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EXCISE

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ACTION ARA-00  
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COPY-21	ADS-20	AID-20	INR-13	SS-20	CIAE-20
DODE-20	H-21	NSCE-20	NSAE-20	COME-20	SSO-20
L-03	LAE-04	FRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01
SIL-21	INM-27	INRE-20	OPM-21	USIE-20	SP-22
PRS-01	DS-01	DSE-00	SCT-22	P-32	T-21

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O 230009Z MAY 87  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9719  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMEMPASSY QUITO  
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MB

OCT 3 1980

REVIEWED by Pugh DATE \_\_\_\_\_

RELEASE  DECLASSIFY

EXCISE  DECLASSIFY in PART

DENY  Non-responsive info.

FOIA EO or PA exemptions (b)(1)

TS authority to: \_\_\_\_\_

CLASSIFY as \_\_\_\_\_ OADR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 21 OF 23  
E.O. 12355: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PE  
SUBJECT: PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF VIOLENCE: GARCIA,  
LEON DE VIVERO, AND THE OPPOSITION  
REF: (A) FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PM 161710 2 MAY 87  
1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT GARCIA DEVOTED NEARLY  
HALF OF HIS MAY 15 SPEECH IN MONTEVIDEO TO  
THE SUBJECT OF SENDERO LUMINOSO VIOLENCE.  
IT WAS A REVEALING AND OFTEN THOUGHTFUL EXPO-  
SITION BUT NOT WITHOUT AN ODD ELEMENT.  
WHEREAS PERUVIANS NORMALLY CHARACTERIZE  
SENDERISTAS AS TERRORISTS, GARCIA SAID

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SENDERO IS A GUERRILLA INSURGENCY THAT  
EMPLOYS TERRORIST METHODS -- A USEFUL AND  
ACCURATE DISTINCTION. WHEREAS MOST  
PERUVIANS STILL REGARD SENDERO VIOLENCE AS  
IMPORTED AND SUPPORTED FROM ABROAD, THE  
PRESIDENT SAID EMPHATICALLY THAT NEITHER  
IS THE CASE. ENTIRELY HOME GROWN, SENDERO

VIOLENCE IS UTOPIAN AND EMOTIONAL ("POL POT-ISH").  
NOT RATIONAL LIKE GUERRILLA VIOLENCE OF THE  
1960'S. IT IS THE "FOURTH SWORD OF ENTER-  
NATIONAL MARXISM-LLENINISM." SO LET'S SAY  
PERUVIANS CAN BE PROUD OF IT. IF NOTED  
IRONICALLY. FRUSTRATION THAT THERE IS NO  
REAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF SENDERO

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VIOLENCE AND PLAINTIVE APPEALS FOR UNDER-  
STANDING FROM INTERNATIONAL JOURNALISM  
RUN THROUGHOUT THE SPEECH.

3. THE DAY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT SPOKE IN MONTEVIDEO, ONE OF THE APRA OLD GUARD, CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES PRESIDENT FERNANDO LEON DE VIVERO, MADE HEADLINE-CATCHING REMARKS TO THE EFFECT THAT APRA WOULD NOT TURN THE OTHER CHEEK TO VIOLENCE. LEON'S REMARKS WERE SEIZED UPON BY THE LEFT AND HAVE PROMPTED A GOOD DEAL OF PRIVATE COMMENT. OCCASIONAL PRESS REPORTS OF ALLEGED APRA ARMING OF PARAMILITARY CADRES CONTINUE TO SURFACE. END SUMMARY.

