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PAGE 01 LIMA 10614 01 OF 05 121714Z  
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INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	EUR-00	SS-00	AF-00
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AMEMBASSY QUITO  
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USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 05 LIMA 10614

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PTER, PE, UR, UY, CS, ZU  
SUBJECT: POLITICAL WRAP-UP: JULY 11 - AUGUST 11

1. [REDACTED] - ENTIRE TEXT  
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2. TABLE OF CONTENTS  
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OVERVIEW (PARA 3)

APRA POSTPONES PARTY CONGRESS UNTIL OCTOBER  
(PARA 4)

UNITED LEFT DELAYS ITS CONGRESS UNTIL DECEMBER  
(PARA 5)

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PAGE 02 LIMA 10614 01 OF 05 121714Z

BELAUNDE HOLDS LARGE RALLY (PARA 6)

n/a  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
n/a

ARMS SHIPMENT FLAP (PARA 7)

COSTA RICAN/URUGUAYAN FOREIGN MINISTERS VISIT  
(PARA 8)

SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION VISIT (PARA 9)

AFRICA FUND MEETING HELD IN LIMA (PARA 10)

A NATIONAL MUSEUM: GARCIA'S NEW PET PROJECT  
(PARA 11)

ANO ARRESTS PROMPT TERRORISM "DEPENDENCY THEORY"  
(PARA 12)

UPCOMING EVENTS (PARA 13)

3. OVERVIEW:

THE LAST MONTH HAS BEEN RELATIVELY ACTIVE. APPREHENSION THAT GARCIA'S ANNUAL POLICY ADDRESS WOULD BRING NEW AND UNPLEASANT SURPRISES RAN HIGH AT THE BEGINNING. CONCERN DIMINISHED AS THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADVISERS SIGNALED THAT THE SPEECH WOULD BE MODERATE, HOWEVER, AND IN THE EVENT GARCIA EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR TOUGHER ANTI-TERRORIST LEGISLATION, WHICH WON POPULAR FAVOR. GARCIA ALSO ANNOUNCED THE INTENTION TO ORGANIZE A DIALOGUE (CONCERTACION) AMONG

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PAGE 03 LIMA 10614 01 OF 05 121714Z

GOVERNMENT, BUSINESS AND LABOR ON NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY; ONGOING STRIKE ACTIVITY PREVENTED LABOR FROM JOINING AN INITIAL, TENTATIVE MEETING HELD BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND BUSINESS LEADERS ON AUGUST 10. A DEMAGOGIC SPEECH TO RADICAL APRA YOUTH THAT LEAKED AT THE END OF JUNE CONTINUED TO EMBARRASS GARCIA THROUGHOUT THE MONTH AND MAY HAVE INFLUENCED HIM TO ADOPT AN OFFSETTING MODERATE POSTURE JULY 28. ANOTHER FACTOR WAS THE ACQUITTAL JULY 20 ON THE FIRST SET OF CHARGES FACING HIM OF SL LEADER OSMAN MOROTE. LABOR

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ACTIVITY PICKED UP WITH A GENERAL STRIKE  
JULY 12-20. THE STRIKE WAS LARGELY SUCCESSFUL  
THE FIRST DAY OWING TO FEAR OF TERRORIST  
VIOLENCE. PARTICIPATION DROPPED OFF THE SECOND  
DAY WHEN VIOLENCE DIDN'T MATERIALIZE ON A  
LARGE SCALE.

REVERBERATIONS FROM THE MID-MAY CAYARA MASSACRE  
TAPERED OFF, EVEN AFTER A HALF DOZEN WITNESSES  
DISAPPEARED, AND THE MURDER JULY 27 OF MOROTE'S  
LAWYER, MANUEL FEBRES, DREW AN INDIFFERENT  
REACTION FROM THE VIOLENCE-FATIGUED PERUVIAN  
PUBLIC. A POLL RELEASED THIS WEEK SHOWS A  
PLURALITY OF RESPONDENTS (23 PERCENT) THINKING  
THAT SL ITSELF KILLED FEBRES. POLICE SO FAR  
HAVE COME UP WITH FEW CLUES (EVIDENCE THAT A  
9MM WEAPON WAS USED; THE FACT FEBRES DIDN'T  
RESIST BEING SEIZED) TO GO ON. A FIRST-EVER  
"INTERVIEW OF THE CENTURY|" JULY 24 BY SL  
LEADER ABIMAEI GUZMAN SHOWED THE FEW WHO'VE

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PAGE 01 LIMA 10614 02 OF 05 121716Z

ACTION ARA-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	EUR-00	SS-00	AF-00
	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00	H-01	MSC-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00
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[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 05 LIMA 10614

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READ IT WHY SL IS RELYING HEAVILY ON VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE POWER. APRA'S DIFFICULTY IN AGREEING ON A CANDIDATE FOR SENATE PRESIDENT PRODUCED SOME POLITICAL DRAMA. THE EVENTUAL CANDIDATE, ROMUALDO BIAGGI, JUST SQUEAKED BY EX-APRISTA JORGE TORRES VALLEJO. END OVERVIEW.

