PAGE 01
STATE 205132 TOSEC 110322
ORIGIN ARA-00
INFO LOG-00 COPY-01 ADS-00 SS-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 CCO-00
/D01 R

DRAFTED BY: ARA/AND: P MCLEAN
APPROVED BY: ARA: RSGELBARD
S/S: KMQUINN S/S-O: LTRACY
ARA: EABRAMS (SUBS) P: CURRAN
---------------065213 282257Z/66

O 0 282251Z JUN 86 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES NIACt IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA NIACt IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CARACAS NIACt IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO NIACt IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO NIACt IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIMA NIACt IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA NIACt IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY QUITO NIACt IMMEDIATE
INFO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

PAGE 02
STATE 205132 TOSEC 110322

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PINT, PHUM, PE, AG, CO, VZ, UR, BR, BO, EC
SUBJECT: GARCIA AND THE MILITARY: PLEA FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

1. **- ENTIRE TEXT.**

2. ALAN GARCIA IS INVOLVED IN A DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION WITH THE PERUVIAN ARMED FORCES. CIVIL-MILITARY STRAINS DEVELOPED OVER THE LAST WEEK FOLLOWING CONFIRMATION THAT AT LEAST 100 PRISONERS WERE SUMMARILY EXECUTED WHEN POLICE AND ARMED FORCES RE-ASSERTED GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY

AT THREE PRISONS. GARCIA WENT TO LURIGANCHO PRISON YESTERDAY (JUNE 27) WITH PRIME MINISTER ALVA CASTRO, FONMIN WAGNER, MINISTER OF INTERIOR SALINAS AND A NUMBER

Current Class: 

UNCLASSIFIED
OF JOURNALISTS TO DRAMATIZE THE INCIDENT. AS HE DID
EARLIER IN THE WEEK, GARCIA OPTED TO TAKE A HIGH-PROFILE,
HEAVILY Rhetorical, AND CONFRONTATIONAL APPROACH WITH THE
MILITARY. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT HE MUST HAVE AUTHORIZED
THE ORIGINAL COUNTERATTACKS IN THE PRISON, AND HE COULD
NOT HAVE BEEN UNDER GREAT ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE MANNER IN
WHICH THE MILITARY OR POLICE WOULD HANDLE THIS.
NEVERTHELESS, THE LARGE NUMBERS OF THOSE ACTUALLY
EXECUTED MAY INDEED HAVE BEEN A SHOCK, BUT IT
PARTICULARLY BECAME A PROBLEM FOR HIM WHEN IT BECAME
APPARENT THAT IT HAD BEGUN TO HAVE ADVERSE IMPLICATIONS
FOR HIM PERSONALLY, HIS PRESIDENCY, OR FOR HIS
INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP ASPIRATIONS. CRITICISMS FROM
THE SI AND OTHERS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS. BY THE MIDDLE OF
LAST WEEK, WE BEGAN TO RECEIVE REPORTS THAT GARCIA WAS
TRYING TO DISTANCE HIMSELF FROM THE MILITARY/POLICE AND
THEIR ATTACK. HE ALSO BEGAN SPECIFICALLY TO ACCUSE THE
GUARDIA REPUBLICANA (THE RELATIVELY SMALL AND WEAKEST
FORCE CHARGED WITH GUARDING PRISONS AND BORDERS) OF
HAVING COMMITTED THE PRISON MURDERS. IN DOING SO, HE HAS
CAREFULLY NOT ACCUSED THE ARMY OR OTHER MAJOR SERVICES
THEREBY HOPING TO AVOID A CONFRONTATION WITH THEM,
DISTANCING HIMSELF, HIS GOVERNMENT, AND PARTY FROM THE
ATROCITIES AND FOCUSING ATTENTION ON A WEAK SCAPEGOAT.

3. RUMORS HAVE ABOUNDED THAT THE ARMED FORCES HIGH
COMMAND IS RESISTING GARCIA’S ORDER TO DISCIPLINE THOSE
INVOLVED IN THE GR AND ANY OTHERS. GARCIA AND FM WAGNER
HAVE SPREAD THIS VIEW IN HIGHLY DRAMATIC TERMS AND HAVE