4. GARCIA'S REMARKS ARE CARRIED VERBATIM IN THE REFERENCED FEIS ITEM FROM CHIVA CHIVA. GARCIA WAS SPEAKING AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

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CONFERENCE IN MONTEVIDEO. HE ALMOST DID NOT MAKE THE TRIP BECAUSE OF A POLICE STRIKE THAT WAS GETTING UNDERWAY THE DAY OF HIS VISIT TO MONTEVIDEO MAY 15. THAT HE DID GO INDICATES BOTH A DESIRE NOT TO ALLOW PROBLEMS AT HOME TO BE SEEN ABROAD AS DICTATING HIS ACTIVITIES AND, JUDGING FROM THE SPEECH ITSELF, A STRONG DESIRE TO SPEAK ABOUT SENDERO VIOLENCE. (THE OTHER HALF OF THE SPEECH -- DEALING WITH DEBT -- WAS UNEXCEPTIONAL EXCEPT FOR A PARENTHETICAL OBSERVATION

THAT BREAKING WITH THE IMF HAD "PERHAPS" BEEN A "MISTAKE.")

5. GARCIA BEGINS ON A PLAINTIVE NOTE OF FRUSTRATION -- DESPITE APRA EFFORTS TO REPRESENT SOMETHING NEW FOR PERU, "NEWS, TERRORISM AND DEATH DEFEAT US." SENDERO VIOLENCE "IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, BUT AGAINST ALL THE PEOPLE." IN PERU, WE HAVE A GUERRILLA MOVEMENT THAT USES TERRORIST METHODS FOR PROPAGANDISTIC PURPOSES, GARCIA SAID. "WHAT WE REALLY HAVE IS AN ONGOING GUERRILLA MOVEMENT ATTEMPTING TO LIBERATE A CENTRAL AREA IN THE PERUVIAN ANDES AND TO TAKE OVER THE ENTIRE COUNTRY." GARCIA ALSO DEBUNKS AS BASELESS AN ATTITUDE THAT IS COMMON AMONG PERUVIAN ELITES: THAT SENDERO

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IS SOMEHOW IMPORTED AND MUST BE SUPPORTED  
FROM ABROAD. NOT SO, THE PRESIDENT SAID  
(AT LEAST WITH RESPECT TO WEAPONS). SENDERO  
ACQUIRES ALL ITS WEAPONS FROM ITS ENEMY,  
THE POLICE AND SECURITY FORCES, AND HAS  
NO TROUBLE ACQUIRING DYNAMITE IN THIS MINING

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	SNP-21	PRS-21	DS-01	DSE-22	SCT-22	P-22	T-21

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9722

INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA

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AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

AMEMBASSY QUITO

USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM

USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 LIMA 25893

E.O. 12355: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PTER, PGCV, PHUM, PF

SUBJECT: PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF VIOLENCE: GARCIA, COUNTRY.

5. STATING SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE SEEKS ONLY TO UNDERSTAND CURRENT PERUVIAN VIOLENCE, NOT TO JUSTIFY IT, GARCIA NOTES THAT SINDFRISTAS ARE NOT "IDEOLOGICAL" OR "RATIONAL" GUERRILLAS OF THE CHE GUEVARA SORT. RATHER, "CURRENT VIOLENCE IS CLOSER TO PASSIONATE FEELINGS AND EMOTIONAL IMPULSES." HE ALSO EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF A RADICALLY DIFFERENT CONCEPT OF TIME AMONG NON-EUROPEAN PERUVIANS OF THE ANDES: "TO A PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT SEEN CHANGE

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FOR CENTURIES, CHANGE DOES NOT EXIST; TO A PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT SEEN POSSIBILITIES FOR CHANGE . . . CHANGE IS NOT PART OF A REASONING THAT BUILDS GRADUALLY BUT OF AN FICTION THAT DESTROYS . . . TO SUCH PEOPLE, THE STANDARD

OF LIVING (IN THE COASTAL CITIES) IS PERCEIVED NOT AS AN OBJECTIVE TO BE ACHIEVED INCREMENTALLY BUT AS A DISRUPTION OF TIME AND INSPIRES AN IMPULSE TO DESTROY. SEND TO: LIMA AND SO: SS. CHARACTERIZED BY "UTOPIANISM" AND IS "ESSENTIALLY TOTALITARIAN" AND "POL POT-IST," TO WHICH LIFE IS MEANINGLESS. UNLIKE THE VIOLENCE OF THE 1960'S, CARRIED OUT ON BEHALF