4. APRA POSTPONES PARTY CONGRESS UNTIL OCTOBER:

APRA IS FACING NUMEROUS ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES IN PULLING TOGETHER THE NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS THAT WAS TO HAVE TAKEN  
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PAGE 02 LIMA 10614 02 OF 05 121716Z

PLACE AUGUST 2-4. IN ADDITION TO THE VARIOUS COMPLICATIONS POSED BY THE GARCIA/ALVA CASTRO RIVALRY, THE PARTY HAS TO RESOLVE A NUMBER OF CASES WHERE LOCAL PARTY CHAPTERS HAVE SPLIT. ON JULY 31 THE PARTY ANNOUNCED THAT THE CONGRESS IS BEING DELAYED TO OCTOBER 7-9. IN RECENT DAYS THE PARTY HAS BEEN DISTRACTED BY DISPUTES WHETHER TO EXPEL PARTY MAVERICK JORGE TORRES VALLEJO AND TO READMIT SENATOR ANDRES TOWNSEND. TORRES VALLEJO BROKE WITH THE PARTY OVER THE BANK EXPROPRIATION AND HAS GENERALLY WORN HIS INDEPENDENCE ON HIS SLEEVE. HIS WILLINGNESS TO LET THE OPPOSITION PUT HIM UP AGAINST ROMUALDO BIAGGI FOR THE SENATE PRESIDENCY WAS THE LAST STRAW. A POINT STILL TO BE CLARIFIED IS WHETHER TORRES QUIT OR WAS FIRED; BUT HE'S NO LONGER IN APRA. TOWNSEND'S SITUATION IS LESS CLEAR. HE IS A PARTY CONSERVATIVE WHO BROKE WITH THEN SECRETARY GENERAL AND DEFEATED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ARMANDO VILLANUEVA IN 1981 AND FORMED HIS OWN POLITICAL MOVEMENT, THE "BASES HAYA DE LA TORRES" (MBH). MBH THEN COMMITTED WHAT FOR MANY APRISTAS WAS THE UNFORGIVABLE: AN ELECTORAL ALLIANCE IN 1985

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WITH THE RIGHT. MBH HAS SINCE FADED AWAY AND TOWNSEND HAS BEEN VOTING WITH APRA IN THE SENATE, BUT OPPOSITION TO HIS REENTRY STILL RUNS STRONG AMONG SOME PARTY SENIORS AND WITH THE PARTY'S RADICAL YOUTH.

- 5. UNITED LEFT DELAYS ITS CONGRESS UNTIL  
- DECEMBER  
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PAGE 03 LIMA 10614 02 OF 05 121716Z

THE UNITED LEFT'S (IU) INTERNAL SITUATION IS SIMILARLY CONFUSED. LEADING FIGURES IN THE IU CONTINUE TO FIRE OFF HEAVY ATTACKS AT THE PARTY'S ONLY VIABLE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, FORMER LIMA MAYOR ALFONSO BARRANTES. A RECENT CRITICISM WAS THAT BARRANTES, SHOWN IN AN 8 OR 9 YEAR-OLD PHOTO OF A DINNER TO HONOR MANUEL FEBRES, HAD FAILED TO SPEAK UP ABOUT FEBRES' ASSASSINATION. BARRANTES BROKE SILENCE IN A TELEVISED INTERVIEW AUGUST 7, IN WHICH HE CONDEMNED THE MURDER AND GENERALLY TOOK STRONG STANDS IN OPPOSITION TO CURRENT APRA POLICY. ALTHOUGH SOME IU LEADERS CONTINUE TO CARP, THE GENERAL REACTION APPEARS TO BE FAVORABLE. EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE THE IU'S FIRST-EVER NATIONAL CONGRESS ARE PROGRESSING SLOWLY. A NATIONAL REGISTRATION OF PARTY MEMBERS SIGNED UP 134,000, BUT THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE HAS YET TO DETERMINE THE SIZE OF THE CONGRESS, WHICH COULD VARY FROM 1500 TO 6500. AFTER APRA DELAYED ITS CONGRESS, IU FOLLOWED SUIT, SELECTING DECEMBER 2-4.

