Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
S

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13769
Folder ID Number: 13769-004

Folder Title:
Fujimori Departure Statement 9/17/91 [OA 8328] [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	21	6	1

Office of Andean Affairs
(ARA/AND) - Room 5906
Bureau of Inter-American Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520
Fax: (202) 647-2628

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

Date: September 6

To: Jennifer Grossman

From: Bruce Williamson

Tel: (202) 647-3076

Number of pages including cover sheet: 5

Remarks: Fujimori Speeches

ROUTINE

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ARA/NEA REARCS

PAGE 01 112124Z 030401 S058950
INFO: ARA (01) PPC (01) OAS (01) PPA (01) PE (02) DAND (01) SPA (01)
PHC (01) RJ (01)
---------- 11/2144Z A2 LM (TOTAL COPIES: 010)
ACTION INR-01

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 ARA-00 DS-00 INRE-00 PA-02 /005W
----------70E1BE 112124Z /38

R 111823Z JUN 91
FM FBIS ASUNCION PA
TO AIG 4673
AIG 4681
CDR7477THMIBN GALETA ISLAND PM
FAISA FT BRAGG NC
XVIII ABN CORPS INTEL CEN FT BRAGG NC
SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/ISD/DC//
AMEMBASSY LIMA
CDR 5-87 INF BN FT DAVIS PM//S-2//
CDR 193D INF BDE (L) FT CLAYTON PM//S-2//
FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PM
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2//
61MAG HOWARD AFB PM//DOY//
CDR 1-508 INF BN HOWARD AFB PM//S-2//
ACCT FBPY-EWDK

UNCLAS GR

SERIAL: PY1106182391
PASS: COPY TO PROD TOT

COUNTRY: PERU
SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 2 -- FUJIMORI COMMEMORATES ELECTION VICTORY

REF: PY1106034591 FYI -- FUJIMORI COMMEMORATES ELECTION VICTORY

SOURCE: LIMA RTP TELEVISION NETWORK IN SPANISH 0218 GMT 11 JUN 91
TEXT:

//((SPEECH BY PERUVIAN PRESIDENT ALBERTO FUJIMORI BEFORE THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF CHANGE-90 GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS, COMMEMORATING THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HIS ELECTION VICTORY, FROM THE CRILLON HOTEL IN LIMA -- LIVE; MONITORED IN PROGRESS))

((EXCERPTS)) ... ((APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS)) THAT MINORITY GROUP, DISGUISED IN DIFFERENT WAYS, HAS ALWAYS TRIED TO PERPETUATE A STATUS QUO THAT IS MARKED BY EXPLOITATION, DISREGARD OF THE PEOPLE, AND VIOLENCE. WHAT AT FIRST SEEMED TO BE JUST A VERY FEW TURNED OUT TO BE MILLIONS OF SUPPORTERS OF OUR MOVEMENT. ((APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS)) ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

TODAY, POWER IS NOT IN THE HANDS OF ANY FOREIGN INTEREST. WE ARE IMPLEMENTING AN ECONOMIC POLICY THAT DOES NOT IMPOSE MUCH SACRIFICE AND THAT DOES NOT MAKE THE RICH GET RICHER. THOSE WHO THINK THAT WE ARE NOT IMPLEMENTING THAT POLICY ARE ABSOLUTELY MISTAKEN.

WE MUST FIRST BUILD A NEW STATE THAT WILL SERVE SOCIETY AND NOT ITSELF; A STATE WHICH WILL GAIN THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE; A STATE WHICH WILL HAVE ITS AUTHORITY RESTORED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. WE MUST CONTINUE TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS TO FULLY DEMOCRATIZE THE ECONOMY THROUGH AN AUTHENTIC MARKET ECONOMY. WE NEED TO HARNESS ALL THE CREATIVE ENERGY OF THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE IN THE QUEST FOR THE WEALTH THAT IS SO DESIRED BY OUR PEOPLE.

THERE ARE MANY ACTIONS AND STEPS YET TO BE TAKEN TOWARD THAT OBJECTIVE. WE HAVE ALREADY TAKEN SOME IMPORTANT STEPS, DEFEATING THE RESISTANCE OF POWERFUL INTERESTS. ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

FULLY COMPLYING WITH THE PEOPLE'S DEMANDS, WE HAVE GONE TO THE UNIVERSITIES, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE ARMED FORCES ON BEHALF OF CIVILIANS, TO END THE PREVAILING DISORDER AND THE ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH A TOTALITARIAN REGIME IN THOSE UNIVERSITIES. WE WANT THE

COMMON MAN WHO LIVES OFF HIS DAILY WORK, WHO PAYS HIS TAXES, AND WHO MAINTAINS HIS CHILDREN AT THE UNIVERSITY, TO FEEL THAT THERE IS A STATE AND THERE IS AN AUTHORITY. ((APPLAUSE, CHANTING))

112124Z 030401 S058950

IN PERU WE HAVE FORGOTTEN THE EXISTENCE OF A LEGALLY CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY. AT SAN MARCOS AND LA CANTUTA UNIVERSITIES WE FOUND SUBVERSIVE SLOGANS PAINTED ON THE WALLS AND FLAGS OTHERS THAN OURS HOISTED WITH ABSOLUTE IMPUNITY, WHILE OFFICIALS, PROFESSORS, WORKERS, AND STUDENTS WERE BEING THREATENED.

A CLIMATE OF TERROR PREVAILED THERE, AND THE STATE OF LAW CANNOT ADMIT THIS. I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE TERRORIST GROUPS IN THESE UNIVERSITIES HAD SO MUCH POWER THAT THEY EVEN HANDLED THE UNIVERSITY CURRICULA, THAT IS, THEY DECIDED ON THE COURSES AND CAREERS TO BE FOLLOWED. THESE ARMED GROUPS, REAL CRIMINAL GANGS, USED FEAR TO HAVE THEIR DECISIONS OBEYED. THIS HAS NOW ENDED BECAUSE THE PEOPLE NO LONGER WANT THEM, BECAUSE THE PEOPLE NO LONGER TOLERATE SUBVERSION. ((APPLAUSE AND SHOUTS)) ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

I HOPE PERUVIANS WILL PARDON ME FOR SPEAKING FRANKLY AND OPENLY, BUT THIS IS BETTER THAN BEING DECEIVED WITH BEAUTIFUL WORDS. WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THE TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM IS IN CRISIS IN PERU, AND WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THIS TO LATIN AMERICA.

THE ORGANIZED MANIPULATION AND THE SOPHISTICATED ELECTORAL APPARATUS, WHICH ARE AMONG THE TRADITIONAL POLITICAL FORCES, HAVE FAILED BECAUSE, DURING THE FIRST 10 MONTHS OF THE FIRST INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN THIS CENTURY, THE PEOPLE HAVE BECOME AWARE OF THE REAL SITUATION OF WHO IS GIVING THEM LIFE AND OF WHAT CAN BE DONE AND CAN BE ACHIEVED IN PERU WHEN THE MINDS AND HANDS ARE CLEAN, WHEN THERE ARE NO PARTY EXECUTIVE BOARDS ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)). OF COURSE, IT HAS BEEN VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO REACH THIS POINT. HOW MANY GOVERNMENT FORMULAS HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED OVER THE PAST 40 YEARS? HOW MANY ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MODELS HAVE BEEN TRIED? THE COMMON DENOMINATOR OF ALL THESE EXPERIMENTS HAS BEEN THE POLITICIZED,

NONTECHNICAL, AND DEMAGOGIC HANDLING OF NATIONAL PROBLEMS. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS))

AS I SAID, THESE 10 MONTHS OF INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT HAVE DEMONSTRATED WHAT CAN BE DONE WHEN THERE ARE NO BINDING PROBLEMS OF THIS NATURE. AND YET, THERE IS AN ATTEMPT TO PLACE US AMONG THE OTHER TRADITIONAL MODELS.

FACED WITH A PROFOUND OVERALL CRISIS, ISOLATION FROM THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL COMMUNITY, DISARRAY IN ALMOST ALL PUBLIC ENTERPRISES, AND A NATIONAL TREASURY SO BANKRUPT THAT IT COULD ONLY MAKE MINIMUM PURCHASES -- FACED WITH ALL THAT REALITY, PRAGMATISM HAS POINTED THE WAY TO SOLUTIONS, NOT THROUGH AN ORTHODOX OR A HETERODOX ECONOMIC POLICY, NOT THROUGH LIBERALISM OR POPULISM. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS))

WITH PEOPLE LIKE YOU, TEMPERED BY GREAT NEEDS AND GREAT SACRIFICES, NOTHING AND NO ONE WILL DEFEAT US, NEITHER INTERNAL OR FOREIGN FOES. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I AM SO VERY PROUD OF HAVING BEEN ABLE TO TRANSMIT YOUR COLLECTIVE VOICES TO POWER ((APPLAUSE)) BECAUSE I DO NOT FEEL SEPARATED FROM THAT SPONTANEOUS SIMPLE PHILOSOPHY THAT NURTURES PERUVIANS LIKE YOU, AND WHICH I TRIED TO SYNTHESIZE IN THIS SLOGAN: HONESTY, TECHNOLOGY, AND WORK. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS)) ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

(MORE) 1102/8 FCC/ELSAM/MDP RRE22166.03 11/2050Z JUN

ROUTINE

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ARA/NEA REARCS

PAGE 01 112126Z 030403 S059008 112126Z 030403 S059008
INFO: ARA (01) PPC (01) OAS (01) PPA (01) PE (02) DAND (01) SPA (01)
PMC (01) RJ (01)
---------- 11/2144Z A2 LM (TOTAL COPIES: 010)
ACTION INR-01

INFO LOG-00 AID-00 ARA-00 DS-00 INRE-00 PA-02 /005W
----------70E1E1 112126Z /38
R 111939Z JUN 91
FM FBIS ASUNCION PA
TO AIG 4673
AIG 4681
CDR747TRMIBN GALETA ISLAND PM
FAISA FT BRAGG NC
XVIII ABN CORPS INTEL CEN FT BRAGG NC
SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/ISD/DC//
AMEMBASSY LIMA
CDR 5-87 INF BN FT DAVIS PM//S-2//
CDR 193D INF BDE (L) FT CLAYTON PM//S-2//
FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PM
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ2//
61MAG HOWARD AFB PM//DOY//
CDR 1-508 INF BN HOWARD AFB PM//S-2//
ACCT FBPY-EWDK

UNCLAS 6R

SERIAL: PY1106193991
PASS: COPY TO PROD TOT

COUNTRY: PERU
SUBJ: TAKE 2 OF 2 -- FUJIMORI COMMEMORATES ELECTION VICTORY

REF: PY1106182391 LIMA RTP TELEVISION NETWORK SPANISH 110218
///SHOUTS)) ((PADDAGE OMITTED))

TEXT:

((EXCERPTS)) I KNOW THAT SUBVERSION IS A DANGEROUS, CUNNING, AND MEAN ENEMY, BUT I AM NOT AFRAID OF IT. LONG AGO I LEARNED THAT THE PEOPLE ARE ALSO NOT AFRAID. THE ONLY THING THAT WAS MISSING WAS THAT THE STATE HAD TO MAKE ITS PRESENCE FELT IN AREAS IN WHICH IT WAS ABSENT. THE PEOPLE ARE NOT AFRAID, BUT THESE CRIMINALS ARE ARMED AND CAPABLE OF ANYTHING, EVEN THE MOST HORRIBLE CRIMES. THAT IS WHY WE WILL REESTABLISH AUTHORITY WHERE IT IS NECESSARY.

I KNOW THE PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT ME AS THEY DID THROUGHOUT THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN WHEN I ENTERED THE EMERGENCY ZONES, THE SO-CALLED RED-ZONES; THE ZONES WERE SUBVERSION IS BELIEVED TO BE BASED: IN AYACUCHO, IN HUANCAVELICA, IN PUNO, IN LIMA, IN HUAYCAN, AND EVEN INTO THE LION'S DEN IN CANTO GRANDE, AND EVERYWHERE THE PEOPLE PROTECTED US. ((CHEERS))

NOW YOU CAN SEE THE SITUATION AT THE SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY CAMPUS. NOW THE OLDEST AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IS CLEAN AND IN ORDER. WE WILL SOON PLANT NEW TREES THERE. IMAGINE IF WE COULD DO THE SAME ALL THROUGHOUT PERU.