TALKED APOCALYPTICALLY OF AN IMMUNE MILITARY COUP WHEN
THEY TOOK THE INITIATIVE FRIDAY TO TRY TO DEVELOP
EXTERNAL SUPPORT AMONG SEVERAL DEMOCRATIC LATIN
GOVERNMENTS; WE HAVE SO FAR HEARD OF TELEPHONE
COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE ARGENTINES (ALFONSIN CAPUTO),
COLOMBIANS (BETANCUR), AND VENEZULANS (LUSINCHI). AFTER
EXTENSIVE CONVERSATIONS WITH A WIDE RANGE OF SOURCES IN
PERU--INCLUDING DISCUSSIONS GENERAL GALVIN HAS HAD WITH
SENIOR PERUVIAN MILITARY OFFICIALS, THE USG VIEW HAS
SHIFTED. WHILE IT IS, OF COURSE, POSSIBLE THAT OUR
INFORMATION IS INACCURATE OR THAT WE HAVE BEEN MISLED, WE
DO NOT REPEAT NOT BELIEVE THAT MILITARY COUP PLOTTING IS
TAKING PLACE OR THAT THE PROSPECT OF A COUP IS
SIGNIFICANT OR IMMINENT. HOWEVER, WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROVOCATIVE WAY IN WHICH GARCIA IS HANDLING THIS SITUATION THROUGH HIS INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC AND CONFRONTATIONAL TACTICS (E.G., "EITHER ALL THOSE RESPONSIBLE GO OR I GO").

4. PERU IS LIVING THROUGH A DANGEROUS PERIOD. THE SL HAD SHIFTED ITS TACTICS TO BECOME EVEN MORE VIOLENT AND TO AN URBAN EMPHASIS EVEN BEFORE THE PRISON ATTACKS; THE TRAIN BOMBING IN CUZCO REPRESENTS A POSSIBLE NEW EMPHASIS ON INDISCRIMINATE KILLINGS. THE MRTA, TOO, HAS BECOME MORE ACTIVE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS URGENT FOR THE GOP AND THE MILITARY TO BE COOPERATING RATHER THAN CONFRONTING EACH OTHER; FAILURE TO DO SO COULD REPRESENT A FAILURE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS OFFERING GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR TERRORISM. GARCIA SHOULD BE CAREFULLY BALANCING THE NEED FOR A FULL INVESTIGATION INTO THE CHARGES WITH THE NEED NOT TO STRAIN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS. WE ARE STRESSING TO THE GOP AND THE MILITARY AND POLICE THE NEED FOR BOTH TO TRY TO RECONCILE ANY DIFFERENCES QUITELY AND PROPERLY. HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION MUST BE DEALT WITH, BUT WE STRONGLY HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE DONE IN WAYS THAT AVOID CONFRONTATION AND

SCAPEGOATING SO THAT THE GOP AND MILITARY WILL BE ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER TO COUNTER THEIR EXTREMELY SERIOUS TERRORIST THREAT.

5. WE HAVE THE SENSE THAT GARCIA HAS NOW BACKED OFF THE APOCALYPTIC LINE HE TOOK FRIDAY. WE HOPE THIS IS THE CASE; NEVERTHELESS, WE THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR ADDRESSEE POSTS TO CONTACT APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS AND DRAW ON THE FOREGOING AS APPROPRIATE AND MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

-- THE U.S. IS SHOCKED AT THE NEWS OF ABUSES FOLLOWING THE RE-CAPTURE OF THE THREE PRISONS NEAR LIMA FROM REBELLING SENDERO LUMINOSO PRISONERS.

"U.S. IS ALSO CONCERNED, HOWEVER, ABOUT REPORTS COMING OUT OF LIMA WHICH INDICATE A CONFRONTATION DEVELOPING BETWEEN GARCIA AND THE MILITARY. EVERYTHING MUST BE DONE TO ASSURE THAT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT SURVIVES THE PRESENT TENSIONS.
-- GARCIA SEEMS BENT ON CONFRONTATIONAL TACTICS WHICH WE VIEW AS DANGEROUS GIVEN THE DELICACY OF DEMOCRATIC INSITITUTIONS IN PERU. MOREOVER, GARCIA WILL NEED MILITARY SUPPORT TO OVERCOME THE SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY FROM THE VIOLENT LEFT.

- WE, THEREFORE, ASK YOUR INTERVENTION WITH GARCIA, HIS MINISTERS, AND OTHER INFLUENTIAL PERUVIANS IN COUNSELING A COURSE THAT SINGLES OUT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HORRIBLE ABUSES AT THE PRISONS BUT AVOIDS ATTACKING THE ARMED FORCES MORE BROADLY.

-- WE DO NOT HAVE INDICATIONS OF COUP-PLOTTING AT THIS TIME. TO THE CONTRARY, THE MILITARY SEEMS TO UNDERSTAND THE DEPTH OF GARCIA'S POPULARITY. WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS FOR GARCIA TO DEVELOP CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES WITH THE MILITARY AND POLICE, WHOM HE WILL NEED IN THE INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FIGHT AGAINST THE SL AND MRTA.

WHITEHEAD

NNNN