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Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN FULL

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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-03
	ADS-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				

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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)

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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

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

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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. [REDACTED] 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 TUSSELE 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
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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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.

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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

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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.

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

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AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

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SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD

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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

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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."

7. 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

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RIGHTS/POLITICAL STRUGGLE. END COMMENT.

A LUKEWARM VIEW OF THE RONDAS FROM AZCUETA

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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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

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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10. (U) PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED

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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.

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O 022300Z MAR 92
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6165
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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
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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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
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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STATING THE MILITARY HAD NOT BEEN INVITED INTO
THE PUEBLO JOVEN AND ASKED THE MILITARY TO

[REDACTED]
n/a

[REDACTED]
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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. [REDACTED] 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 WILL 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.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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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##

[REDACTED]

n/a
[REDACTED]