- 6. BELAUNDE AND POPULAR ACTION STAGE LARGE RALLY:  
-

SINCE HIS RETURN IN MID-JUNE, THE PRESS HAS TREATED LIBERTY MOVEMENT CHIEF MARIO VARGAS LLOSA AS THE VIRTUAL CANDIDATE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN 1990. VARGAS LLOSA BEGAN WHAT WAS DESCRIBED AS A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TOUR IN HUARAZ SHORTLY THEREAFTER. THE FIRST RALLY GOT MIXED REVIEWS AND THE CAMPAIGN HAS LOST MOMENTUM. VARGAS LLOSA WILL TRY TO REGAIN SOME

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WITH A RALLY IN CUZCO AUGUST 13. THE PRESS CONTINUES TO DOG VARGAS LLOSA WITH CAMERAS

PAGE 04 LIMA 10614 02 OF 05 121716Z

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PAGE 01 LIMA 10614 03 OF 05 121718Z  
ACTION ARA-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	EUR-00	SS-00	AF-00
	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00	H-01	MSC-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00
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SECTION 03 OF 05 LIMA 10614

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WHEREVER HE GOES, HOWEVER, AND IT OBVIOUSLY RANKLES THE POLITICAL PROS IN BOTH AP AND THE PPC. CELSO SOTOMARINO, A RESPECTED BUT LITTLE KNOWN PPC DEPUTY, FOR EXAMPLE, RECENTLY DECLARED HIS OWN AMBITION TO BE THE FRONT'S CANDIDATE, SAYING HE HAD A BETTER CLAIM (THAN VARGAS LLOSA). ON AUGUST 5, OSTENSIBLY TO CELEBRATE THE 25TH

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ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1963 DECISION TO HOLD MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, FORMER PRESIDENT FERNANDO BELAUNDE AND THE AP STAGED A RESPECTABLY LARGE AND ENTHUSIASTIC RALLY IN DOWNTOWN LIMA. ALTHOUGH VARGAS LLOSA AND PPC HEAD LUIS BEDOYA REYES

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PAGE 02 LIMA 10614 03 OF 05 121718Z

WERE GUESTS OF HONOR, THE AP RALLY WAS AN ASSERTION OF PARTY PRIDE AND A SHOT ACROSS THE BOW OF LIBERTY MOVEMENT LEADERS NOT TO COUNT THE OLD WARHORSE OUT YET. BELAUNDE HAS SAID REPEATEDLY BEFORE AND SINCE THAT HE HAS NO AMBITION TO RUN AGAIN, BUT THE MORE HE IS CALLED ON TO ADDRESS THE SUBJECT, THE CLEARER IT BECOMES THAT THE QUESTION OF THE FRONT'S CANDIDATE IS FAR FROM RESOLVED.

-  
7. ARMS SHIPMENT FLAP:

-  
- THE POLISH SHIP (KUZNICA) CARRYING WARSAW PACT WEAPONS DESTINED TO PERU THAT WAS DIVERTED OFF THE COAST OF PUERTO RICO RAN INTO TROUBLE IN VENEZUELAN WATERS ON JULY 22. VENEZUELAN POLICE BOARDED THE SHIP, ON THE SUSPICION THAT IT WAS CARRYING DRUGS, FOUND AND CONFISCATED THE 6.7 TONS OF RIFLES, SILENCERS AND AMMUNITION. THE NEXT DAY, PERUVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GONZALES POSADA EXPLAINED THAT THE WEAPONS WERE FOR THE POLICE AND THAT BOTH THE TRANSACTION AND SHIPMENT WERE LEGAL. NEVERTHELESS, THE CRATES WERE IMPROPERLY MARKED AND THE WEAPONS WERE NOT LISTED IN THE SHIP'S MANIFEST, ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS. AFTER HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS, INCLUDING A VISIT TO CARACAS BY VICE MINISTER OF INTERIOR MANTILLA, GONZALES POSADA ANNOUNCED THAT THE MISUNDERSTANDING WITH THE VENEZUELAN AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN RESOLVED AND THAT THE WEAPONS WERE ON THEIR WAY TO PERU. LOCAL PAPERS REPORTED, HOWEVER, THAT AS OF AUGUST 7 THE WEAPONS WERE STILL IN

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PAGE 03 LIMA 10614 03 OF 05 121718Z

VENEZUELA, APPARENTLY AWAITING ANOTHER SHIP. ALTHOUGH THE GOP HAS SATISFIED THE GOV AND PUBLIC OPINION THAT THE PURCHASE IS LEGAL, IT WAS NONETHELESS EMBARRASSED BY THE QUANTITY OF WEAPONS (INITIALLY DESCRIBED BY PRESIDENT GARCIA AS "220 RIFLES") AND THE INCLUSION OF SILENCERS.