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OF THE POOR AGAINST THE POWERFUL, THE VIOLENCE OF SENDERO TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THE ISOLATION OF PEASANT COMMUNITIES AND IS TARGETED INITIALLY AGAINST THE POOR. PEASANTS HAVE BEEN COERCED AND VIOLENTLY FORCED TO PARTICIPATE IN DEFENSE OF IDEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS THAT THEY HAVE NEVER UNDERSTOOD. 7. IN A PECULIAR PASSAGE, GARCIA STATES THAT SENDERO DOCTRINE IS THE MOST RADICAL AND TOTALITARIAN IN THE WORLD, AND: "WE PERUVIANS CAN BE PROUD OF THAT. IN OUR COUNTRY, WE HAVE THE FOURTH SWORD OF INTERNATIONAL MARXISM-LENINISM." (NOTE: WE ASSUME THIS STATEMENT WAS A DISPLAY OF IRONY.) GARCIA THEN UNDERSCORED SL'S "MILLENARIAN MESSIANISM."

8. GARCIA'S REMARKS GOT RELATIVELY SCANT ATTENTION IN THE LIMA PRESS. COMMENTS BY APRA OCTOGENARIAN FERNANDO LEON DE VIVERO, HOWEVER, WERE HEADLINES IN SEVERAL PAPERS.

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SPEAKING AT A PROVINCIAL GATHERING OF PUBLIC WORKS LABORERS, LEON DE VIVERO SAID THAT APRA WILL DEFEND ITSELF "TOOTH AND CLAW, RESPONDING TO VIOLENCE WITH VIOLENCE MULTIPLIED FOUR OR FIVE TIMES OVER. WE WILL NOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE INTIMIDATED, AND IN THE END WE WILL WIN THE BATTLE AGAINST

SENDERO LUMINOSO." "WE WILL DEFEND OURSELVES WITH LEGAL ARMS AND WITH THOSE ARMS DICTATED BY OUR EMOTIONS (LITERALLY "THAT OUR GLANDS DICTATE"), BECAUSE THE PHILOSOPHY OF TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK IS FINE FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO BE SAINTS, BUT NOT FOR US . . . APPARENTLY CAUTIONED BY AN APRA DEPUTY AT HIS SIDE THAT HIS REMARK MIGHT BE CONSTRUED AS ENDORSING VIOLENCE, LEON WAS NOT TO BE REPRESSED: "I DON'T CARE IF THE PAPERS SAY I SUPPORT VIOLENCE, IT'S JUST THAT WE CANNOT REMAIN IMPASSIVE."

9. LEON DE VIVERO'S REMARKS DID PROVOKE AN OUTBURST FROM THE MARXIST "LA VOZ," WHICH LABELED THEM A "BARBARITY." IU STALWARTS WHOSE ACTIVITIES TAKE THEM TO THE BRINK OF ILLEGALITY -- SUCH AS JAVIER DIEZ CANSECO AND GENARO LEDISMA -- CALLED FOR AS DISAVOWED BY APRA OR HAVE LEON DE VIVERO'S STATEMENT BE TAKEN AS THE GOVERNMENT'S OFFICIAL POSITION. OTHERS DISMISSED LEON DE VIVERO'S

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STATEMENTS AS MANIFESTATIONS OF "SEKILTY" OR,  
TAKING A DIFFERENT TACK, AS "NOTHING NEW."  
VIRTUALLY ALL WHO COMMENTED SAW IN LEON DE  
VIVERO'S REMARKS AN INDIRECT CONFIRMATION  
OF A POTENTIAL RESORT TO PARA-MILITARY GROUPS.  
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PRS-01	DS-01	DSE-20	SCT-22	P-02	T-01

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O 230006Z MAY 87  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9721  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM  
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM  
C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 23 OF 23 LIMA 25893

