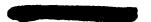




n/a Case Number: S200200010

-----1586B4 022309Z /38

RELEASED IN FULL



PAGE 01 LIMA 03172 01 OF 03 022308Z ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-15 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 SJK-01 C-01 DODE-00 DS-00 HA-09 H-01 INM-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 ADS-00 PM-01 PRS-01 P-01 SCT-03 SNP-01 SP-01 SSO-00 SS-01 TRSE-00 USIE-00 /046W T-01

O 022300Z MAR 92
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6163
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

SECTION 01 OF 03 LIMA 03172

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PTER, ASEC, PE

SUBJECT: RONDAS URBANAS AGAINST SENDERO

REF: LIMA 2292

1. (U) SUMMARY: A VIGOROUS PUBLIC DEBATE ON URBAN SELF-DEFENSE COMMITTEES (RONDAS URBANAS)

PAGE 02 LIMA 03172 01 OF 03 022308Z
HAS EMERGED IN THE PUBLIC FORUM FOLLOWING SL'S
BRUTAL ASSASSINATION OF POPULAR LOCAL LEADER
MARIA ELENA MOYANO ON FEBRUARY 15. MOST LEADERS
FROM THE PUEBLOS JOVENES VIEW LOCALLY CREATED
AND CONTROLLED "AUTONOMOUS" RONDAS AS KEY TO
PROVIDING SECURITY FOR THEIR PEOPLE AND LEADERS,
ESPECIALLY IN THE FACE OF THE GOP'S ADMITTED
INABILITY TO DO SO. THE LEADERS ARE VERY WARY,
HOWEVER, OF PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S ENTHUSIASTIC
SUPPORT OF SECURITY FORCE-LINKED RONDAS

n/a

Page: 1

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR DATE/CASE ID: 29 JUL 2002 S200200010

Page: 2

n/a Case Number: S200200010

URBANAS. GRASS-ROOTS LEADERS WARN THAT THE PEOPLE SIMPLY DO NOT TRUST THE SECURITY FORCES, ARGUING THAT CLOSE LINKS WITH THE POLICE OR MILITARY DETRACTS FROM THE LEGITIMACY OF SUCH RONDAS.

2. NO ONE SEES RONDAS URBANAS AS CREATING A HERMETIC SAFETY SEAL AROUND LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THEIR LEADERS. BUT THE CREATION OF THE RONDAS, WITH THEIR INHERENT DEFENSIVE MECHANISMS AND INTELLIGENCE NETS, WOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR SL TO OPERATE AND INFILTRATE THE PUEBLOS JOVENES. THE TUSSLE OVER WHO CONTROLS THE URBAN RONDAS AND HOW THEY ARE ORGANIZED, HOWEVER, WILL IMPEDE PROGRESS. END SUMMARY.

PJ LEADERS SUPPORT RONDAS URBANAS, GENERALLY

3. (U) SENDERO'S SUCCESSFUL FEBRUARY 14 "PARO ARMADO," CAPPED BY THE CHILLING MURDER OF

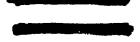
PAGE 03 LIMA 03172 01 OF 03 022308Z POPULAR VILLA EL SALVADOR COMMUNITY LEADER MARIA ELENA MOYANO (REF A), HAS SPARKED A VIGOROUS PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE USE OF URBAN SELF DEFENSE COMMITTEES (OR "RONDAS URBANAS") TO PROTECT GRASS-ROOTS LEADERS AND COMMUNITIES FROM SENDERO SPECIFICALLY, AND FROM CRIME IN GENERAL. A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF LEADERS FROM LIMA'S PUEBLOS JOVENES SHOWED GENERAL CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF AUTONOMOUS RONDAS URBANAS DURING A REMARKABLE TV NEWS SHOW ON THE RONDAS ON FEBRUARY 23. THE GATHERING INCLUDED THE MAYOR OF VILLA EL SALVADOR JOHNNY RODRIGUEZ; MAYOR OF COMAS HUMBERTO PAREDES; VICE MAYOR OF SAN JUAN DE LURIGANCHO ESTHER ROJAS; VILLA EL SALVADOR INDUSTRIAL PARK ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY MARCELO PENA; AND HUAYCAN SECRETARY GENERAL PASCUALA ROSADO. ALSO ON THE PANEL WERE SENATOR JAVIER DIEZ CANSECO (UNITED LEFT - IU), RETIRED ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF HEAD GEN. ARTURO ANTUNEZ DE MAYOLO, MONSEIGNEUR METZINGER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND BUSINESSMAN JULIO FAVRE.