IT IS SAID THAT THE UNIVERSITY IS THE REFLECTION OF SOCIETY AND OF THE COUNTRY. NOW THAT THE UNIVERSITY IS CLEAN, LET US CLEAN AND ADORN THE COUNTRY. LET US ADORN IT THE WAY IT DESERVES TO BE, AND LET US NOT ALLOW FOUR OR FIVE MALADJUSTED INDIVIDUALS TO SPOIL IT. ((CHEERS, CHANTING OF SLOGANS)) ((PASSAGE OMITTED))

I DO NOT WANT TO END WITHOUT ASKING YOU, OR RATHER, WITHOUT DEMANDING FROM YOU WHO ARE THE PILLARS OF OUR MOVEMENT, TO COMPLY WITH OUR BASIC PRINCIPLES: HONESTY, TECHNOLOGY, AND WORK. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS))

I DECLARE THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CHANGE-90 GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATIONS CLOSED. ((SHOUTS))

VIVA PERU. ((APPLAUSE, SHOUTS))
(ENDALL) 110218 FCC/ELSAM/MDP RRE22115.04 11/2054Z JUN

ROUTINE

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

Peru - Fujimori

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ARA/NEA REARCS

PAGE 01 Ø15352 S098212
INFO: ARA (Ø1) PPC (Ø1) OAS (Ø1) PPA (Ø1) DM (ØØ) PE (Ø2) DAND (Ø1)
RJ (Ø1) PMC (Ø1) SPA (Ø1)
---------- 27/2ØØ4Z A1 LM (TOTAL COPIES: Ø1Ø)
ACTION INR-Ø2

INFO LOG-ØØ ARA-ØØ INRE-ØØ PA-Ø2 /ØØ5W
----------46E879 2719222Z /38
R 2716ØØZ FEB 91
FM FBIS ASUNCION PA
TO AIG 4673
CDR747THMIBN GALETA ISLAND PM
SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/ISD/DC//
AMEMBASSY LIMA
CDR 193D INF BDE (L) FT CLAYTON PM//S-2//
FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PM
XMT USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM//CMOTF//
CDR47ØTHMIGP CORDZAL PM//1AGPP-O-AS//
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA//J2//
SECOND MAFG
COMUSNAVSO FT AMADOR PM
NAVSECGRUACT GALETA ISLAND PM
CDRUSASOIC WASH DC//DIS//
CDR USARSO FT CLAYTON PM//SOBA//
USCOMSOLANT
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM//IN//
ACCT FBPY-EWDK

UNCLAS GR

SERIAL: PY27Ø216ØØ91

COUNTRY: PERU
SUBJ: TAKE 1 OF 2 -- FUJIMORI ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION

SOURCE: LIMA RTP TELEVISION NETWORK IN SPANISH Ø3ØØ GMT 27 FEB 91
TEXT:

//((ADDRESS TO THE NATION BY PERUVIAN PRESIDENT ALBERTO FUJIMORI// PLACE AND DATE NOT GIVEN -- RECORDED))

((TEXT)) GOOD EVENING, DEAR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN. I AM ADDRESSING YOU TO OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCE MY PROPOSAL ON THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF GOVERNMENT DECISIONS, A PROPOSAL YOU HAVE ALREADY HEARD ABOUT THROUGH THE MEDIA. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY UNOBJECTIVE AND UNFOUNDED INTERPRETATIONS AND MUCH SPECULATION BASED ON PREJUDICES FOLLOWING THE INITIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS MEASURE.

PEOPLE MAY BE ASKING THEMSELVES HOW THIS PROPOSAL WILL BENEFIT THEM EXACTLY. I THINK THIS QUESTION MUST BE ANSWERED. IN PERU THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF LAWS AND REGULATIONS WHICH THE CITIZENRY MUST OBEY BUT WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE PEOPLE, MUST BE IMPROVED OR ELIMINATED. I AM REFERRING TO LAWS AND NORMS AFFECTING EVERYONE'S DAILY LIFE. FOR EXAMPLE, WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ON IMPORTING FOOD? SHOULD FOOD BE FREELY IMPORTED OR NOT? WHAT ABOUT OUR NATIONAL INDUSTRY? IS IT NECESSARY TO PROTECT IT? HOW?

THESE DECISIONS ARE CONNECTED WITH THE PRICES OF THE FOOD YOU EAT. THE SAME THING HAPPENS WITH THE SALE OF MEDICINES. MUST WE CONTINUE TO RESTRICT THE OPENING OF NEW DRUGSTORES? THIS IS WHY MORE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION FROM THE PEOPLE IS NEEDED TO SOLVE NATIONAL PROBLEMS.

FOR MOST PEOPLE, DEMOCRACY HAS ONLY MEANT VOTING. AFTER THE ELECTIONS THE PEOPLE DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISIONS. IN PRACTICE, THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ARE FREE TO DECIDE WHAT IS CONVENIENT OR NOT FOR THE WELL-BEING AND HAPPINESS OF PERUVIANS. THE PEOPLE'S ASPIRATIONS MAY OR MAY NOT BE FULFILLED, AND THE PEOPLE OFTEN FEEL DISAPPOINTED, FORGOTTEN, AND PUSHED ASIDE. ANY OPINION THAT COMES UP AND REACHES THE CENTERS OF DECISIONMAKING DOES NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE OPINION OF THE PEOPLE. THIS CAN LEAD TO DISPUTES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION, WHICH USES THE PEOPLE'S DISCONTENT FOR ITS OWN POLITICAL INTERESTS.

Ø15352 S098212

BUT WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF OUR DEMOCRACY WERE LESS FORMAL AND MORE AUTHENTIC, AS IN MORE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES? THE PEOPLE WOULD COMMUNICATE WITH THEIR GOVERNORS AND PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT DECISIONS AND IN BUILDING THEIR FUTURE. BUT OUR WEAK DEMOCRACY, WITH ITS LACK OF CONSISTENCY, GUARANTEES THE CONTRARY: THE POWER OF MINORITIES.

THIS IS WHY WE HAVE PROTEGES OF POWERFUL POLITICIANS. AS SOON AS THERE IS A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT, THESE PROTEGES ARE INSTALLED IN POWER AND THEY BEGIN, AS WE SAY, BOSSING PEOPLE AROUND. THE PEOPLE HAVE WITNESSED HOW MY GOVERNMENT HAS TRIED TO DO SOMETHING FOR THE POOR AND THE MASSES. AS SOON AS THE INTERESTS OF SOME PRIVILEGED MINORITIES WERE TOUCHED, HOWEVER, THESE MINORITIES IMMEDIATELY STARTED ACTIVATING ALL THEIR RESOURCES TO PREVENT US FROM ADOPTING ANY MEASURE.

IT IS NOT UNUSUAL FOR POWERFUL ECONOMIC INTERESTS, AS IN THE CASE OF THE FOOD AND MEDICINE MONOPOLIES, TO ALLY WITH SOME BUREAUCRATIC DECISIONMAKERS TO DEFEND -- AT ANY EXPENSE AND IN OPEN CHALLENGE TO THE GOVERNMENT -- THEIR INTERESTS. THE PEOPLE ARE MERELY SPECTATORS IN THIS GOVERNMENT DISPUTE AND THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO DEFEND THEIR INTERESTS.

THROUGHOUT THIS CENTURY THE COUNTRY HAS SEEN THE DISPUTE BETWEEN RENEWING AND REGRESSIVE POLITICAL PROJECTS TAKING PLACE ON A STAGE WHERE THE PERUVIAN STATE AND DOMINANT MINORITIES ARE THE PERFORMERS. THIS DISPUTE IS WHAT THE PEOPLE, WITH WISDOM AND COMMON SENSE, CALL THE WHITE MAN'S DISPUTE ((LIO DE BLANCOS)). THE PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FORCED TO BE SPECTATORS, NEVER PERFORMERS.

ALL THE TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND MINORITIES SPOKE IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE, AS IF THE PEOPLE DID NOT KNOW HOW TO SPEAK. THE PEOPLE WERE NEVER GIVEN REAL PARTICIPATION IN THE GREAT DECISIONS THAT AFFECTED OUR NATIONAL LIFE. OUR RECENT DECISION TO PUBLISH THE PENAL CODE DRAFT BILL HAS PRODUCED SEVERAL COMMENTS FROM INSTITUTIONS AND CONGRESSMEN. WE THEN ASKED OURSELVES WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED IF THE CONTROVERSIAL LAW ON BANK NATIONALIZATION HAD BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE PEOPLE AND ALL SOCIAL SECTORS FOR AN OPEN TECHNICAL DISCUSSION. WITHOUT A DOUBT WE WOULD HAVE SAVED OURSELVES MANY UNNECESSARY CONFRONTATIONS.

AN AUTHENTIC DEMOCRACY SHOULD HAVE A SINGLE STAGE: A NATIONAL ONE, WHERE ALL ACTORS HAVE THE SAME OPPORTUNITY. THAT IS WHAT WE MEAN WHEN WE SPEAK OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. I ASK MYSELF: IS THIS PERHAPS IMPOSSIBLE OR UTOPIAN? DEEP DOWN, THOSE WHO OPPOSE A TOTAL, MODERN DEMOCRACY ACTUALLY FAVOR AN ILLUSORY DEMOCRACY WHICH IS ACTUALLY A FORM OF BUREAUCRATIC, ARISTOCRATIC, OR SIMPLY PARTICRATIC ((PARTIDOCRATICA)) DOMINATION.

(MORE) 27Ø3ØØ PAT/HARDY/MDP GJH21272.12 27/1830Z FEB

ROUTINE

UNCLASSIFIED

INCOMING

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ARA/NEA REARCS

PAGE Ø1 Ø15362 S098487
INFO: ARA (Ø1) PPC (Ø1) OAS (Ø1) PPA (Ø1) DM (ØØ) PE (Ø2) DAND (Ø1)
RJ (Ø1) PMC (Ø1) SPA (Ø1)
---------- 27/2005Z A1 LM (TOTAL COPIES: Ø1Ø)
ACTION INR-Ø2

INFO LOG-ØØ ARA-ØØ INRE-ØØ PA-Ø2 /ØØ5W
----------46E97B 271935Z /38
R 2717422 FEB 91
FM FBIS ASUNCION PA
TO AIG 4673
CDR747THMIBN GALETA ISLAND PM
SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC//INR/ISD/DC//
AMEMBASSY LIMA
CDR 193D INF BDE (L) FT CLAYTON PM//S-2//
FBIS CHIVA CHIVA PM
XMT USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM//CMOTF//
CDR470THMIGP COROZAL PM//IAGPP-O-AS//
USCINCLANT NORFOLK VA//J2//
SECOND MAFC
COMUSNAVSO FT AMADOR PM
NAVSECGRUACT GALETA ISLAND PM
CDRUSASOIC WASH DC//DIS//
CDR USARSO FT CLAYTON PM//SOBA//
USCOMSOLANT
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM//IN//
ACCT FBPY-EWDK

UNCLAS GR

SERIAL: PY2702174291

COUNTRY: PERU
SUBJ: TAKE 2 OF 2 -- FUJIMORI ON POPULAR PARTICIPATION

REF: PY2702160091 LIMA RTP TELEVISION NETWORK SPANISH 270300
///PARTICRATIC ((PARTIDOCRATICA)) DOMINATION.

TEXT:

((TEXT)) FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, I WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT BECAUSE I PROMISED A POLITICAL AND MORAL RENEWAL. THIS GOAL IS AT THE CORE OF MY POLITICAL ACTION. MANY OF YOU BELIEVED MY PROPOSALS WERE THE NECESSARY ANSWER TO THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE COUNTRY. YOU ELECTED ME BECAUSE I PROMISED CHANGE, AND ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CHANGES I AM PROPOSING IS TO CHANGE THE PEOPLE'S PASSIVE ATTITUDE. WE DO NOT WANT DEMOCRACY TO BE JUST A FORMALITY OR THE EXCLUSIVE SPHERE OF POLITICIZED PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL CITIZENS TO PARTICIPATE.

I WANT TO EXPLAIN TO ALL MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, IN SIMPLE TERMS, THIS VERY IMPORTANT PROPOSAL FOR DEMOCRATIZING GOVERNMENT DECISIONS SO NO ONE WILL BE FOOLED OR MANIPULATED IN THE FUTURE, SO EACH CITIZEN CAN REACH HIS OWN CONCLUSIONS ABOUT GOVERNMENT ACTIONS.