8. FOREIGN MINISTERS VISIT:

COSTA RICAN FOREIGN MINISTER MADRIGAL MADE AN OFFICIAL VISIT HERE JULY 21-23. HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT, FOREIGN MINISTER AND OTHER HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS CENTERED ON CENTRAL AMERICA. A WIDE-RANGING JOINT COMMUNIQUE CALLED ON NARCOTICS CONSUMING NATIONS TO ADOPT MORE EFFICIENT NARCOTICS CONTROL MEASURES AND INCREASE THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO ERADICATION AND CROP-SUBSTITUTION PROGRAMS. ITS CENTRAL AMERICAN CONTENT WAS BLAND, WHICH WAS TO THE LIKING OF COSTA RICAN AMBASSADOR MONGE. HE SAID THE MFA HAS BEEN EASIER TO DEAL WITH SINCE WAGNER LEFT IN MID-MAY. URUGUAYAN FOREIGN MINISTER BARRIOS TASSANO WAS HERE JULY 25 TO DISCUSS THE AGENDA FOR THE OCTOBER 26-29 MEETING OF THE GROUP OF EIGHT IN PUNTA DEL ESTE. BUTTONHOLED BY THE PRESS, BARRIOS MADE SYMPATHETIC NOISES ON PRESIDENT GARCIA'S CALL TO MAKE 1989 THE "YEAR OF DIALOGUE" BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE U.S. BUT INDICATED THAT THE GROUP OF EIGHT SHOULD BECOME A NEW FORUM FOR A DIALOGUE NOT ONLY WITH THE U.S. BUT WITH OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AS WELL.

9. SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION VISITS LIMA:

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PAGE 04 LIMA 10614 03 OF 05 121718Z

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PAGE 01 LIMA 10614 04 OF 05 121719Z  
ACTION ARA-00

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	AID-00	INR-10	EUR-00	SS-00	AF-00
	CIAE-00	EB-00	DODE-00	H-01	MSC-01	NSCE-00	NSAE-00
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[REDACTED] SECTION 04 OF 05 LIMA 10614

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A DELEGATION LED BY P.K. KHABIBULLAYEV, DESCRIBED AS A DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET (BUT WHO ISN'T LISTED IN THE JUNE 1988 USG REFERENCE AID ON FOREIGN GOVERNMENT MEMBERS), ARRIVED IN PERU ON AUGUST 3 FOR A WORKING VISIT. KHABIBULLAYEV MET WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF THE SENATE AND THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES TO DISCUSS BILATERAL RELATIONS. THE PRESS QUOTED HIS COMMENTS PRAISING PRESIDENT GARCIA AND CALLING FOR STRENGTHENING "EVEN MORE" COMMERCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

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PAGE 02 LIMA 10614 04 OF 05 121719Z

THIS VISIT COMES AT THE HEELS OF AN EARLY JUNE VISIT TO THE USSR BY A DELEGATION OF

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PERUVIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS.

10. AFRICA FUND MEETING HELD IN LIMA:

LIMA HOSTED THE THIRD MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE ACTION FUND AGAINST INVASION, COLONIALISM AND APARTHEID (AFRICA FUND) OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. REPRESENTATIVES FROM 29 COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MET IN LIMA FROM AUGUST 2-5 TO DISCUSS ASSISTANCE TO THE FRONT LINE STATES. ALTHOUGH PERU PROMISED TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL HELP, THE MEETING WAS MOSTLY A FORUM FOR PERU TO SHOW ITS THIRD WORLD AND NON-ALIGNED CREDENTIALS IT WAS ALSO MORE AN INDICATION OF WHERE THE MFA UNDER FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER ALLAN WAGNER HAS BEEN THAN ARE INDICATIONS OF WHERE IT'S HEADED UNDER NEW FOREIGN MINISTER GONZALES POSADA.

