

[REDACTED]

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RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.5(B), 1.5(D)

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ACTION WHA-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	CPR-02
	INL-00	DINT-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00
	EB-00	EUR-00	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	IO-00	L-00	VCE-00	AC-01	DCP-01	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00
	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	IRM-00	SSC-01	SSO-00	STR-00
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	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/013W		

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O 191603Z JUL 00  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5430  
 INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
 AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
 AMEMBASSY ASUNCION  
 AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
 AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
 USCINCSO MIAMI FL

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 02 LIMA 004217

E.O. 12958: DECL 7/18/2010  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, MOPS, PE  
 SUBJECT: COUNTDOWN TO INAUGURATION: THE FOUR QUARTERS MARCH  
 [REDACTED]

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AND PUBLIC OPINION

1. CLASSIFIED [REDACTED] BY CHARGE ROBERTA JACOBSON FOR  
REASONS 1.5B AND 1.5D.

SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION  
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2. (C) WITH ONLY NINE DAYS BEFORE THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT  
FUJIMORI'S THIRD TERM, ESTIMATES ON THE SIZE AND SUCCESS OF  
THE VAUNTED FOUR QUARTERS (CUATRO SUYOS) MARCH ARE AS  
POLARIZED AS PERU'S POLITICS. GUESSES RANGE FROM 30,000 TO

[REDACTED] n/a

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n/a

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ONE MILLION. EMBASSY HOPES FOR A MARCH THAT IS LARGE ENOUGH TO BOLSTER PRESSURE FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORM YET PEACEFUL ENOUGH TO AVOID BEING DISMISSED AS RABBLE-ROUSING. MEANWHILE, A RECENT POLL OF LIMA RESIDENTS -- A FUJIMORI STRONGHOLD -- INDICATES THAT THOSE POLLED FAVOR OAS SPONSORED NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE OPPOSITION'S FOUR QUARTERS MARCH, DISLIKE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR AND DE FACTO HEAD OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS AND WANT THE USG TO KEEP OR INCREASE PRESSURE ON THE GOP TO INITIATE DEMOCRATIC REFORM. END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION.

FOUR QUARTERS MARCH  
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3. (C) ON MAY 28, AFTER NOT PARTICIPATING IN AND LOSING THE SECOND ROUND OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, OPPOSITION LEADER ALEJANDO TOLEDO ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD ORGANIZE A FOUR MILLION PERSON MARCH FROM THE FOUR QUARTERS (CUATRO SUYOS) OF PERU TO LIMA AND THAT THIS MASS OF HUMANITY WOULD IMPEDE THE

[REDACTED]

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SWEARING IN OF FUJIMORI ON JULY 28. WITH A WEEK DAYS TO GO BEFORE THE JULY 26 BEGINNING OF THE MARCH AND 9 DAYS BEFORE INAUGURATION, THE GOALS HAVE CHANGED. RATHER THAN FOUR MILLION, THE OPPOSITION WILL BE HAPPY WITH 100,000 AND ECSTATIC AT ANYTHING GREATER THAN 200,000. AND INSTEAD OF IMPEDING THE INAUGURATION CEREMONY, THE OPPOSITION HOPES TO MAKE A SHOW OF FORCE THAT WILL KEEP PRESSURE ON THE GOP TO SERIOUSLY DISCUSS MEANINGFUL DEMOCRATIC REFORMS. THOUGH EXACT PLANS ARE STILL UNCLEAR, THE OPPOSITION IS ORGANIZING SEPARATE MARCHES FOR JULY 26, 27 AND 28. GROUPS WILL GATHER AT DIVERSE SPOTS THROUGHOUT THE CITY -- INCLUDING ONE CLOSE THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE -- AND THEN CONVERGE ON A CENTRAL, PREDETERMINED LOCATION.

4. (C) EMBASSY SOURCES IN THE PERUVIAN MILITARY, POLICE AND THE GOP SEPARATELY ESTIMATE THAT BETWEEN 30-50 THOUSAND PEOPLE WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE MARCH. JUST IN CASE, HOWEVER, THE ARMED FORCES ARE PURCHASING LARGE QUANTITIES OF RIOT GEAR.

[REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] HAD BEEN SLASHED TO PURCHASE "CROWD CONTROL" EQUIPMENT. HE ALSO BELIEVED THE PERUVIAN NATIONAL POLICE (PNP) WAS MAKING SIMILAR PURCHASES.