THIS MEASURE WILL ALLOW PEOPLE TO GET ACQUAINTED WITH ALL IMPORTANT DECREES BEFORE THEY BECOME EFFECTIVE. THERE WILL BE NO MORE SURPRISES. THE REASONS AND BASES SUPPORTING THE DECISIONS WILL BE MADE PUBLIC, AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES WILL BE DULY EXPLAINED. CITIZENS AND INSTITUTIONS WILL BE ABLE TO COMMENT. THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WILL EVALUATE THE CRITICISM AND CORRECT POSSIBLE MISTAKES OR LIMITATIONS. CITIZENS WILL HAVE DIRECT PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC FORUMS ON THE TOPICS. ONCE THE DECREE IS PUBLISHED, EVERYONE WILL KNOW IF AND WHY PEOPLE'S OPINIONS WERE ACCEPTED OR DISMISSED.

LET US CONSIDER A SPECIFIC CASE. A SHORT TIME AGO THE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED A DRAFT DECREE AUTHORIZING LIMA'S PROVINCIAL COUNCIL TO IMPORT 350 USED BUSES TO SOLVE THE SERIOUS PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM. WE WOULD ASK YOU: DO YOU AGREE, OR DO YOU THINK WE SHOULD USE LOCALLY MANUFACTURED UNITS?

EACH DECISION ON THESE AND OTHER MATTERS DIRECTLY AFFECTS YOUR LIFE AND YOUR WELL-BEING. YOU THEREFORE HAVE THE RIGHT TO COMMENT ON THEM. OF COURSE THERE ARE NATIONAL FIELDS, SUCH AS NATIONAL SECURITY

Ø15362 S098487

AND FOREIGN RELATIONS, THAT WILL BE EXCEPTED. YOU WILL BE ABLE TO CONVEY TO THE PRESIDENT, THROUGH THE COMMISSION ON DEMOCRATIZATION, YOUR COMMENTS, OBSERVATIONS, OR PROPOSALS ON ITEMS THAT THE DECREE WILL INCORPORATE.

THERE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT ASPECT: PEOPLE WILL BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY PUBLIC OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF DRAFTING THESE DECREES AND MAKING DECISIONS; THE PEOPLE WILL BE ABLE TO DEMAND THAT THE OFFICIALS TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR AND ACCOUNT FOR THEIR ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS. THIS IS THE ESSENCE, MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, OF THE SO-CALLED DEMOCRATIZATION OF GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. YOU WILL BE TRUE PARTICIPANTS IN OUR DEMOCRACY THROUGH THIS SYSTEM. DEMOCRACY IS NOT JUST A NICE WORD BUT SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE TO LIVE EACH DAY. IT IS A REALITY THAT MUST BE DEFENDED FROM ITS ENEMIES. I WANT TO BE VERY CLEAR AND I WANT TO STRESS THAT OUR POLICIES AND ACTIONS ARE TOTALLY CONSISTENT.

THIS PRESIDENTIAL PROPOSAL TO CREATE A MECHANISM TO DEMOCRATIZE GOVERNMENT DECISIONS IS PROOF OF WHAT I AM SAYING. IT WILL ALSO BE SUBMITTED TO YOU FOR COMMENTS. THIS IS THE CLEAREST WAY TO ANSWER DOUBTS ON THE MATTER. LET US MOVE WITHOUT FEAR TO AN ADVANCED DEMOCRACY, AS ARE ALL OTHER DEMOCRACIES IN THE WEST, WITHOUT ECONOMIC OWNERS OR CAUDILLOS. ALL CITIZENS HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS. WE WANT TO MAKE SURE THAT FREEDOMS ARE REAL AND ENJOYED BY ALL. WE WANT CLARITY IN THE PERFORMANCE OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS, INSTITUTIONS, AND CONTROL AND FILTER MECHANISMS, SO THAT NO ONE IN GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO IMPOSE HIS CONCEPT OF FREEDOM ON THE PEOPLE.

FREEDOM IS ACHIEVED BY LIMITING THE POWER OF THE FEW WHO ARE ORGANIZED ENOUGH TO WIELD INFLUENCE. THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED IF THE

INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM IS ARMED WITH THE TOOLS TO CONTROL ABUSES, NO MATTER HOW INFLUENTIAL THE GROUP. THIS IS WHAT WE HOPE TO ACHIEVE BY DEMOCRATIZING GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. THANK YOU AND GOOD NIGHT.
(ENDALL) 270300 JMR/HARDY/MDP GJH21272.16 27/1732Z FEB

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

August 25, 1991, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 18; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1363 words

HEADLINE: IN PERU, ONE TOO MANY DISAPPEARANCES?;
HUMAN RIGHTS: THOUSANDS HAVE BEEN DETAINED. BUT THIS WAS THE STUDENT SON OF A PERSISTENT BUSINESSMAN.

BYLINE: By WILLIAM R. LONG, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: LIMA, Peru

BODY:

Witnesses say police detained Ernesto Castillo last Oct. 21, locked him in the trunk of a patrol car and drove away. Since then, Castillo has been missing.

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, August 25, 1991

Thousands of other Peruvians have disappeared after being detained by security forces. Most have been poor people in provincial areas where authorities are fighting a bloody guerrilla war with the fanatical Sendero Luminoso, the Shining Path rebel army.

But Castillo was different. He was a Lima university student, the son of a middle-class businessman who refuses to let the disappearance be forgotten. His case has caught the attention of the press, triggered congressional hearings, reached the Peruvian Supreme Court and focused unprecedented public concern on the issue of detainees who disappear here.

It is an extremely sensitive issue for the civilian government of President Alberto Fujimori and for the Bush Administration, which provides aid to Peru's police and armed forces.

In the past, U.S. administrations imposed stern sanctions against the former military regime in neighboring Chile for human rights violations, including detainee disappearances. Although the number of disappearances has been far greater in Peru than it was in Chile, the State Department recently determined that there is no "consistent pattern" of human rights violations by Peruvian authorities.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, August 25, 1991

That determination is required by U.S. law for allocation of $95 million in military and economic aid to Peru to combat cocaine trafficking. It not only contradicts what human rights groups in Peru say but portrays a more positive human rights picture than is contained in another State Department report issued only a few months earlier.

Democrats in Congress, aware of discrepancies, have delayed approval of the Peruvian aid until Congress reconvenes in September. The delay has ruffled relations between the governments and cast doubts on whether Fujimori will make a scheduled September visit to Washington.

Cromwell Castillo, Ernesto Castillo's father, said that Fujimori has been unresponsive to his pleas to help clear up his son's disappearance. "I believe it is the president himself who is covering this up," he said.

Fujimori, echoing official police statements, has told Peruvian reporters that Ernesto Castillo was never detained. But witnesses report seeing police stop him in Villa El Salvador, a working-class suburb of Lima. Ernesto, a sociology student at Lima's Catholic University, had gone to see a friend in the area, where Sendero Luminoso militants were protesting, his father said. Police soon came looking for guerrillas.

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, August 25, 1991

Four police officers stopped Ernesto on the street, pointing a gun at him and questioning him, according to witnesses who watched from nearby houses. "They searched him, didn't find anything, handcuffed him and put him in the trunk," his father said.

After he learned that his son had been detained, Cromwell Castillo went door to door looking for witnesses. He checked the morgue and police arrest records. He obtained a writ from a judge ordering police to produce his son, if he were a prisoner. Government attorneys later persuaded the Supreme Court to invalidate the writ on a technicality, Castillo said.

He added that he has "sent two open letters to the president . . . asking for an explanation. The president hasn't answered my letters."

Castillo has pressed criminal charges, demanding an investigation of all police in Villa El Salvador on the morning of Oct. 21.

Until mid-March, Castillo's lawyer in the case was Augusto Zuniga, legal secretary for the Human Rights Commission, an independent group known by the Spanish acronym COMISEDH. Because of his efforts on Castillo's behalf, Zuniga began receiving anonymous threats. On March 14, he received a letter bomb that blew up, costing him an arm.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, August 25, 1991

Castillo voiced no hope that his missing son still lives, saying, "We believe that Ernesto has been killed by the police."

Zuniga received word from a police friend that Ernesto was taken to Lima's 22nd Precinct, which Castillo says is the headquarters of a special anti-terrorist training unit. "There, they interrogated him, which means they tortured him," Castillo said. He said Zuniga's police friend also said that Ernesto's body was taken to a remote area of coastal desert somewhere south of Lima, destroyed by dynamite and buried. No remains have been found.

Public outrage over the Castillo case has raised Peruvians' awareness of at least 5,000 other reported disappearances in the 11-year war with Sendero Luminoso guerrillas. Most of the cases have been blamed on army personnel fighting senderistas, as the guerrillas are called.

Senderistas are notorious for slaughtering peasants who do not cooperate with them, so it is unsurprising to Peruvians that excesses are committed by security forces. Fernando Rospigliosi, an analyst with the Institute of Peruvian Studies, said that people commonly condone disappearances of suspected guerrillas: "When it is a senderista, it's OK to kill him."

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, August 25, 1991

Rospigliosi said that official excesses are beyond the Fujimori government's control but that the government is not without blame. "It is the policy of the military," he said, "but it is the responsibility of the government to the degree that it has not been able to stop it."

In 1980, when the armed forces returned power to elected civilians after 12 years of military rule, there was a tacit agreement that civilians would not meddle in military matters, he said. That understanding was reinforced in the '80s as the Sendero Luminoso war escalated. "The military began to 'disappear' people in 1983," he said. "Since then, they haven't stopped."

A human rights report issued Feb. 1 by the U.S. State Department said that abuses by security forces increased in 1990: "There were widespread credible reports of summary executions, arbitrary detentions, torture and rape by the military, as well as less frequent reports of such abuses by the police."

It added that, while human rights groups recorded 302 new cases of disappearances during 1990, that was markedly less than a record number in 1989.

Most disappearances have been reported in provincial Apurimac and Ayacucho. "Based on the testimony of survivors, it appears that most victims are taken to military bases for interrogation," the report said.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, August 25, 1991

But to meet conditions imposed by Congress for providing Peru anti-drug aid, the State Department on July 30 determined that security forces "are not engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, and the government of Peru has made significant progress in protecting internationally recognized human rights."

Democrats in Congress, however, have frozen a $94.9-million package of anti-drug aid to Peru for fiscal 1991, including $34.9 million in military aid.

A ranking Peruvian army officer, who asked not to be identified by name, said that military commanders are taking measures to safeguard human rights. He leafed through a sheaf of directives to officers that prohibit abuses and denied that violations are as widespread as human rights groups contend.

He said a study of reports about those who had disappeared in 1990 showed that "only 10% had been detained by our forces."

In 1989, government attorneys received 441 formal disappearance complaints. Pablo Rojas, president of the Commission on Human Rights, said the number dropped to 251 in 1990 but reached 165 in the first half of 1991. In the first 12 months of Fujimori's administration, which began July 28, 1990, government attorneys received 238 disappearance complaints; 70 of the missing were later

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, August 25, 1991

released from army and police posts, two were transferred to the criminal justice system, 24 were found dead, and 142 are still missing.

Other human rights groups, using different sources, report greater numbers of disappeared detainees. Ricardo Villanueva, secretary general in Peru for London-based Amnesty International, said that 750 Peruvians disappeared in the Fujimori government's first year.

In the previous 12 months, under former President Alan Garcia, about 1,400 disappeared.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Ernesto Castillo, Peruvian student who disappeared last fall.

SUBJECT: HUMAN RIGHTS -- PERU; MISSING PERSONS; POLICE MISCONDUCT -- PERU; UNITED STATES -- FOREIGN AID -- PERU; PERU -- REVOLTS

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Chicago Tribune Company;
Chicago Tribune

August 18, 1991, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 25; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 95 words

HEADLINE: Peruvian president to meet with Bush

BYLINE: Associated Press

DATELINE: KENNEBUNKPORT, Maine

BODY:

President Alberto Kenyo Fujimori of Peru will meet with President Bush at the White House on Sept. 17, the White House announced.

Fujimori's visit will be an official working visit. The presidents will discuss a range of issues including respect for human rights, development of democracy in Peru, cooperation on narcotics interdiction, and Peru's economic

(c) 1991 Chicago Tribune, August 18, 1991

development.

The visit comes as Fujimori faces a plethora of problems, including growing internal violence fostered by the left-wing rebel organization Shining Path and a deteriorating economic situation.

TERMS: PERU; RELATION; UNITED STATES; OFFICIAL; MEETING TRIP

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 8 OF 106 STORIES

The Xinhua General Overseas News Service

The materials in the Xinhua file were compiled by The Xinhua News Agency. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Xinhua News Agency.