n/a

Page: 3

n/a Case Number: S200200010

4. (U) THE COMMUNITY LEADERS ENDORSED THE CREATION AND USE OF RONDAS URBANAS, BUT ONLY IF THEY WERE AUTONOMOUS AND NOT CONTROLLED (OR EVEN CREATED) BY GOP SECURITY FORCES. THE LEADERS STRONGLY SCORED THE GOP'S INABILITY TO PROTECT LOCAL COMMUNITIES (AND LEADERS SUCH AS THEMSELVES) BUT GIVEN THAT REALITY, ACKNOWLEDGED THAT RONDAS URBANAS WERE THEIR BEST BET FOR SELF-DEFENSE. THE LEADERS REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED



PAGE 04 LIMA 03172 01 OF 03 THE STRONG DISTRUST OF THE SECURITY FORCES WITHIN THEIR COMMUNITIES AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR RONDAS URBANAS TO BE LOCAL INITIATIVES UNDER LOCAL, NOT GOP, CONTROL. COMAS MAYOR PAREDES FLATLY STATED THE COMMUNITIES "DO NOT TRUST THE GOVERNMENT" AND SAID THE "GREATEST SECURITY IS FOUND IN OUR FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES." NEVERTHELESS, THE LEADERS GENERALLY ACKNOWLEDGED SOME LIMITED COORDINATION WITH SECURITY FORCES WAS NECESSARY, BUT WARNED REAL CONTROL AT THE LOCAL LEVEL WAS NEEDED TO GIVE THE RONDAS LEGITIMACY IN THE EYES OF THE COMMUNITIES.

NNNN



PAGE 01 LIMA 03172 02 OF 03 022311Z ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00 DS-00 ADS-00 P-01	ACDA-15 HA-09 NSAE-00 SCT-03	H-01 NSCE-00 SNP-01	CIAE-00 INM-01 OMB-01 SP-01	SJK-01 INRE-00 PA-01 SSO-00	C-01 INR-01 PM-01 SS-01	DODE-00 L-03 PRS-01 TRSE-00
	T-01	USIE-00	5NP-01 /046W	SP-01	SSO-00	SS-01	TRSE-00

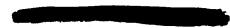
O 022300Z MAR 92
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6164
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

n/a

n/a

n/a Case Number: S200200010

AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM



SECTION 02 OF 03 LIMA 03172

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356:

DECL: OADR

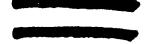
TAGS:

PGOV, PTER, ASEC, PE

SUBJECT:

RONDAS URBANAS AGAINST SENDERO

5. (U) GEN. ANTUNEZ SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF AUTONOMOUS RONDAS URBANAS, BUT ONLY IF THESE WERE IN "CLOSE COORDINATION" WITH THE SECURITY FORCES. ANTUNEZ ADMITTED THE GOP SIMPLY LACKED



PAGE 02 LIMA 03172 02 OF 03 022311Z THE RESOURCES TO PROVIDE EFFECTIVE SECURITY TO COMMUNITIES AND THEIR LEADERS.

- 6. (U) FAVRE, THE ONLY "REPRESENTATIVE" OF THE UPPER CLASSES, EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN THAT A PROLIFERATION OF ARMED RONDAS URBANAS WITHOUT STRICT GOP CONTROL WOULD LEAD TO "CHAOS." VICE MAYOR ROJAS REPLIED WITH SOME EMOTION THAT THIS SHOWED FAVRE'S "DISTRUST OF COMMUNITIES WHICH HAVE FOR YEARS FOUGHT AGAINST AN ENEMY CREATED BY THE FAILURES OF THE STATE."
- COMMENT: THE TV PROGRAM WAS REMARKABLE NOT ONLY FOR ITS CONTENT, BUT ALSO IN THAT THE LEADERS WERE WILLING TO PUBLICLY SUPPORT ANTI-SENDERO MEASURES. IT REQUIRED CONSIDERABLE COURAGE FOR THESE LEADERS TO "TAKE ON" OPENLY SENDERO IN THE WAKE OF MOYANO'S KILLING. RARELY HAVE WE SEEN SO MANY IMPORTANT GRASS-ROOTS LEADERS ASSEMBLED IN ONE FORUM. THE ODD MAN OUT WAS MARCELO PENA WHOSE SLATE WON IN THE VILLA EL SALVADOR INDUSTRIAL PARK WITH THE ACKNOWLEDGED SUPPORT OF SL; PENA WOULD NEITHER DENOUNCE THE MURDER OF MOYANO NOR SPEAK ILL OF HIS PATRONS. PENA'S UNINHIBITED ACTIVITY AS AN SL "VOCERO" BESPEAKS THE INCONGRUITY OF PERU'S HUMAN

n/a

Page: 4

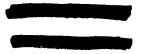
Page: 5

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

RIGHTS/POLITICAL STRUGGLE. END COMMENT.