[REDACTED] WERE CONFIDENT THAT MARCH WOULD FALL WELL SHORT OF 100,000 AND THAT

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n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

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THE ARMY WOULD NOT BE NEEDED TO KEEP ORDER; HOWEVER, HE ADDED, IT WAS ALWAYS WISE TO PREPARE FOR THE WORST. [REDACTED] SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THOSE PLANNING THE SECURITY OF THE INAUGURATION WERE LOOKING AT A NUMBER OF PREVENTIVE MEASURES, INCLUDING CORDONING OFF CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENTIAL PALACE AND POSSIBLY DECLARING OF A TEMPORARY STATE OF EMERGENCY IN CONFIDENTIAL

B1

PAGE 04 LIMA 04217 01 OF 02 191608Z LIMA. THE LATTER, HE SAID, WOULD NOT BE USED UNLESS WIDE-SPREAD CIVIL DISTURBANCES TOOK PLACE.

5. (C) [REDACTED] INDICATE THAT AS OF JULY 18, PNP CHECK POINTS WOULD BE IN PLACE TO MONITOR THE THREE PRIMARY ENTRANCES INTO THE GREATER LIMA METROPOLITAN AREA. VEHICLES THAT APPEAR TO BE TRANSPORTING DEMONSTRATORS WILL BE STOPPED AND A CONCERTED EFFORT MADE TO FIND SOME TYPE OF VIOLATION TO JUSTIFY TURNING IT AROUND. "FLEXIBILITY" IS THE OPERATIVE WORD AS THE PNP ATTEMPTS TO DEVELOP A STRATEGY TO DEAL WITH AN UNKNOWN NUMBERS OF DEMONSTRATORS, THOUGH 50,000 IS THE HIGH-END ESTIMATE. THE PNP BELIEVES THAT DEMONSTRATORS WILL GRAVITATE TOWARD THE PLAZA MAYOR, THE CONGRESS, PLAZA SAN MARTIN AND THE PASEO DE LA REPUBLICA. IF THESE AREAS BEGIN TO FILL UP TO THE POINT OF MERGING WITH EACH OTHER, THE PNP WILL ATTEMPT TO USE TEARGAS AND BATONS TO KEEP THE GROUPS DISPERSED.

B1

6. (U) OPPOSITION FEELINGS ABOUT THE MARCH RUN FROM EMPHATIC DISAVOWAL TO HEADY CONFIDENCE OF MASSIVE PARTICIPATION, THOUGH MANY REGULAR EMBASSY CONTACTS, RATHER THAN BEING EXCITED ABOUT THE MARCH, ARE PREOCCUPIED THAT THAT IT WILL NOT DRAW LARGE NUMBERS AND THAT ITS FAILURE WILL RELIEVE THE PRESSURE FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORM ON THE GOP. OVERALL MARCH ORGANIZER FOR TOLEDO'S PERU POSIBLE POLITICAL (PP) PARTY CARLOS BRUCE

[REDACTED]

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ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	IRM-00	SSC-01	SSO-00	STR-00
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ESTIMATED THAT BETWEEN 100,000 TO 150,000 PEOPLE WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE MARCH JUST IN LIMA. OTHER SIMULTANEOUS MARCHES WERE BEING ORGANIZED IN DEPARTMENTAL CAPITALS AND HE HOPED NATION-WIDE PARTICIPATION WOULD REACH ONE MILLION. BRUCE SAID THAT AT LEAST 100,000 PARTICIPATION WAS NEEDED TO KEEP PRESSURE ON THE GOP. ANYTHING LESS THAN THAT WOULD BE A FAILURE. WHEN ASKED BY AMBASSADOR HOW HE HOPED TO COORDINATE THE MARCH IN LIMA, BRUCE LAUGHED AND SAID THAT THEY WOULD BE "MANAGING CHAOS," EXACERBATED BY A SEVERE SHORTAGE OF FUNDS TO FEED, LODGE AND SUPPORT THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE.