AUGUST 16, 1991, FRIDAY

LENGTH: 99 words

HEADLINE: peruvian president to visit u.s.

DATELINE: washington, august 16; ITEM NO: 0816010

BODY:

peruvian president alberto fujimori will make an official working visit to washington on september 17, the white house said today. gary foster, deputy press secretary of the white house, said during his visit here, fujimori and u.s. president george bush are expected to discuss "a wide range of bilateral and regional issues during their meetings, including the developme nt of democracy and respect for human rights, cooperation on narco tics and the prospects for economic development in peru." it will be fujimori's first visit

to the white house since he became president of peru.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 9 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright 1991 Latin American Institute,
University of New Mexico
Chronicle of Latin American Economic Affairs

August 15, 1991

SECTION: PERU

LENGTH: 533 words

HEADLINE: PERU: U.S. SUSPENDS DISBURSEMENT OF $95 MILLION IN MILITARY & ECONOMIC AID

BODY:

Aug. 6: The Peruvian Interior Ministry announced the creation of special offices where civilians can report human rights violations committed by members of the police and armed forces.

During the previous week, President Alberto Fujimori received a letter signed by 25 members of the US Congress, including Sen. Edward Kennedy, accusing his government of accomplishing little to prevent army and police excesses in the on-going war against rebel groups. Senators and Representatives called on

Copr. 1991 Chron of Latin American Econ Affairs, August 15, 1991

the White House to withhold $95 million in economic and military aid earmarked for anti- narcotics efforts.

Peruvian government figures show that 3,106 people were killed in political violence during the first year of the Fujimori administration.

A spokesperson for the US Embassy in Lima said the aid retention approved by Congress did not constitute a sanction, but was the outcome of deliberations interrupted by the congressional recess.

Aug. 7: Peruvian Foreign Minister Carlos Torres confirmed the suspension of $95 million in US aid. The minister said the move is temporary: disbursement will be resumed after the US Congress resumes activities on Sept. 5. Members of Congress are expected to conclude final revisions on a recently concluded bilateral anti-narcotics agreement.

A US Embassy spokesperson said the decision to withhold the aid was not connected to human rights abuses attributed to the Peruvian public security forces.

Aug. 10: Peruvian Sen. Enrique Bernales said President Fujimori will visit Washington to personally inform President George Bush of the human rights

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 10 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Globe Newspaper Company;
The Boston Globe

August 13, 1991, Tuesday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 698 words

HEADLINE: In Peru, doubts on US aid plan;
Antidrug pact at issue

BYLINE: By Pamela Constable, Globe Staff

DATELINE: LIMA

KEYWORD: PERU US AID DRUG

BODY:

The Bush administration's plan to send military trainers to Peru as part of a new bilateral antidrug agreement has caused a political firestorm here, embarrassing the government and producing renewed charges of human rights

(c) 1991, The Boston Globe, August 13, 1991

abuses by the security forces.

The $ 35 million military aid agreement, which was suspended last week by the US Congress until next month, also raises new questions about the conflict, or coincidence, of US antidrug policy and Peru's war against leftist guerrillas.

Since last week, civilian and military officials have strenuously denied published reports that Washington will send up to 50 Special Forces officers here as part of a campaign to combat coca plant-growing and cocaine trafficking in Peru's isolated Upper Huallaga valley.

US diplomats, meanwhile, have sought to emphasize that the US trainers will educate Peruvian forces in jungle warfare and use of equipment but will not accompany them as military advisers on field operations.

For the first time since US forces began assisting Peru's antidrug war in the mid-1980s, however, the new pact states that drug trafficking and guerrilla activities are "inextricably intertwined," and that as a result, counterinsurgency is a "justifiable component" of antidrug operations.

To critics, such language raises fears that US troops could be drawn into a protracted guerrilla war in alliance with a corrupt and repressive security

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991, The Boston Globe, August 13, 1991

establishment, as occurred in El Salvador.

Peruvian human rights advocates argue that US officials have deliberately overlooked the human rights record of Peru's armed forces in order to win their cooperation in the antidrug effort.

In the first six months of this year, 138 people have disappeared and 812 have been killed in political violence, according to national human rights groups. But in a July 30 report to Congress, the Bush administration said that Peru's security forces "are not engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations."

To Francisco Soberon, longtime director of the Peruvian Pro-Human Rights Association, this assertion is both laughable and tragic. "It is a grave falsehood," he said. "With this document, the United States is wiping out its commitment to human rights."

US diplomats take issue with such charges, pointing out that the new bilateral pact includes an unprecedented pledge that military and police officials will be "held accountable" for any abuses occurring under their command.

(c) 1991, The Boston Globe, August 13, 1991

Peruvian officials, smarting under renewed criticism from US legislators such as Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, last week strongly defended the country's human rights record and delayed President Alberto Fujimori's scheduled trip to Washington this month.

"The American congressmen have only a partial vision of our reality. Our government is in the first line of defense of human rights," Prime Minister Carlos Torres told reporters on Thursday. He said that since Fujimori took office in July, the number of disappearances has been "reduced by 50 percent."

Human rights groups dispute those figures, as well as Torres' contention that a number of reported official abuses have been investigated and punished in the past year.

Yet even government critics acknowledged that the double scourge of guerrilla violence and drug trafficking has made it difficult to demand kid-glove behavior by the poorly paid, physically besieged police and armed forces.

In the past decade, tens of thousands of Peruvians have been killed in the conflicts between the security forces and the Shining Path, a secretive revolutionary movement. In the past week alone, two Polish priests, two rural mayors and 11 policemen have been assassinated in attacks attributed to the

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991, The Boston Globe, August 13, 1991

rebels.

In the Upper Huallaga Valley, where peasants grow the bulk of South America's coca bushes, the Shining Path has been battling drug traffickers for political alliance with the populace, and rebels operate freely in the vast, lawless frontier zone.

Fujimori, who was initially reluctant to accept US military aid, has emphasized the need for alternative crop production and economic development as an antidote to coca farming and rebel influence in rural areas.

LEVEL 1 - 11 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Chicago Tribune Company;
Chicago Tribune

August 7, 1991, Wednesday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: EDITORIAL; Pg. 18; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 492 words

HEADLINE: A carrot and a stick for Peru

BODY:
Peru has plenty of problems:

- Crushing poverty and its attendant calamities, such as the country's recent cholera epidemic.

- A virulent insurgency by Shining Path guerrillas, who have been warring with the authorities since 1980.

- Government security forces - army and police - notorious for beating, killing or "disappearing" people they detain.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Chicago Tribune, August 7, 1991

- And an illicit industry upon which an estimated 1 million Peruvians depend but which the U.S. government, among others, would like to see eradicated. This is the growing and processing of coca plants, the source of cocaine.

As part of its war on this scourge, the Bush administration wants to give $94 million in military and economic aid that would be spent primarily on rooting out coca growing. Some money also would go for balance-of-payments relief.

But the aid has been held up by a disagreement in Washington over Peru's human-rights record, which is universally regarded as lousy.

Nevertheless, the Bush administration, complying with a law that links rights protection and anti-drug funding, has just certified that the year-old government of Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori has made improvements and deserves assistance.

Human-rights groups and lawmakers quickly disputed the administration's finding, announced July 30, and Sen. Patrick Leahy used his authority as chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations to block disbursement. Now the administration and Congress must talk the matter out.

(c) 1991 Chicago Tribune, August 7, 1991

Officials ought to try for a compromise, offering needy Peru some help without turning a completely blind eye to human-rights abuses. They are serious, as the State Department has been reporting right along.

The New York Times recently reported that for the fifth consecutive year, Peru exceeds all other countries in the number of reported "disappearances" from government custody. An unidentified rights group official told the Times that in the last three years, one-third of the people of Lima had been stopped and searched by police officers or army troops.

At the same time, it must be remembered that these forces operate in a society under attack by vicious rebels and distorted by drug trafficking. President Fujimori, moreover, has checked some of the excesses by police. (It is doubtful he has achieved full control, as the administration certified.) Fujimori also has opened channels of communication among groups not accustomed to talking with each other.

His efforts deserve at least a psychological boost from the U.S. The amount of money makes the aid largely symbolic, though important nonetheless, especially if it encourages other countries to kick in.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Chicago Tribune, August 7, 1991

The U.S. could show its support for Peru by providing the $60 million earmarked for economic aid but withholding the $34 million destined for the military. That approach would reward progress to date and register an expectation for still more.

TERMS: ISSUE; PERU; FINANCE; AID; STATISTIC

LEVEL 1 - 12 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Reuters
The Reuter Library Report

August 7, 1991, Wednesday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 261 words

HEADLINE: U.S WANTS TO SEND MILITARY TRAINERS TO PERU

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Aug 7

KEYWORD:
PERU-USA

BODY:
The United States wants to send a small number of military trainers to Peru to help its army in the war against drug traffickers but details are still being worked out, officials said on Wednesday.

"We can't have a comprehensive Andean anti-drug strategy without operating in Peru because that's where 60 per cent of the world's coca comes from," said one official.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Reuters; August 7, 1991

Peru's President Alberto Fujimori's government signed an umbrella agreement with the United States last May to work together against the narcotics trade, which in Peru is closely linked with Maoist Shining Path guerrillas.

An official said a follow-on agreement was later signed dealing with military cooperation. The United States has had a small number of trainers helping the Peruvian police in anti-drugs operations for the past two years.

The official said the trainers would teach basic investigatative techniques and military skills but would also work on improving the Peruvian army's respect for human rights.

In the past, Peru's poor human rights record has prevented cooperation with its military. But U.S. officials believe the situation has improved under Fujimori.

Officials said the programme was at present on hold because of the reservations of some in Congress and the Bush administration was talking to congressmen to convince them that the project was necessary.

The New York Times reported Wednesday that the dispatch of around 50 trainers, including Green Berets and U.S. Navy personnel, would end a break of

(c) 1991 Reuters; August 7, 1991

20 years between the U.S. military and the Peruvian army.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 14 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Inter Press Service;
Inter Press Service

August 2, 1991, Friday

LENGTH: 155 words

HEADLINE: PERU: BUSH INVITES FUJIMORI TO REVIEW U.S. ANTI-DRUG WAR

DATELINE: LIMA, Aug. 2

BODY:

President Alberto Fujimori has been invited by President George Bush to visit the United States and review the two countries' bilateral coordination in the anti-drug war, it was reported here today.

Foreign Ministry sources said Bush suggested Sept. 17-19 for the proposed meeting and that environmental protection measures could also be discussed at the same time.

Peru and the United States signed an anti-drug treaty on May 14, which includes U.S. financial and other logistic support for the South American

(c) 1991 Inter Press Service, August 2, 1991

country's police.

Washington also agreed to provide certain customs advantages for Peruvian agricultural products entering the United States.

The purpose of these advantages would be to encourage Peruvian farmers to switch from the cultivation of the coca plant to vegetables and fruit.

Peru and Bolivia are South America's principal coca producing areas -- the raw material from which cocaine is processed.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 18 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Reuters

August 1, 1991, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: Money Report.

LENGTH: 93 words

HEADLINE: PERU'S FUJIMORI TO MEET BUSH IN WASHINGTON IN SEPT

DATELINE: LIMA, PERU, AUG 1, REUTER

BODY:
President Alberto Fujimori has accepted an invitation from President George Bush to visit the United States in mid-September, Peru's Foreign Ministry said.

Fujimori's visit will last from September 17 to 19.

Fujimori, who took power a year ago, has improved relations with Washington. Ties were strained under former president Alan Garcia, who sharply limited debt repayments in 1986.

(c) 1991 Reuters, August 1, 1991

Fujimori signed an anti-drug pact with the U.S. In May which will provide about 100 mln dlrs in aid to Peru this year, including 34.5 mln dlrs in military assistance.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 19 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Inter Press Service;
Inter Press Service

July 25, 1991, Thursday

LENGTH: 645 words

HEADLINE: LATIN AMERICA: U.S. DRUG CAMPAIGN SETS OFF NATIONALIST BACKLASH

BYLINE: by Marcela Valente

DATELINE: SAN JOSE, July 25

BODY:
U.S. attempts to gain a carte blanche in dealing with Latin American drug lords has set off a nationalistic backlash in countries where they are based and has not substantially curbed trafficking.

The bilateral anti-drug agreements President George Bush signed with his counterparts from Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela last year was seen by many governments as "interventionist."