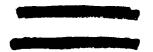
A LUKEWARM VIEW OF THE RONDAS FROM AZCUETA



PAGE 03 LIMA 03172 02 OF 03 8. (U) INTERVIEWED SEPARATELY ON THE SAME PROGRAM WAS FORMER MAYOR AND "FATHER" OF VILLA EL SALVADOR MICHEL AZCUETA. AZCUETA WAS LUKEWARM ON THE VALUE OF RONDAS URBANAS, BELIEVING THAT ONLY CONCRETE ACTIONS TO ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE IN DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES COULD PROTECT LEADERS FROM SL. MEETING THE PEOPLE'S BASIC NEEDS WOULD GIVE THE LEADERS A FORM OF IMMUNITY FROM ATTACK IN THE GUISE OF MORAL AUTHORITY. HE DECRIED THE LACK OF GOP EFFORTS TO DATE, STATING THAT IN THE "ONE YEAR AND EIGHT MONTHS" THAT FUJIMORI HAS BEEN PRESIDENT HE HAS NEVER "TALKED WITH THE POPULAR LEADERS" AS HE HAS WITH BUSINESS LEADERS AND POLITICIANS.

9. (U) AZCUETA SAID STRONG POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS, PROPERLY EMPOWERED TO MEET THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE "BASES" COULD EVEN PROVIDE THE STATE WITH USEFUL INTELLIGENCE AND COOPERATION IN ITS ANTI-SUBVERSIVE STRUGGLE. HOWEVER, THE STATE HAD TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP IN OVERCOMING POPULAR MISTRUST. AZCUETA SUGGESTED THE GOP MIGHT BEGIN BY STOPPING ITS SWEEPS IN THE PUEBLOS JOVENES, WHICH HE SAID LARGELY PROVED FRUITLESS AND UNNECESSARILY ALIENATED THE POPULATION.

FUJIMORI WANTS ARMED RONDAS; OFFERS AMNESTY



PAGE 04 LIMA 03172 02 OF 03 022311Z 10. (U) PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED

n/a

Page: 6

n/a

Case Number: S200200010

FOR RONDAS URBANAS AND SAID THE GOP WOULD GIVE URBAN COMMUNITIES "APPROPRIATE WEAPONS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST SENDERO" DURING A TELEVISION INTERVIEW ON FEBRUARY 22. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT SENDERO'S KILLING OF MOYANO, THE PRESIDENT REGRETTED THAT IT WAS "MATERIALLY IMPOSSIBLE" TO PROTECT ALL COMMUNITY LEADERS BUT SUGGESTED THAT A POSSIBLE ANSWER LIED IN APPLYING HIS MUCH-VAUNTED RURAL "RONDAS CAMPESINAS" MODEL TO THE URBAN AREAS. IN THE PRESIDENT'S VIEW, THE RONDAS URBANAS WOULD WORK IN CLOSE COORDINATION WITH THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR THEIR COMMUNITIES AND LEADERS.

NNNN

PAGE 01 LIMA 03172 03 OF 03 022312Z ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-15 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 SJK-01 C-01 DODE-00 DS-00 HA-09 H-01 INM-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-01 PRS-01 P-01 SCT-03 SNP-01 SP-01 SSO-00 SS-01 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 /046W

O 022300Z MAR 92
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6165
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

SECTION 03 OF 03 LIMA 03172

-----15870E 022313Z /38

SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, PTER, ASEC, PE

SUBJECT: RONDAS URBANAS AGAINST SENDERO

n/a

Page: 7

n/a Case Number: S200200010

11. (U) FUJIMORI ALSO CALLED ON TERRORISTS TO TURN THEMSELVES IN, AND GUARANTEED THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY. FUJIMORI SAID THE GOP HAD INFORMATION THAT MANY SL AND MRTA MILITANTS

PAGE 02 LIMA 03172 03 OF 03 022312Z WANTED TO DESERT THEIR ORGANIZATIONS, AND URGED THEM TO CONTACT THE NEAREST MILITARY COMMAND. FUJIMORI SAID MANY YOUNG PEOPLE IN THESE GROUPS WERE QUESTIONING WHY THEY WERE ATTACKING LEGITIMATE POPULAR LEADERS AND WERE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO LEAVE THE ORGANIZATIONS. HE CITED RECENTLY PASSED LEGISLATIVE DECREE 748 AS THE LEGAL BASIS FOR GRANTING AMNESTY TO TERRORISTS.