7. (U) STUDENT GROUPS HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT SUPPORTING MARCHERS WHO COME IN FROM THE PROVINCES. NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS PRESIDENT DIMITRI SENMACHE TOLD POLOFF JULY 17 THAT HIS AND OTHER STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS ESTIMATE THAT SOME 10 TO 15 THOUSAND MARCHERS FROM THE PROVINCES WILL HAVE TO BE FED AND LODGED (PNP SOURCES ESTIMATE THAT 8 THOUSAND ARE ALREADY IN LIMA). HE ADDED THAT A COORDINATED EFFORT BY EIGHT LIMA STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS IN 1998 HAD BEEN HARD PRESSED TO SUPPORT 1,500

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STUDENTS FROM THE PROVINCES DURING A PROTEST AGAINST AN INCREASE IN TUITION AT PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES. FOUR PORTABLE LATRINES HAD BEEN RENTED AT GREAT EXPENSE BUT THE LINES WERE AWFUL AND THE LATRINES' CAPACITY SOON EXCEEDED. HENCE, THEY HAD NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THEIR ABILITY TO SUPPORT 10,000. SENMACHE SAID THAT HE AND OTHER STUDENT LEADERS WERE PETITIONING DONATIONS AND FOR PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES TO OPEN UP AND ALLOW USE OF THEIR FACILITIES, BUT HE WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT THE PETITIONS WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL.

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8. (U) MANY MARCH ORGANIZERS FEAR THAT THE GOP MAY TRY TO INTRODUCE AGENTS INTO STUDENT RANKS TO PROVOKE VIOLENCE DURING THE DEMONSTRATIONS. SENMACHE EXPLAINED HOW HE AND OTHER LEADERS WERE ORGANIZING STUDENTS INTO SMALLER GROUPS BASED ON CLASS YEAR AND CURRICULUM. BY STICKING TOGETHER DURING THE DEMONSTRATION, THEY WILL MORE EASILY BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY INFILTRATORS. SENMACHE ALSO COMPLAINED THAT HE WAS BEING HARASSED BY POLICE AND PRESSURED TO WITHDRAW HIS ASSOCIATION FROM THE MARCH.

9. (C) LABOR CONTACTS, WHO ARE THE MAINSTAY OF PERU'S CIVIC PROTEST APPARATUS, ARE STILL SAYING 200-300,000 DEMONSTRATORS IN LIMA IS FEASIBLE FOR JULY 28, WITH PERHAPS 25,000 TO 50,000 FOR JULY 26 AND 27. THEY EMPHASIZED, AS HAVE ALEJANDRO TOLEDO AND STUDENT LEADERS, THEIR COMMITMENT TO NON-VIOLENCE AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE. LIKE OTHER MARCH ORGANIZERS, THEY ALSO WORRY THAT GOP PROVOCATEURS WILL INCITE CONFRONTATIONS THAT COULD ESCALATE. CONTACTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN'S OFFICE SAY THEY PLAN ON MONITORING THE DEMONSTRATIONS.

PUBLIC MOOD FAVORS NEGOTIATIONS OVER DEMONSTRATIONS  
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10. (C) A PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY CONDUCTED BY APOYO IN LIMA BETWEEN JULY 14-16 REVEALED THAT WHILE ONLY 36% OF THOSE POLLED APPROVE OF THE FOUR QUARTERS MARCH (42% DISAPPROVAL), APPROXIMATELY 56% APPROVE OF THE OAS MISSION AND ITS EFFORTS TO PROMOTE DEMOCRATIC REFORM (32% DISAPPROVAL). PRESIDENTIAL NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR AND DE FACTO HEAD OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS EVOKED STRONG

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REACTIONS: 65% OF THOSE POLLED HAD A NEGATIVE OPINION OF HIM

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(VICE 22% POSITIVE) AND 58% BELIEVE HE SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM THE ADMINISTRATION, WITH 17% BELIEVING HE SHOULD TAKE UP A MORE PUBLIC ROLE AND 12% BELIEVING HE SHOULD STAY WHERE HE IS. THE POLL ALSO SHOWED THAT 25% WANT THE USG TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON THE GOP TO INITIATE DEMOCRATIC REFORM, 18% WANT THE PRESSURE TO REMAIN CONSTANT, 14% WANT PRESSURE REDUCED AND 37% WANT THE USG TO CEASE PRESSURE ALTOGETHER.

COMMENT  
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11. (C) IDEALLY, THE CUARTRO SUYOS MARCH WILL BE LARGE ENOUGH AND SUFFICIENTLY PEACEFUL TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON THE GOP. IF THE MARCH IS POORLY ATTENDED, THE GOP WILL BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT THE OPPOSITION LACKS PUBLIC SUPPORT. IF THE DEMONSTRATIONS RESULT IN EXCESSIVE VANDALISM OR VIOLENCE, ORGANIZERS WILL BE VIEWED AS RABBLE-ROUSERS AND THE GOP WILL BE ABLE TO JUSTIFY STERN MEASURE TO MAINTAIN ORDER.

HAMILTON  
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
n/a