LEVEL 1 - 21 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 The Washington Post

May 16, 1991, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A28

LENGTH: 357 words

HEADLINE: U.S., Peru Sign New Anti-Drug Pact

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Charles Gepp, Special to The Washington Post

DATELINE: LIMA, Peru, May 15, 1991

BODY:
President Alberto Fujimori has announced the signing of an anti-drug agreement with the United States aimed at reducing cultivation of coca leaves and drug trafficking.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 The Washington Post, May 16, 1991

The accord, a copy of which was released today, departs from earlier failed U.S. strategies that concentrated on forced eradication of the coca crop, which is refined into cocaine. The new pact recognizes that coca-growing farmers are not criminals and should have a voice in any decisions concerning their economic future. Under the agreement the United States pledges to support economic development to wean Peruvian peasants off growing coca.

Fujimori, in announcing the pact late Tuesday to the Peruvian Congress, said both parties will adhere to the principle of co-responsibility. Peru produces 60 percent of the world's supply of raw coca leaf, and the United States consumes 80 percent of cocaine and other coca derivatives.

Tonight, Fujimori met with the chief U.S. anti-drug official, Bob Martinez, visiting Peru as part of a five-nation South American tour. Martinez said the accord will be complemented within the next six months by separate agreements on military, police and economic assistance.

The pact, Martinez told a news conference, could provide Peru with $ 60 million in economic aid this year for development projects and crop substitution. He added that this figure could grow to $ 100 million next year.

(c) 1991 The Washington Post, May 16, 1991

The cooperation of coca growers is crucial to the success of the agreement, but they are likely to oppose it on grounds that they were never consulted. The secrecy surrounding the agreement also sparked criticism in the Peruvian Congress, especially from left-wing politicians.

The agreement was signed by Fujimori and U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton during "a top-secret" meeting an hour prior to the presidential announcement.

The pact, reached after six months of negotiations, brings Peru back into the campaign against illegal drugs.

Since last September, when Fujimori rejected an initial U.S. offer of $ 34 million in military aid, Peru had been considered the weakest link in President Bush's Andean initiative against drugs.

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES; PERU; DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS; NARCOTIC AND DRUG VIOLATIONS; TREATIES; DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

NAMED-PERSONS: ALBERTO FUJIMORI

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 22 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Latin American Newsletters, Ltd.;
Latin America Regional Reports: Andean Group

April 18, 1991

SECTION: WASHINGTON LETTER; Peru; RA-91-03; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 368 words

HEADLINE: US approves anti-drug policy

BODY:

The US government 'accepts and supports' President Alberto Fujimori's anti-drug plan, giving emphasis to encouraging coca-growers to cultivate alternative crops (RA-90-08 and RA-91-02), with the long-delayed anti-drug agreement between the two countries expected to be signed within weeks, the US ambassador to Peru, Anthony Quainton, said in early March. He noted that the proposed agreement 'does not give priority to military efforts' to curb the drugs trade in Peru but, rather, reflects Fujimori's view that coca should be replaced by other crops with an assured market in the US and other countries. He added that the signing of the agreement would be the first step towards US participation in Peru's support group, which will seek funds to help the

(c) 1991 Latin American Newsletters, Ltd., April 18, 1991

country meet payments on its external debt and normalise relations with the international financial community.

President Fujimori himself said in early March that an anti-drugs agreement with the US was imminent. He also emphasised that it would pave the way for international financial assistance. US officials had earlier warned that the US might suspend aid and vote against loans for Peru in multilateral banks if an anti-drugs agreement was not reached and President Bush was forced to advise Congress that Peru was not co-operating in the drug war.

Meanwhile, left-wing political groups in Peru are trying to generate support for a campaign against an anti-drug agreement. Communist senator Jorge del Prado has said that the Left rejects the ' Fujimori-Bush deal' because it will open the door to US intervention in Peruvian internal affairs.

For their part, Peruvian military chiefs have no objections to the agreement, 'especially if, as a result of the agreement, the armed forces obtain support and equipment from a country with such advanced technology' as the US, the Peruvian defence minister, General Jorge Torres, said in late March. He emphasised, however, that the armed forces would not participate directly in the anti-drug war. 'We will not directly confront the drug-traffickers, but we will fight the subversion, which is an ally of the drug traffic, at least in the

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Latin American Newsletters, Ltd., April 18, 1991

parts of the country where coca is produced.'

LEVEL 1 - 23 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright 1991 Latin American Institute,
University of New Mexico
Chronicle of Latin American Economic Affairs

April 2, 1991

SECTION: GENERAL

LENGTH: 3266 words

HEADLINE: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON DRUG TRADE POLICY IN ANDEAN NATIONS

BODY:

March 10: About 200,000 Peruvian coca growers approved a decision to participate in a 72-hour nationwide strike set for March 21-23. Leaders said the strike is a protest against the signing of an anti-drug accord with Washington, scheduled to take place in the next few days. US Embassy spokespersons in Lima said the agreement is currently being revised, and would not be formalized for several weeks.

Juan Rojas, secretary general of the Peruvian Agrarian Confederation (CCP), said coca producer representatives would submit a document to President

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

Alberto Fujimori expressing their opposition, and demanding participation in decision- making in any government-sponsored effort which directly affects their livelihood.

Rojas said the CCP and coca producer organizations have prepared a series of recommendations on necessary steps to eventually terminate the illegal production and sale of coca.

The coca producers are particularly opposed to clauses of the bilateral agreement that would create an Autonomous Alternative Development Authority, as well as the establishment of self-defense units under the control of the police and the armed forces.

March 13: Fernando Kieffer, president of the Bolivian Chamber of Deputies, told reporters that at least 10 US trainers were in Santa Cruz to train two light infantry battalions (about 500 soldiers) in anti-drug operations. They are the first of about 50 US trainers expected to work in Bolivia under a May 1990 agreement between the US and Bolivian governments.

According to US Embassy sources in La Paz, Washington is providing $33 million in military equipment and training this year contingent upon Bolivia's increased military role in anti-drug operations. Under the joint accord,

LEVEL 1 - 26 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Reuters
The Reuter Library Report

March 26, 1991, Tuesday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 206 words

HEADLINE: PERU'S GARCIA SAYS BUSH FAILED TO DELIVER ON AID PROMISES

DATELINE: LIMA, March 26

KEYWORD:
PERU-DRUGS

BODY:
Peru's former president Alan Garcia accused U.S. President George Bush on Tuesday of failng to deliver on promises of economic aid for Peru and other Latin American drug-producing countries.

Garcia said Bush "strung us along" with unfulfilled promises of aid to help encourage Peru, Bolivia and Colombia wean their economies off the cocaine trade.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Reuters; March 26, 1991

"We see that Bush, the victor of the Gulf War, has not fulfilled his promises (of economic aid)," Garcia told a meeting of the Peruvian Foreign Press Association.

"He strung us along with the bait of more help to improve our economies," said Garcia, who handed power over to his elected successor Alberto Fujimori last July.

Garcia said Bush held out the promise of econoic aid to Garcia and the presidents of Colombia and Bolivia at a four-way summit meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, a year ago.

The Bush adminstration certified earlier this month that Peru was cooperating sufficiently with U.S. anti-drug efforts, opening the way for 165 million dollars in economic and military aid earmarked for the impoverished nation.

Peru and Bolivia are the world's largest producers of coca leaf, the raw material for cocaine, and most of their output is refined into cocaine in Colombia.

SUBJECT:
POLITICS

LEVEL 1 - 28 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Latin American Newsletters, Ltd.;
Latin America Weekly Report

March 14, 1991

SECTION: DEBT ROUND-UP; WR-91-10; Pg. 7

LENGTH: 304 words

HEADLINE: Peru despairs of 'reinsertion';
REACTION TO FAILURE OF BRIDGE LOAN EFFORTS

BODY:
The government of President Alberto Fujimori is beginning to despair of its efforts to 'reinsert' the country in the international financial community. Prime minister Carlos Torres has already been complaining publicly that the country cannot 'go on paying forever' without receiving an inflow of fresh funds.

He was referring to the Fujimori government's decision to resume debt-service payments, suspended during the previous administration, in December last year. Since then the country has reportedly paid around US$ 120m, and according to

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Latin American Newsletters, Ltd., March 14, 1991

central bank president Jorge Chavez, it has allocated a total of US$ 511m for payment this year.

The problem, however, is that Peru has been unable to recover its eligibility for further lending by the major multilateral lending institutions, because it has not been able to raise a bridging loan of around US$ 800m to mop up accumulated arrears with the IMF, the World Bank and the IDB.

The failure to recruit a 'support group' of countries willing to put up the funds was mentioned by many in Lima as the real reason behind the fall of Fujimori's first prime minister, Juan Carlos Hurtado Miller (WR-91-08).

On 2 March, his successor, Carlos Torres, announced that 'reinsertion in the international financial system' had ceased to be a priority for the Peruvian government. Its new priorities, he said, are internal security, economic reactivation and an improvement in the level of employment.

In an apparent attempt to prevent Fujimori returning to the attitude that prevailed during the Alan Garcia administration, the US ambassador in Lima, Anthony Quainton, said that, following President George Bush's commendation of Peru's anti-drugs efforts, the US might now decide to take part in the 'support group' and help put together the needed bridging loan.

LEVEL 1 - 34 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

February 22, 1991, Friday, Home Edition

SECTION: Metro; Part B; Page 6; Column 3; Editorial Writers Desk

LENGTH: 456 words

HEADLINE: PERU: BEYOND THE ANTI-DRUG SHOOTOUT

BODY:

Shortly after taking office last year, Peru's President Alberto Fujimori got his new government's relations with the United States off to a poor start by rejecting U.S. military aid that was supposed to help stem the flow of Peru's most notorious export: cocaine. Fujimori wants to fight the dirty trade, but disagrees with U.S. strategy in the drug war. Now he and some respected advisers have an alternative anti-cocaine plan that deserves Washington's support.

Fujimori had valid reasons for turning back $36 million in aid for Peru's military, who are hard pressed not just by drug traffickers but by fiendishly effective guerrillas. Like many anti-drug experts in this country, Fujimori

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, February 22, 1991

believes it will take more than police pressure to get poor farmers not to grow the one crop that makes them money -- the coca leaves cocaine is made from.

But by turning down the help Washington offered in the drug war, Fujimori also put in jeopardy another $100 million in both military and economic aid that Peru cannot receive under U.S. law unless it cooperates with U.S. anti-drug efforts. That is money a poor nation deeply in debt can scant afford to lose, which is why Fujimori and one of Peru's most respected economists, Hernando de Soto, came up with an alternative anti-drug plan. It was offered to the Bush Administration last month, in anticipation of the March 1 deadline for cutting off all U.S. aid.

The Peruvian plan includes the military aid that Washington wants to provide. But it also includes several free-market mechanisms that are designed to make it easy, and profitable, for Peru's farmers to grow something besides coca. Among other things, the Peruvian proposal includes funding for crop substitution, for rural development programs and even the possibility of a free trade pact between the United States and Peru.

Such esoteric strategies sound far removed from get-tough approaches like simply shooting it out with drug smugglers. But they should not surprise anyone who is familiar with De Soto's reputation as an economist who's willing to

(c) 1991 Los Angeles Times, February 22, 1991

challenge the conventional wisdom of both leftist and rightist ideologues to create development, and fight poverty, in Latin America.

While there are not many people in this country who've heard of De Soto, plenty of folks in the State Department have. Those specialists must pull out all the stops to convince President Bush to sign off on Peru's drug war proposal before the March 1 deadline. It sounds innovative enough to be worth a gamble. Or look at it another way: Given the notable lack of success so many other anti-drug strategies have had in recent years, Fujimori and De Soto's proposal can hardly do much worse. So why not give it a try?

TYPE: Editorial

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

LEVEL 1 - 37 OF 106 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1991 Reuters

February 16, 1991, Saturday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 619 words

HEADLINE: FUJIMORI SAYS PERUVIAN FORCES ARE CRACKING SHINING PATH

BYLINE: By Roger Atwood

DATELINE: LIMA, Peru

KEYWORD:
PERU-FUJIMORI

BODY:
Peru's security forces have begun to crack the "very nerve center" of one of Latin America's most ruthless and secretive guerrilla groups, the Maoist Shining Path, President Alberto Fujimori said Saturday.

But another guerrilla group that has plagued the Peruvian government for years, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), has become more active

LEVEL 1 - 40 OF 106 STORIES

The Associated Press

The materials in the AP file were compiled by The Associated Press. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Associated Press.