11. A NATIONAL MUSEUM: THE PRESIDENT'S NEW PROJECT:

PRESIDENT GARCIA HAS GIVEN NEW LIFE TO THE IDEA OF BUILDING A "NATIONAL MUSEUM" WHERE PERU'S CULTURAL RICHES CAN BE PROPERLY DISPLAYED. HE PLANS TO USE THE LARGE BUILDING THAT ORIGINALLY HOUSED THE FISHERIES MINISTRY AND LATER THE BANCO DE LA NACION, THUS REMOVING THE PRINCIPAL CONSTRAINT TO THE MUSEUM: BUILDING COSTS. THE PRESIDENT'S ENTHUSIASM FOR THE PROJECT SEEMS TO BE BROADLY SHARED ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM,

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PAGE 03 LIMA 10614 04 OF 05 121719Z

ESPECIALLY AMONG INTELLECTUALS AND THE CULTURAL ELITE. GARCIA IS CURRENTLY GIVING A LOT OF TIME TO THIS PROJECT. HE'S SET UP A PERSONAL OFFICE IN THE MUSEUM BUILDING AND AIDES DESCRIBE HIM AS PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN DETAILS OF PLANNING.

12. ANO ARRESTS PROMPT TERRORISM "DEPENDENCY THEORY":

IN PRESENTING THE THREE CAPTURED ABU NIDAL MEMBERS TO THE PRESS JULY 30, PERUVIAN POLICE ASSERTED THAT THEY WERE HERE TO MAKE CONTACT WITH

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SENDERO LUMINOSO. NO PROOF WAS PRESENTED AND TO OUR KNOWLEDGE NONE EXISTS. THE POLICE STATEMENT WAS QUICKLY SEIZED ON BY EX-PRESIDENT BELAUNDE, WHO COMMENTED THAT IT DEMONSTRATES "THE HATRED EXISTING IN OUR COUNTRY IS A PRODUCT IMPORTED FROM ABROAD." BELAUNDE HAS REPORTEDLY ARTICULATED THIS THEME, BOTH DURING AND AFTER HIS PRESIDENCY AND BELIEVES HE HAS NOW BEEN PROVEN CORRECT. LIBERTY MOVEMENT LEADER MARIO VARGAS LLOSA AUGUST 1 ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT SENDERO'S PRESUMED TIES WITH INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. HE SAID THE ARRESTS GAVE FURTHER CREDENCE TO BELAUNDE'S PREVIOUS WARNINGS THAT THE NATIVE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT WOULD NOT BE AUTONOMOUS, BUT RATHER WOULD RELY ON FOREIGNERS WHO EMPLOY VIOLENCE. COMMENT: SL CLEARLY HAS SOME FOREIGN TIES, TO THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MRI), FOR EXAMPLE, AND TO A SUPPORT NETWORK, THE EXTENT OF WHICH IS UNKNOWN, IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES. AT THE SAME TIME SENDERO CANNOT BE UNDERSTOOD OR EXPLAINED AS A DEPENDENT VARIABLE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM. THAT IT IS ALMOST ENTIRELY HOME GROWN CONTINUES TO BE A

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PAGE 04 LIMA 10614 04 OF 05 121719Z

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PAGE 01 LIMA 10614 05 OF 05 121719Z  
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NOTION HARD FOR MANY PERUVIANS TO SWALLOW.

13. UPCOMING EVENTS:

CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF ANTI-TERRORISM PROPOSALS MADE BY PRESIDENT GARCIA DURING HIS JULY 28 SPEECH MAY TAKE LONGER THAN THE TWO WEEKS THE PRESIDENT REQUESTED. LEFTIST OPPOSITION AND THE SEARCH FOR PRECISE LANGUAGE ARE LIKELY TO SLOW DOWN THE PROCESS. THE PRESIDENT'S RECOMMENDATION TO CHANGE THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM COULD ALSO RUN INTO TROUBLE

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PAGE 02 LIMA 10614 05 OF 05 121719Z

IN THE WEEKS AHEAD AS LABOR, DOCTORS, PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND GOVERNMENT TRY TO SORT OUT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROPOSED CHANGE. MINERS AND BANK WORKERS DON'T APPEAR TO BE ANY CLOSER TO REACHING A SETTLEMENT. WHICHEVER STRIKE IS RESOLVED FIRST WILL TO SOME EXTENT SET THE NORM FOR THE RESOLUTION OF ALL OTHERS. THE POSTPONEMENT OF APRA'S AND IU'S CONGRESSES MEANS POLITICAL ACTIVITY WILL NOW STAY LARGELY BEHIND THE SCENES. THERE ARE NO MAJOR VISITS OR PRESIDENTIAL TRAVEL PLANNED BEFORE THE GROUP OF EIGHT MEETING IN MONTEVIDEO IN LATE OCTOBER.

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