ARMY SETS UP RONDAS IN LIMA PUEBLOS JOVENES

- 12. (U) AS IF ON CUE, ON FEBRUARY 25 ARMY UNITS MOVED INTO THE PUEBLO JOVEN OF JUAN PABLO II (IN SAN JUAN DE LURIGANCHO) TO PROVIDE SECURITY AND "ADVISE" LOCAL RESIDENTS ON SETTING UP A RONDA URBANA. THE SOLDIERS REPORTEDLY WILL ALSO PATROL THE PUEBLO JOVEN, SET UP CHECK POINTS AT THE TWO ENTRANCES TO JUAN PABLO II, AND ESTABLISH A ROSTER OF THE APPROXIMATELY 5,000 INHABITANTS TO BE USED TO CHECK FOR "STRANGERS" IN THE COMMUNITY.
- 13. (U) ON FEBRUARY 28 DISTRICT MAYOR PEDRO ZAZZALI PENA TOLD NEWSPAPERS THAT THE MILITARY SHOULD HAVE SOUGHT APPROVAL FROM LOCAL LEADERS BEFORE MOVING IN, AND POINTED OUT THAT RONDAS URBANAS HAD BEEN ALREADY ESTABLISHED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF SAN JUAN DE LURIGANCHO. THE JOINT COMMUNAL DIRECTORATE OF JUAN PABLO II AND MOTUPE ISSUED AN OPEN LETTER ON THE SAME DAY

PAGE 03 LIMA 03172 03 OF 03 022312Z STATING THE MILITARY HAD NOT BEEN INVITED INTO THE PUEBLO JOVEN AND ASKED THE MILITARY TO

n/a

Page: 8

n/a Case Number: S200200010

RESPECT COMMUNITY'S AUTONOMY AND WITHDRAW. THE LETTER REPORTEDLY DENIED THERE WERE LINKS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES AND SUBVERSIVES AND BLASTED THE MILITARY FOR POOR BEHAVIOR. THE LETTER COMPLAINED THAT THE MILITARY COMMANDER HAD THREATENED TO DENOUNCE LOCAL LEADERS AS SENDERO-AFFILIATED WHEN THEY REFUSED TO GIVE THE MILITARY USE OF CERTAIN FACILITIES; COMMUNITY LEADERS WERE NOT ALLOWED TO LEAVE THE PUEBLO JOVEN WITHOUT APPROVAL OF THE COMMANDER; AND THAT THE MILITARY WAS TRYING TO IMPOSE ITS WILL ON A LOCAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLED TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE.

COMMENT

14. THE DEBATE ON THE RONDAS URBANAS, ESPECIALLY AMONG LEADERS FROM THE PUEBLOS JOVENES, SIGNALS THE FERMENT TAKING PLACE AS PEOPLE GRASP FOR WAYS TO PROTECT POPULAR LEADERS AND COMMUNITIES FROM A PERCEIVED SL ONSLAUGHT AGAINST THE CITIES. RONDAS URBANAS WIL NOT CREATE A HERMETIC SAFETY SEAL AROUND THE LEADERS, AND MOST LEADERS RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THAT DANGER IS INHERENT IN THEIR POSITIONS. BUT ONCE CREATED THE RONDAS URBANAS WOULD APPLY THE "LOGIC OF SURVIVAL" TO SET UP THEIR OWN LOCAL INTELLIGENCE NETS AND DEFENSIVE MECHANISMS.

PAGE 04 LIMA 03172 03 OF 03 022312Z THIS WOULD CREATE A MORE HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT FOR SL IN THE PUEBLOS JOVENES. ALL OF THIS, HOWEVER, AWAITS SOME KIND OF COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE LEFT/POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OVER WHO WILL ORGANIZE AND CONTROL THE RONDAS URBANAS. IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE GOVERNMENT TENDS TO CARRY THE ARGUMENT WITH RARE EXCEPTIONS, BUT IN THE TEEMING PUEBLOS JOVENES THE OUTCOME IS NOT SO CLEAR. END COMMENT. BRAYSHAW##

n/a