February 9, 1991, Saturday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 205 words

HEADLINE: Bush Promises Peru Aid on Drug Plan

DATELINE: LIMA, Peru,

KEYWORD: Peru-Drugs

BODY:
President Bush has promised to continue aiding Peru's war on drugs in response to a plea for support from Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, a government spokesman said Saturday.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central, Inc.

Bush offered the help in a letter delivered to Fujimori by U.S. Anthony Quainton, said the spokesman, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

On Jan. 21, Fujimori wrote to Bush asking for a bilateral agreement to fight drugs, and outlining his plan to fight drugs in Peru, where 60 percent of the world's coca is grown.

A U.S. Embassy press officer in Lima could not confirm the ambassador's meeting with Fujimori or give details of the Bush letter.

According to the Peruvian spokesman, Quainton said Bush agrees with Fujimori's plan to substitute coca plants with other crops, and has pledged U.S. help to combat the drug problem.

In his letter, Fujimori sent Bush details of the so-called " Fujimori Doctrine," which advocates crop substitution, credits for farmers, access to U.S. markets and forgiveness of Peru's foreign debt.

On March 1, U.S. officials will decide if Peru has cooperated with the United States in the war on drugs. The United States has proposed $$60 million in economic aid and $$40 million in military aid for Peru.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

91 SEP 9 P3:53

Date: 9/9/91

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

TO

Name: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

Location: WHITE HOUSE

Telephone Number: ( ) _____ FAX Equipment Number: (202) 456-6218

FROM

Name: GRACIELA I. RODRÍGUEZ-FERRAND

Location: HISPANIC LAW DIVISION

Telephone Number: (202) 707-9818 FAX Equipment Number: (202) 707-1820

****

IF THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN TRANSMISSION:

Please Call: _____ Telephone Number: ( ) _____

Messages (if any): WAITING FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

I AM SENDING FIRST 10 PAGES.

1 of 11 pages

LW 3/88 (rev 4/89)

AUTOMATIC COVER SHEET

DATE: SEP- 9-91 MON 15:25

TO:

FAX #: 94566218

FROM: LAW LIB OF CONGRESS

FAX #: 2027071820

02 PAGES WERE SENT

(INCLUDING THIS COVER PAGE)

PERU

ituyente, invo-
potestad sobe-

ıana y en que
echos de vali-

l y raíz de su
ıción y la cul-

os hombres y

ın comunidad
l bien común

ociedad justa,
de toda dis-
dición social,
el hombre al
as superiores
influjo de la
l que trans-

ıocrático, ba-
ica consulta,
timas, la ple-
cia y la uni-
ajo; la parti-
icelación del
bernantes y
responsabi-

integración
dependencia

hombres y
de procurar

POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF PERU

Preamble

We, representatives in the Constituent Assembly, invoking the protection of God and in the exercise of the sovereign power that the people of Peru have conferred on us;

BELIEVING in the primacy of the human person and that all men, equal in dignity, have rights of universal validity, preceding and superior to the state;

- That the family is the basic unit of society and the root of its greatness as well as the natural focus of education and culture;

- That work is the duty and right of every individual and that it represents the basis of national well-being;

- That justice is the primary value of life in a community and that social order is cemented in the common good and human solidarity;

DECIDED to promote the creation of a just society, free and worshipful, without exploited or exploiters, free from all discrimination by virtue of sex, race, creed or social condition, in which the economy is at the service of the individual and not the individual at the service of the economy; an open society with higher forms of coexistence and apt to receive and take advantage of the influence of the scientific, technological, economic, and social revolution that is transforming the world;

DECIDED likewise to establish a democratic State based on the popular will and on its free and periodic vote that would guarantee, through stable and legitimate institutions, the full implementation of human rights, the independence and unity of the Republic, the creative dignity of work, the participation of everyone in the enjoyment of wealth, the elimination of underdevelopment and injustice, the submission of governors and governed to the Constitution and law, and the effective responsibility of those who hold public office;

CONVINCED of the need to give incentive to the integration of Latin American people and to assert their independence against any imperialism;

AWARE of the brotherhood of all humans and of the need to shun violence as a means of solving domestic and international conflicts;

ner y consolidar la
los valores egregios
nto; de defender su
o y la preservación

de nuestro pasado
lida durante el vi-
érica que inició en
Martín y Bolívar;
ión, fundador de la
es y luchadores so-
canzar un régimen

IOMULGAR, como
nte:

ANIMATED by the purpose of maintaining and consolidating the historic identity of our homeland, a synthesis of the outstanding values of diverse origin which have given birth to it, of defending its cultural heritage and of insuring its control and the preservation of its natural resources; and

RECALLING the worthy achievements of our native past, the cultural and human integration achieved during the period of the vice-regency, the action of the Liberators of America which Tupac Amaru initiated in Peru where San Martin and Bolivar ended up, as did the illustrious spirits of Sanchez Carrion, founder of the Republic, and all our dignitaries, heroes, and social activists, and the long struggle of our people to achieve a system of freedom and justice;

We have approved and promulgated as indeed we approve and promulgate the present document:

EL PERU

IENTALES DE

l fin supremo de la
ción de respetarla y

echo:

integridad física y
rsonalidad. Al que
o para todo lo que

inación alguna por
o idioma.

portunidades y res-
mujer derechos no

ión, en forma indi-
ción por razón de
o de todas las con-
enda a la moral o

inión, expresión y
palabra, el escrito
comunicación so-
ni impedimento al-
ey.

libro, la prensa y
se tipifican en el
común.

spende o clausura
ide circular libre-

omprenden los de

POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF PERU

TITLE I

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE PERSON

CHAPTER I

CONCERNING THE PERSON

ARTICLE 1. The person is the supreme end of society and of the state. Everyone has the obligation to respect and protect it.

ARTICLE 2. Every person has the right:

1. To life, to a proper name, physical integrity, and the unrestricted development of one's personality. The one who is about to be born is considered as delivered with respect to all his rights.
2. To equality before the law, without any discrimination by virtue of sex, race, religion, opinion, or language.

   Persons of both sexes have equal opportunities and responsibilities. The law recognizes that the rights of women are no fewer than those of men.

3. To freedom of conscience and religion in individual or collective form. There can be no persecution because of ideas or beliefs. The public exercise of al faiths is free as long as it does not offend morals or disturb the public order.
4. To the freedoms of information, opinion, expression, and diffusion of thought through words, writings, or visual means, by any mass medium, without previous authorization, censure, or impediment of any kind subject to sanctions under the law.

   Crimes committed through books, the press, and other mass media are detailed in the Criminal Code and are adjudicated in ordinary courts.

   Crimes committed through books, the press, and other mass media are detailed in the Criminal Code and are adjudicated in ordinary courts.

   Also considered a crime is any measure that suspends or shuts down any organ of expression or hinders its free circulation.

   The rights to inform and express an opinion include those of establishing communications media.

5. To honor and good reputation, to personal and family privacy, and to appropriate recognition. Any person affected in his honor by inaccurate or invidious assertions through publications in any mass medium has the right to a free rectification without prejudice to sanctions under the law.

6. To freedom of intellectual, artistic, and scientific creation. The state encourages access to culture and the diffusion of same.

7. To the inviolability of domicile. No one may enter into or undertake searches or inspections in it without the authorization of the individual residing in it or by court order, except in the case of "flagrante delicto" or the imminent danger of its perpetration. Exceptions on account of public health or grave risk are regulated by law.

8. To the inviolability and secrecy of private papers and communications. Correspondence can be impounded, intercepted, or opened only by a court order and subject to the guarantees provided by law. Matters other than those motivating its examination should be kept secret. The same principle is to be observed with respect to telegraphic and cable communications. Interference and intervention of telephone communications are prohibited.

   Letter and other private documents obtained through the violation of this principle are not admissible in courts of law.

   Books, vouchers, and accounting documents are subject to inspection or verification by the competent authority in accordance with the law.

9. To freely choose the place of residence, to transit across the national territory, and to exit and re-enter it except for restrictions imposed for reasons of public health.

   Not to be expatriated or removed from the place of one's residence except by court order or through the application of the law on aliens.

10. To meet peacefully without weapons. Meetings in private places or those open to the public do not require previous notification to the authority, which can prohibit it only because of proven public safety or health reasons.

11. To become members of and create foundations with lawful goals without previous authorization.

    Juridical persons are to be listed in a public register. They cannot be disbanded by administrative decree.

12. To enter into contracts with lawful goals. The law regulates the exercise of this freedom to safeguard the principles of justice and avoid the abuse of rights.

13. To choose and freely hold employment, subject to the law.

14. To property and inheritance in keeping with the Constitution and the laws.

15. To achieve a standard of living enabling one to secure one's well being and that of one's family.

16. To participate, individually or collectively, in the nation's political, economic, social, and cultural life.

17. Not to disclose one's political, philosophic, religious, or any other convictions.

18. To make petitions, individual or collective, in writing before the competent authority, which is obligated to give the petitioner an answer, also in writing, within the legal deadline. Past the latter, the interested party can consider the petition to have been denied.

    The Armed Forces and the National Police cannot exercise the right to petition.

19. To one's citizenship. No one can be stripped of it. Neither can one be deprived of his right to obtain or renew his passport within or outside the territory of the Republic.

20. To personal freedom and security. Consequently:

    a) No one is obliged to do that which the law does not mandate or prevented from doing what it does not prohibit.

    b) No form of any restriction of personal freedom is allowed, except in those cases provided by law.

    Slavery, servitude, and traffic in human beings in any form whatsoever are abolished.

[redacted]

c) There is no debtors' prison. This principle does not restrict court orders for the nonfulfillment of support obligations.

d) No one is to be charged or sentenced for an act or omission which at the time it was committed had not previously been prohibited by law in express and unequivocal manner as a punishable offense, nor punished with a sentence not provided by law.

e) The expression of an opinion cannot rate as a felony.

f) Every person is considered innocent as long as his guilt has not been judicially established.

g) No one can be arrested without a written court order with a reason assigned by a judge or by the police authorities in a case of "flagrante delicto."

In all cases the arrested individual must be placed, within 24 hours or in the space of time necessary to travel a certain distance at the disposal of the court. Cases of terrorism, espionage, and unlawful drug trafficking are excepted, in such cases the police authorities can effect the preventive detention of the suspected perpetrators for a period no longer than 15 calendar days subject to accountability for giving account to the public prosecutor and the judge, who can assume jurisdiction before that deadline.

h) Every person will be informed immediately and in writing of the cause or reasons of his detention. He has the right to communicate with and be advised by an attorney of his choice from the time that he is charged or arrested by the authorities.

i) No one can be held incommunicado except in a case indispensable for the investigation of a crime and in the form and time provided by law. The authorities are obligated to report without delay the place where the detained individual is held, subject to sanctions.

j) Statements obtained through the use of force are not admissible. Whoever makes use of it is subject to criminal sanctions.

k) No one can be obligated to swear an oath or be compelled to declare or admit guilt in a criminal case against himself or his spouse or his kin up to the fourth level of consanguinity or second level of affinity.

l) No one may be removed from a predetermined jurisdiction by law or subjected to procedures different from those previously established or judged by special courts [tribunales de excepcion] or special commissions created for the purpose, whatever may be their designation. And

m) Amnesty, pardon, definitive stays of execution and prescriptions are to have the effects of a judgment.

ARTICLE 3. Fundamental rights also apply to Peruvian juridical persons insofar when applicable to them.

ARTICLE 4. The enumeration of rights recognized in this chapter does not exclude others guaranteed by the Constitution or others of analogous nature or which stem from human dignity, the principle of the people's sovereignty, the social and democratic rule of law, and the republican form of government.

CHAPTER II

CONCERNING THE FAMILY

ARTICLE 5. The State protects marriage and the family as a natural society and fundamental institution of the nation.

The forms of marriage and causes of separation and dissolution are regulated by law.

The law notes the conditions for the establishment of unattachable, inalienable, family property that can be transmitted through inheritance.

ARTICLE 6. The State protects responsible parenthood.

It is the duty and the right of parents to feed, educate, and provide security to their children just as children have the duty to respect and assist their parents.

All children have equal rights. Any mention concerning the personal status of the parents and nature of the filiation of children in civil registries and in any identification document is prohibited.

ARTICLE 7. The motion is entitled to the protection of the State and to its assistance in case of need.

ARTICLE 8. The child, the adolescent, and the aged are protected by the State from economic, physical, or moral neglect.

