXTREMELY PLEASED WITH THE DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT WE HAVE PROVIDED PERU SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE HOSTAGE CRISIS. PRESIDENT FUJIMORI GREATLY APPRECIATED HIS FEBRUARY 3 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON. WE CAN CONTINUE TO HELP THE GOP DEAL WITH THIS THORNY SITUATION BY PUBLICLY SUPPORTING ONGOING GOP EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE HOSTAGE CRISIS PEACEFULLY WITHOUT GIVING IN TO TERRORISM. WE CAN ALSO QUIETLY URGE GOP OFFICIALS TO STAY THE COURSE DESPITE WHAT PROMISES TO BE CONTENTIOUS AND LENGTHY NEGOTIATIONS.



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15. WE CAN ALSO CONTINUE TO BUCK UP THE GOOD WORK OF THE GUARANTORS. THE GUARANTORS, PARTICULARLY THE ICRC, APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE ONGOING HOSTAGE CRISIS WITH USG OFFICIALS. BEYOND PROVIDING INFORMAL FEEDBACK AND COUNSEL TO THE

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GUARANTORS, THE USG SHOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO UNDERScore PUBLICLY THE IMPORTANT ROLE THE GUARANTORS ARE PLAYING IN TRYING TO RESOLVE THE HOSTAGE CRISIS PEACEFULLY. IN PARTICULAR, THE USG CAN HELP COUNTER THE INEVITABLE CRITICISM HARDLINERS WILL AIM AT THE GUARANTORS; THE ICRC HAS ALREADY HAD TO WEATHER MEDIA HOSTILITY TO ITS MISSION.

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