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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) CONFIDENTIAL

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HOWEVER, OF PRESIDENT FUJIMORI’S ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT OF SECURITY FORCE-LINKED RONDAS 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. (C) 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 TUSMLE 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 CONFIDENTIAL

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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
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MAYOLO, MONSEIGNEUR METZINGER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND BUSINESSMAN JULIO FAYRE.

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 CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01  LIMA 03172 02 DF 03 0223112
ACTION ARA-01

INFO LOG-00  ACDA-15  AMAD-01  CIAE-00  SJK-01  C-01  DDDE-00
DS-00  HA-09  H-01  INM-01  INRE-00  INR-01  L-03
ADS-00  NSAE-00  NSCE-00  GMB-01  PA-01  PM-01  PRS-01
P-01  SCT-03  SNP-01  SP-01  SS0-00  SS-01  TRSE-00
T-01  USIE-00  /O4EF
---------------------1586EF 0223112 /38
D 022300Z MAR 92
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6164
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
USCINCOS QUARRY HEIGHTS PM

CONFIDENTIAL 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
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02  LIMA 03172 02 DF 03 0223112
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
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HAVE FOR YEARS FOUGHT AGAINST AN ENEMY CREATED
BY THE FAILURES OF THE STATE."

7. (C) 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
RIGHTS/POLITICAL STRUGGLE. END COMMENT.

A LUKEWARM VIEW OF THE RONDAS FROM AZCUETA

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03  LIMA  03172  02 OF 03  022311Z

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
GIUSE 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
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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

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 LIMA 03172 02 DF 03 022311Z 10. (U) PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED, FOR RONDAS URBANAS AND SAID THE GOP WOULD GIVE URBAN COMMUNITIES "APPROPRIATE WEAPONS TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST SENDEROS" DURING A TELEVISION INTERVIEW ON FEBRUARY 22. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT SENDEROS' 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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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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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

CONFIDENTIAL

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 MOTOPE ISSUED AN OPEN LETTER ON THE SAME DAY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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

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14. (C) THE DEBATE ON THE RONDAS URBANAS, ESPECIALLY AMONG LEADERS FROM THE PUEBLOS
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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.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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##

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