ARTICLE 9. The stable union of a male and female, free from matrimonial bonds, who establish an effective home over time and under the conditions noted in the law, leads to a community of property which falls under the regime of joint property when applicable.

ARTICLE 10. It is the right of the family to enjoy a decent home.

ARTICLE 11. The family which lacks adequate economic means has the right to have its deceased members buried free of charge in public cemeteries.

CHAPTER III

CONCERNING SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELL-BEING

ARTICLE 12. The State guarantees the right of everyone to social security. The law defines the gradual access to it and its financing.

ARTICLE 13. Social Security has as its purpose to cover the risks of sickness, maternity, disability, unemployment, accident, old age, death, widowhood, orphanhood, and any other contingency susceptible to be protected in accordance with the law.

ARTICLE 14. An autonomous and decentralized institution with a legal capacity and its own funds and reserves mandatorily provided by the State, employers, and the insured is responsible for the social security of workers and their kin. Said funds cannot be used for purposes other than those for which they were created, subject to sanctions.

The institution is administered by representatives of the State, the employers, and the insured in equal number. It is to be presided over by the official chosen from among the representatives of the State.

Assistance and medical-social services are direct and free.

The existence of other public or private organizations in the field of insurance is not incompatible with said institution as long as they offer better or additional services and have the approval of the insured. The law regulates its operations.

idades que tengan
le la población no

a la protección de
promoción y de-
la comunidad.

la política nacio-
ón. Fomenta las
alidad de los ser-

sistema nacional
coordina la aten-
públicos y pri-
a sus servicios,
lad. La ley nor-

upervisa la pro-
os alimenticios,
sanciona el trá-

lemente las ne-
materia de ali-

de acuerdo al
l local.

públicos y pri-

mutuales y en
para vivienda
nta. Concede
atar la cons-
o de créditos

velar por sí
iene derecho
protección,

los servicios
incapaces a
a los gastos

The State regulates the operations of other entities which are responsible for the social security of population sectors not included in this article.

ARTICLE 15. Everyone has the right to the protection of his integral health and the duty to participate in the enhancement and protection of his health, his family circle, and his community.

ARTICLE 16. The executive branch determines national health policy. It controls and supervises its application. It promotes measures slated to expand the coverage and quality of the health services within a pluralistic system.

It is responsible for the organization of a national decentralized and discreet system which plans and coordinates integral health services through public and private organs and which facilitates to all equal access to its services in adequate quality and free of charge if possible. The law regulates its organization and functions.

ARTICLE 17. The State regulates and supervises the production, quality, consumption, and trade of food, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and biological products. It fights and sanctions unlawful drug trafficking.

ARTICLE 18. The State takes care preferentially of the basic needs of the individual and his family in terms of food, housing, and recreation.

The law regulates the use of urban land in keeping with the common good and the participation of the local community.

The State promotes the execution of public and private programs of urban development and housing.

The State supports and promotes cooperatives, mutual aid societies, and in general housing mortgage institutions and programs of self-built construction and rental-purchase. It grants incentives and tax exemptions in order to make construction cheaper. It creates conditions for the granting of long-term, low-interest credits.

ARTICLE 19. The individual unable to take care of himself because of physical or mental disability is entitled to the respect of his dignity and to a legal system of protection, services, rehabilitation, and security.

Nonprofit organizations which provide the services anticipated under this system as well as those which are responsible for disabled individuals need not contribute to the payments to be applied to the related expenses.

ARTICLE 20. The pensions of public and private workers who relinquish their jobs on a temporary or definitive basis are to be readjusted periodically, taking into account the cost of living and the possibilities of the national economy, in accordance with the law.

CHAPTER IV

CONCERNING EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND CULTURE

ARTICLE 21. The right to education and culture inheres in the individual.

The purpose of education is the integral development of his personality. It finds inspiration in the principles of social democracy. The State recognizes and guarantees the freedom of education.

ARTICLE 22. Education promotes knowledge and the practice of the humanities, art, science, and technology. It promotes Peruvian and Latin American integration as well as international solidarity.

Ethical and civic training is mandatory in the entire educational process. Religious education is provided without violating freedom of conscience. It is determined freely by heads of family.

The systematic teaching of the Constitution and of human rights is mandatory in civilian, military and police centers and at all its levels.

ARTICLE 23. The State guarantees to heads of family the right to intervene in the educational process of their children and to select the type and place of education for the latter.

ARTICLE 24. It behooves the State to formulate plans and programs and to direct and supervise education with the purpose of insuring its quality and efficiency according to regional characteristics and to provide equality of opportunity to everyone.

The administrative system in the educational field is decentralized.

ARTICLE 25. Primary education, in all its forms, is mandatory. Education provided by the State is free at all levels and has to meet standards set by the law.

In any place whose population requires it, there must be at least one primary educational center. The law regulates the application of this principle.

los mismos fi-

Neither do they make grants earmarked for the same purposes.

AUTOMATIC COVER SHEET

DATE: SEP- 9-91 MON 15:36

TO:

FAX #: 94566218

FROM: LAW LIB OF CONGRESS

FAX #: 2027071820

11 PAGES WERE SENT

(INCLUDING THIS COVER PAGE)

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

91 SEP 9 P3:04

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Tel: (202) 707-5400
Fax: (202) 707-2005

Date:September 9, 1991

To: Jennifer Grossman. The White House.
Fax: 456-6218

From: Juan M. Pérez, Ref. Libr., Hispanic Division. JMP

Message: Translation of a statement by Víctor Andrés Belaúnde. One page follows.
I will continue to look for Peruvian proverbs and sayings for the next couple of hours.

If we are willing to defend independence, we should also be willing to defend freedom and democracy for, in a way, independence is but a means by which we achieve the higher goal, a democratic organization.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Date: 9/9/91

FACSIMILE COVER PAGE

TO

Name: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

Location: White House

Telephone Number: ( )

FAX Equipment Number: (202) 456-6218

FROM

Name: Music Division

Location: Library of Congress

Telephone Number: (202) 707-5503

FAX Equipment Number: (202) 707-0621

****

IF THERE ARE PROBLEMS IN TRANSMISSION:

Please Call: CHARLES SENS

Telephone Number: (202) 707-5503

Messages (if any):

1 of 3 pages

NATIONAL ANTHEMS of the WORLD

Sixth Edition

Edited by

W.L. REED and M.J. BRISTOW

BLANDFORD PRESS
POOLE DORSET

"National Anthem of Peru" Translated

Free Translation

CHORUS

We are free; let us always be so,
And let the sun rather deny its light
Than that we should fail the solemn vow
Which our Country raised to God.

VERSE

For a long time the Peruvian, oppressed,
Dragged the ominous chain;
Condemned to cruel serfdom,
For a long time he moaned in silence.
But as soon as the sacred cry of
Freedom! was heard on his coasts
He shakes the indolence of the slave,
He raises his humiliated head.

DATE: September 7, 1991
TO MISS JENNIFER GOSSMAN
Adaptor/Writer: Fernando M. Cervantes

NOTES FOR SPEECH

Mr. President, I hope your visit was been fruitful. I lament it was protocolar and short and we can't go to see one of the professional beisbol games. I know in Peru the japaneses born in Perú are excelent beisbol players. Maybe the nex time we can throw a ball.

Perú has a glorious history and hopeful future and ever call the attention of the americamn people. A young american pilot, Elmer J, Faucett, founded the first aviation company in Peru. Other american, the historian William Prescott, devote years to study the peruvian history.

And one american diplomat George Squier, born in New York, wrote, one of the mpost beutiful books about the ancient life in Peru. His **"Travel for Inca Land"**, was published by San Marcos University in 1971, to pay homage to one hundred fifthy years of peruvian independence.

One peruvian, born in Arequipa, Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, who meet in England with american minister Rufus King. Viscardo y Guzman give to King his documents two hundred years ago. In this papers, King found the Letter to american-spanish, national document of the american independence in south america.

In one of this letters, Viscardo y Guzmán said: **"When to the horrors of the tirany and oppresion and cruelty, follow the kingdom of**

justice,faculty of reasoning and the humanity, America will join the extremes of the Earth and his people will be join for the common interest of the only one american family of brothers."

Today, after two hundred years from this peruvian dream, United States is present in te developments in the world history and is ready for to give birth to **"Iniciativa para las Americas" (President Bush' Iniciative for the Americas).** Two Hundred years ago, Perú and US were getting the independence. Today, que are joing looking the economic security for the hemisferic countries. Today , like yesterday. US and Peru walking together in the way of the pace, justice and liberty.

This liberty, well represented by Victor Andres Belaúnde, former United Nations Assambly President. This great man. said:" **If we are in a common cause of the independence, we must defend the liberty, democracy, because the independence is only a way for we get the high level wich is the democratic organization."**

As we see. United States is to plerdge himself in to defend this liberty and democracy and we are steady if we defend de economy of the hemisferic countries , we reinforce their rigths to live in democracy

DATE: September 7, 1991
TO MISS JENNIFER GOSSMAN
Adaptor/Writer: Fernando M. Cervantes

NOTES FOR SPEECH

Señor Presidente, espero que su visita en mi país haya sido fructífera. Lo que lamento es que lo protocolar y lo corto de la misma, nos haya impedido asistir a uno de los partidos de beisbol de las grandes ligas. Le digo esto pues se que en el Perú, los peruanos de origen japones tienen fama de ser excelentes jugadores de beisbol. A lo mejor la próxima vez Ud. y yo nos animamos a lanzar una bola.

Perú con su glorioso pasado y su futuro prometedor, siempre ha llamado la atención de los norteamericanos. Un joven y emprendedor piloto norteamericano abrió la primera compañía aérea en los cielos peruanos. Me referiero a Elmer Faucett. Un historiador norteamericano, Guillermo Prescott dedicó años de paciente labor a estudiar el pasado del Perú.

Y un diplomático estadounidense, George Squier, nacido en Nueva York, escribió uno de los más bellos libros sobre el pasado peruano. Su obra "Un Viaje por Tierras Incaicas" fue publicada en 1971 por la Universidad de San Marcos de Lima, como homenaje a los 150 años de la Independencia del Perú.

Fue también un peruano, el arequipeño, Juan Pablo Vizscardo y Guzmán, quien en Inglaterra traba amistad con Rufus King, enviado diplomático de Estados Unidos en Londres. Es a él a quien le entrega su

archivo personal con documentos que alentaban a la independencia de las colonias españolas en América.

Viscardo y Guzmán escribió en uno de sus documentos lo siguiente: **"Cuando a los horrores de la tiranía, la opresión y la crueldad, los suceda el reinado de la razón, de la justicia y de la humanidad, América juntará asi los extremos de la tierra, y sus habitantes serán unidos por el común interés de una sola y Gran Familia de Hermanos."**

Hoy en día, transcurridos más de 200 años de aquel sueño de un prócer peruano, Estados Unidos se halla activo en los acontecimientos que hacen historia en el mundo, y se apresta a dar empuje a su llamada Iniciativa para las Américas. Hace 200 años juntos buscábamos la independencia. Hoy buscamos unidos la seguridad económica para el continente. Hoy al igual que ayer, Estados Unidos y Perú marchan por derroteros comunes de paz, justicia, libertad.

Nos referimos a esa libertad que fuera tan bien expresada por el Doctor Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, ex Presidente de la Asamblea de las Naciones Unidas. Este gran hombre de América dijo una vez: **"Si somos solidarios para defender la independencia debíamos estarlo para defender la libertad, la democracia, porque en cierto modo la independencia no es sino un medio para que realicemos nosotros el fin más alto que es la organización democrática"** .

Tal como lo vemos, Estados Unidos está comprometido con esa defensa de la libertad y la democracia y estamos seguros que defendiendo la economía de los países de la región reforzamos su derecho a vivir en democracia.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

law Library Dr Rubin Medina 707 5690

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Tel: (202) 707-5400
Fax: (202) 707-2005

Date:September 9, 1991

To: Jennifer Grossman. The White House.
Fax: 456-6218

From: Juan M. Pérez, Ref. Libr., Hispanic Division.

Message: Background information on Peru. Two pages follow.
I will continue to look for Peruvian proverbs and sayings for the next couple of hours.

I.- Melitón F. Porras (1860-1944).

> "The settlement of international disputes does not rest now on the eventuality of war, but on the decision of a high court of justice, which no nation can ignore, lest it declares itself to be a barbarian state."

Source: Juan Pedro Paz-Soldán, ed., El canciller Porras y sus doctrinas internacionales. (Lima, Libreria e Imprenta Gil, 1920), p.27.

diplomat & statesman

a) Historical setting.