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PTER, PGOV, PHUM, PE  
SUBJECT: PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF VIOLENCE: GARCIA,  
10. IN A RELATED DEVELOPMENT, LIMA DAILY  
"EXPRESO" REPORTED MAY 17 THAT AN ANTI-  
SENDERO LUMINOSO HIT SQUAD HAD SURFACED IN  
TARAPOTO, SAN MARTIN DEPARTMENT, LOCATED IN  
THE LOWER HUALLAGA VALLEY. ACCORDING TO  
THIS ARTICLE, SENDERO LUMINOSO FIRST MADE  
AN APPEARANCE IN TARAPOTO, ANNOUNCING ITSELF  
THROUGH LEAFLETS AND GRAFFITI. SENDERO'S  
PRESENCE WAS QUICKLY ANSWERED BY THREATS,  
CARRIED IN THE LOCAL PRESS, THAT VIOLENCE  
WOULD BE TURNED AGAINST THE TERRORISTS  
THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES. THE THREATS  
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WERE ISSUED BY A GROUP CALLING ITSELF THE  
SAN MARTIN ANNIHILATION SQUAD.

11. COMMENT: THE QUESTION OF PARAMILITARY  
GROUPS IN AFRICA HAS BEEN ON THE MARGINS OF  
PUBLIC DISCUSSION FOR AT LEAST A YEAR BUT

HAS MOVED CLOSER TO CENTER RECENTLY AS  
TERRORIST VIOLENCE HAS UPPEDED THE LEVEL OF  
FRUSTRATION AND ANGER IN AFRICA. VISE  
MINISTER OF LABOR VICTOR SALAS, A  
DEDICATED AFRISTA, RECENTLY ADMITTED TO US  
THAT THERE ARE THOSE IN THE PARTY (HE NAMED  
ARMANDO VILLANUEVA AND ALBERTO KITASONG)  
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WHO FAVOR RESORT TO "SELF-PROTECTIVE" MEASURES. HE MENTIONED IN PARTICULAR THAT ONE OF APRA'S MORE NOTORIOUS "BUFALOS, PACHECO (WHO SURFACED IN JANUARY IN A SUNDAY -PMENT INTERVIEW IN OPPOSITION "LA REPUBLICA") HAS BEEN SEEKING AUTHORITY TO BE "LET LOOSE," TO AVENGE SENDERO MURDERS.

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FINALLY, WE NOTE THAT DURING THE POLICE STRIKE, ONE OF THE POLICE DEMANDS WAS THAT THEY NOT BE REQUIRED TO COMMIT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (SEPTEL). THIS CAN BE TAKEN MORE AS AN INDICATION THAT RADICAL LEFTIST ELEMENTS WERE PRESENT IN STRIKE ACTIVITY THAN AS CONFIRMATION OF POLICE ABUSES. BUT IT NONETHELESS POINTS TO THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE IN AT LEAST POLITICAL TERMS.

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WHO FAVOR RESORT TO "SELF-PROTECTION" MEASURES. HE MENTIONED IN PARTICULAR THAT ONE OF APRA'S MORE NOTORIOUS "BUFALOS", PACHECO (WHO SURFACED IN JANUARY IN A SUNDAY -FRONT INTERVIEW IN OPPOSITION "LA REPUBLICA") HAS BEEN SEEKING AUTHORITY TO BE "LET LOOSE," TO AVENGE SENDERO MURDERS.

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FINALLY, WE NOTE THAT DURING THE POLICE STRIKE, ONE OF THE POLICE DEMANDS WAS THAT THEY NOT BE REQUIRED TO COMMIT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (SEPTEL). THIS CAN BE TAKEN MORE AS AN INDICATION THAT RADICAL LEFTIST ELEMENTS WERE PRESENT IN STRIKE ACTIVITY THAN AS CONFIRMATION OF POLICE ABUSES. BUT IT NONETHELESS POINTS TO THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE IN AT LEAST POLITICAL TERMS.

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