

~~Top Secret~~

PERU: Armed Forces Chief Dismissed

President Garcia's dismissal on Sunday of General Cesar Enrico, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, underscores his determination to curb human rights abuses by the military. [REDACTED] the firing follows press reports alleging that security forces recently killed a large number of villagers in the south-central Province of Ayacucho. The day before removing Enrico, Garcia appeared publicly with his new peace commission members, whose functions include investigation of human rights abuses. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Garcia probably felt compelled to take bold action to back up past pledges that he would not tolerate counterinsurgency excesses. He has sought to limit a military backlash by praising the armed forces as an institution. By placing ultimate blame on Enrico, an Air Force general, he is trying to avoid offending key Army commanders, who have primary responsibility for fighting rural insurgency. Nevertheless, Enrico's removal, coupled with the dismissal of many high-level police officials for corruption, will aggravate resentment in the security forces. [REDACTED]

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18 September 1985

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TOT: 180532Z SEP 85

[REDACTED]

SUBJECT: LATIN AMERICA BRIEF [REDACTED] FOR 18 SEPTEMBER 1985.

FROM: DDI/O [REDACTED]

ITEMS

1. PERU: ARMED FORCES CHIEF DISMISSED

//PRESIDENT GARCIA'S DISMISSAL ON SUNDAY OF GENERAL CESAR ENRICO, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, UNDERSCORES HIS DETERMINATION TO CURB HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY THE MILITARY. [REDACTED] THE FIRING FOLLOWS PRESS REPORTS ALLEGING THAT SECURITY FORCES RECENTLY KILLED A LARGE NUMBER OF VILLAGERS IN THE SOUTH-CENTRAL PROVINCE OF AYACUCHO. THE DAY BEFORE REMOVING ENRICO, GARCIA APPEARED PUBLICLY WITH HIS NEW PEACE COMMISSION MEMBERS, WHOSE FUNCTIONS INCLUDE INVESTIGATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.// [REDACTED]

//GARCIA PROBABLY FELT COMPELLED TO TAKE BOLD ACTION TO BACK UP PAST PLEDGES THAT HE WOULD NOT TOLERATE COUNTERINSURGENCY EXCESSES. HE HAS SOUGHT TO LIMIT A MILITARY BACKLASH BY PRAISING THE

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ARMED FORCES AS AN INSTITUTION. BY PLACING ULTIMATE BLAME ON ENRICO, AN AIR FORCE GENERAL, HE IS TRYING TO AVOID OFFENDING KEY ARMY COMMANDERS, WHO HAVE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR FIGHTING RURAL INSURGENCY. NEVERTHELESS, ENRICO'S REMOVAL, COUPLED WITH THE DISMISSAL OF MANY HIGH-LEVEL POLICE OFFICIALS FOR CORRUPTION, WILL AGGRAVATE RESENTMENT IN THE SECURITY FORCES.

OUTGOING MESSAGE

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PERU: Army Implicated in Human Rights Killings

The Army's suspected involvement in the recent deaths of five human rights and legal workers may eventually strain its relations with the Fujimori administration. [redacted] four of the killings occurred last month during a military-enforced curfew southeast of Lima. Troops there [redacted] also have threatened a colleague of a human rights worker missing since June. [redacted]

[redacted] A Peruvian human rights group estimates that there have been 111 unresolved "disappearances" this year. [redacted] believes the Army is responsible for many of them. [redacted]

[redacted] The five murders occurred during the government transition, when senior commanders probably believed they could act with particular impunity. Fujimori so far has been conciliatory toward the Army so as to discourage coup plotting, but his stated commitment to improving Peru's human rights record and prosecuting past abusers may bring the two sides into conflict. [redacted]

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Peru: Antiterrorist Squads Resurface

Several attacks in recent months by groups that may include members of the security forces appear designed to defy Lima's efforts to improve its human rights record. In early October, the editor of a magazine widely known to be the mouthpiece of pro-Cuban Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement insurgents was killed by a letter bomb sent by unknown assailants.

Days later, the police defused two similar devices in letters addressed to leftist Congressman and human rights advocate Ricardo Letis and to one of his centrist colleagues.

Because all the targets of these attacks were involved in investigating alleged corruption of former President Garcia, some prominent Peruvians have blamed the Rodrigo Franco Command, a vigilante group that had close ties to the police during the Garcia administration. Several factors, however, point to possible involvement by active-duty security personnel.

the intended victims were linked to either human rights causes or terrorist groups.

A growing body of evidence also implicates security force personnel in the November massacre of 17 persons attending a party in the Lima slum of Barrios Altos—the worst such attack in the capital in recent years.

Moreover, the attack took place near several police stations, including one on the same block, all of which failed to respond to the incident.

Footdragging on official investigations into the attack has intensified suspicions that the security services are culpable. The police apparently obfuscated key elements of the incident.

Finally, the Attorney General's office recently transferred its case from a specially trained terrorist prosecutor to a less qualified common crimes prosecutor, increasing the likelihood that the case will languish in Peru's inefficient judicial system.

The timing and circumstances of the attacks suggest that they were intended in part to mock recent government efforts to improve Peru's poor human rights image. Lima has recently begun human rights training for security forces and given watchdog groups greater access to detention facilities.

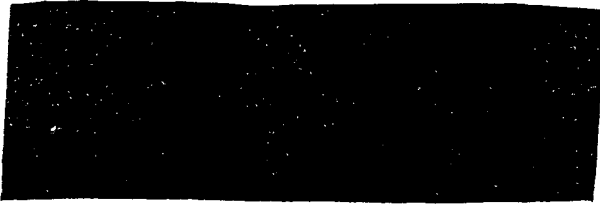
The Barrios Altos massacre occurred several days after the government, in an unprecedented move, publicly charged an Army lieutenant and five of his subordinates with 14 murders allegedly committed during an antiterrorist operation. As several Peruvian human rights advocates have noted, the use of vehicles stolen from senior government officials

suggests that the attackers meant to embarrass President Fujimori and demonstrate to watchdog groups their ability to continue operating with impunity.

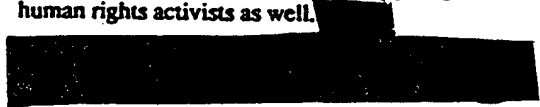
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government scrutiny and frustrated by the lack of progress against the elusive Sendero Luminoso, may resort to vigilantism to deal with suspected terrorists. Such officers may read Fujimori's recent public claims that international watchdog groups are manipulated by the terrorists as license to continue targeting local human rights activists as well.



In our view, rogue elements of the security forces may continue to respond to even modest new human rights regulations with sporadic violence. Some military and police officers, concerned about increased public and

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