The above statement was made in December 1918. Peru and Chile had a long standing territorial dispute and Mr. Porras implied that if the dispute had not been solved before, it was because of the lack of appropiate international bodies for discussion and settlement of conflictive issues between nations. He thought that the creation of a League of Nations would a new international situation. [The League was created in 1919].

b) Biographical Sketch.

- Lawyer
- Secretary of the Peruvian Legation to Chile, 1894.
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1895.
- Minister Plenipotenciary to Chile, 1896-1898.
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1898-1899.
- Minister Plenipotenciary to Bolivia, 1905-1908.
- Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1908-1910, 1919-1920.
- Special Ambassador and Minister Plenipotenciary to Venezuela, 1911.
- Minister Plenipotenciary to Italy, 1911-1912.
- Member of the Constituent Assembly, 1884.
- Deputy to the National Assambly, 1901.

Sources: Historia diplomática del Perú, 1900-1945. (Lima: Ediciones Peruanas, 1964), p.379. Paz-Soldán, op.cit., pp.11-15.

II.- Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán (1748-1798).

Peruvian Jesuit priest who wrote a "Letter to the Spanish Americans", one of the very first documents calling for independence from Spain.

After listing a series of grievances against Spain, he urged Spanish Americans to follow the example of the english colonies and declare independence. He said that the American continent possessed the right elements for progress and that it would be an example to the world for the freedom that it would enjoy.

> "How many fleeing from oppression or hardship will come to enrich us with their industriousness, their knowledge and to increase our scarce population! In this way, America will have all the resources of the

earth and its inhabitants will be joined by the common interest of [creating] one, great family of brothers."

Source: Gustavo Vergara Arias, ed., Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán. Primer precursor de la emancipación hispanoamericana. (Lima, 1963), pp.161-162.

This great Peruvian while living in exile in London met Rufus King (1755-1827), the American Minister to England (1796-1803), to whom he gave his papers.
Source: Merle E. Simmons, Los escritos de Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán, precursor de la Independencia hispanoamericana. (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello. Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1983). [The Jesuits were expelled from Spain and Latin America in the second half of the XVIII century]

background notes

Peru

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

December 1987

Official Name: Republic of Peru

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 1.28 million sq. km. (496,222 sq. mi.); three times larger than California. **Cities:** *Capital*—Lima (pop. 6 million, 1986 est.). *Other cities*—Arequipa, Chiclayo, Cusco, Huancayo, Trujillo, Piura, Iquitos, Chimbote. **Terrain:** Western coastal plains, central rugged mountains (Andes), eastern lowlands with tropical jungle forests. **Climate:** Coastal area, arid and mild; Andes, temperate to frigid; eastern lowlands, tropically warm and humid.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—Peruvian(s). **Population** (1986 est.): 20.2 million. **Annual growth rate** (1986 est.): 2.5%. **Ethnic groups:** Indian 45%, mestizo 37%, white 15%, black, Asian, and other 3%. **Religion:** Roman Catholic. **Official languages:** Spanish and Quechua. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—10. *Literacy*—79%. **Health:** *Infant mortality rate*—91/1,000. *Life expectancy*—60.8 yrs. **Work force** (5.2 million): *Agriculture*—38%. *Industry and mining*—17%. *Government and other services*—45%.

Government

Type: Constitutional republic. **Independence:** 1821. **Constitution:** Took effect July 28, 1980, but often referred to as the 1979 constitution because constituent assembly met to write the constitution that year.

Branches: *Executive*—president, two vice presidents, Council of Ministers. *Legislative*—Senate and Chamber of Deputies. *Judicial*—Supreme Court and lower courts, Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees.

Administrative subdivisions: 24 departments, 1 constitutional province.

Political parties: Popular Action (AP), American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), Popular Christian Party (PPC), United Left (IU) coalition. **Suffrage:** Universal over 18. (Members of the military may not vote.)

Central government budget (1987): $3.9 billion.

Defense (1987 est.): 4% of GNP.

Flag: Three vertical stripes—red, white, red—with coat of arms on center stripe.

Economy

GDP (1986): $17 billion. **Annual growth rate** (1986): 9%. **Per capita GDP** (1986): $839. **Inflation rate** (1986): 62.9%.

Natural resources: Minerals, metals, petroleum, forests, fish.

Agriculture (11% of GDP): *Products*—coffee, cotton, cocoa, sugar, wool, corn, potatoes.

Industry (23% of GDP): *Types*—mineral processing, oil refining, fishmeal, textile, food processing, light manufacturing, automobile assembly.

Trade (1986): *Exports*—$2.5 billion: petroleum, copper, silver, zinc, lead, fishmeal, coffee, cotton, canned and frozen fish. *Major markets*—US (35%), EC, Japan. *Imports*—$2.4 billion: machinery, cereals, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, petroleum and mining equipment. *Major suppliers*—US (29%), Andean Pact countries, EC, Japan.

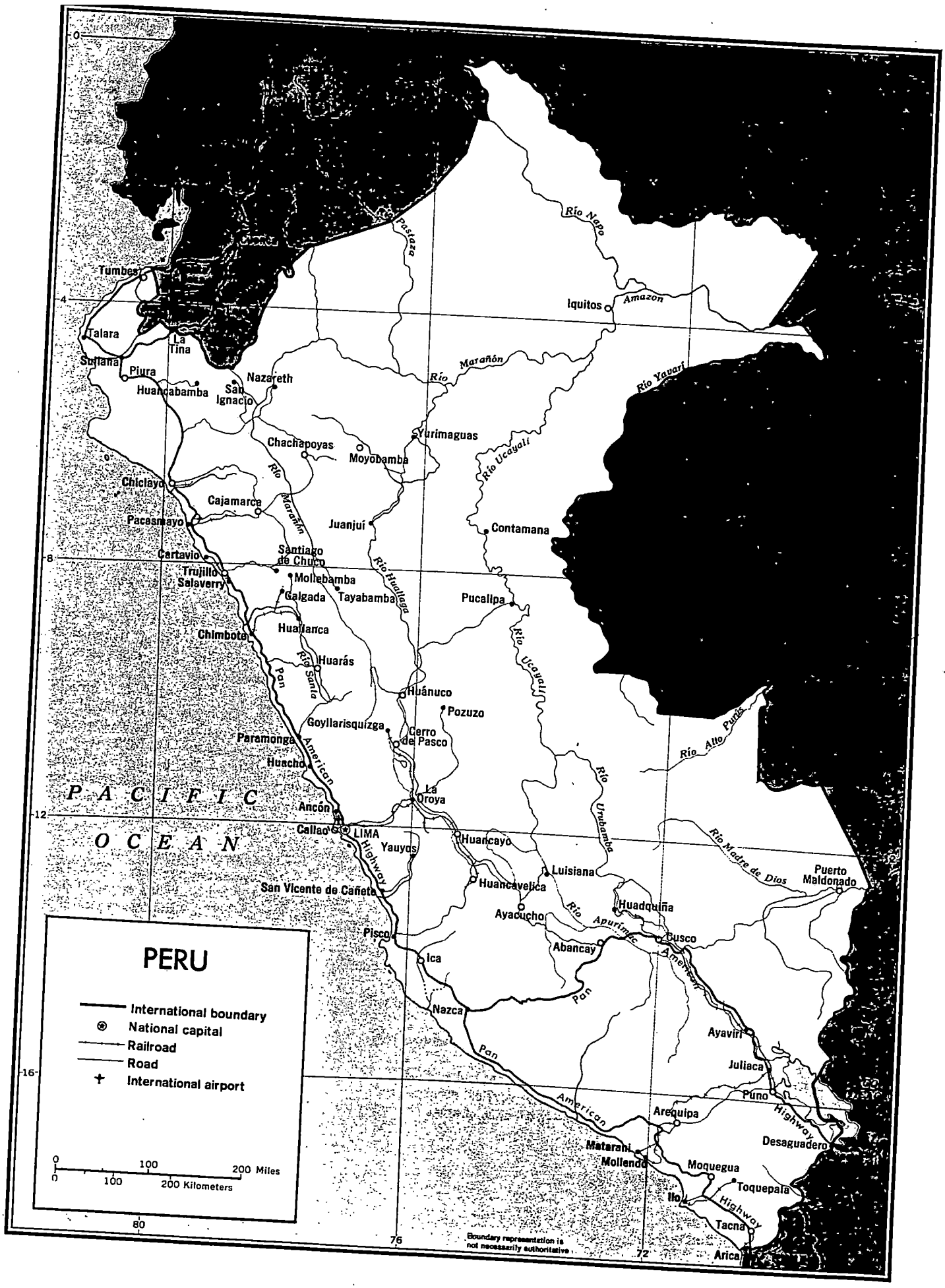
Fiscal year: Calendar year.

Official exchange rate (1987): The inti replaced the sol in 1986: 1 inti=1,000 sol; 37.00 intis=US$1. *Financial rate*—18.98 intis=US$1 (May 1987). *Devaluation policy for 1987*—2.2% per month in each rate.

Economic aid received: *Total*—$4.45 billion (1946–86) from US and international financial institutions. *US aid*—$1.15 billion (1946–86) in loans, grants, PL 480 programs.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and some of its specialized agencies, Organization of American States, Andean Pact common market, Latin American Economic System (SELA), Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), Inter-American Development Bank, INTELSAT, Nonaligned Movement, Group of 77, African Fund.

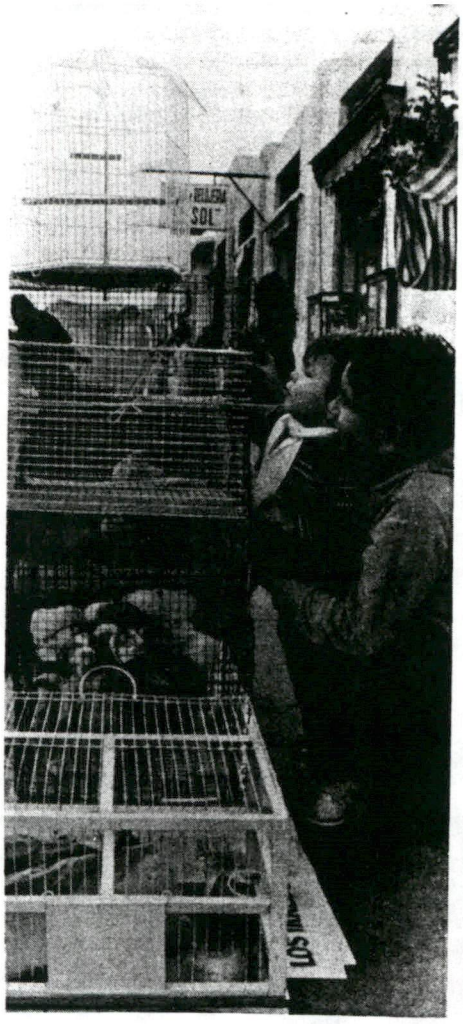

PERU
International boundary
National capital
Railroad
Road
International airport
0 100 200 Miles
0 100 200 Kilometers
Boundary representation is not necessarily authoritative
PACIFIC OCEAN
Tumbes
Talara
La Tina
Sullana
Piura
Huancabamba
San Ignacio
Nazareth
Chachapoyas
Moyobamba
Iquitos
Amazon
Río Napo
Pastaza
Río Marañón
Río Yavari
Yurimaguas
Río Ucayali
Chiclayo
Cajamarca
Pacasmayo
Juanjuí
Contamana
Cartavio
Santiago de Chuco
Trujillo
Salaverry
Mollebamba
Tayabamba
Galgada
Río Huallaga
Pucallpa
Chimbote
Huallanca
Río Santa
Huarás
Pan American
Huánuco
Pozuzo
Goyllarisquizga
Cerro de Pasco
Paramonga
Huacho
Río Alto Purús
Río Urubamba
La Oroya
Ancón
Callao
LIMA
Yauyos
Huancayo
Luisiana
Río Madre de Dios
Puerto Maldonado
Huancavelica
San Vicente de Cañete
Huadquiña
Ayacucho
Río Apurímac
Pisco
Cusco
Abancay
Ica
Nazca
Ayaviri
Juliaca
Puno
Arequipa
Desaguadero
Matarani
Mollendo
Moquegua
Toquepala
Ilo
Tacna
Arica
Highway
80
76
72
12
16
8
4
0

GEOGRAPHY

The third largest country in South America, Peru is bordered by Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Chile, and Brazil. Peru claims a 320-kilometer (200-mi.) territorial sea along its 2,240-kilometer (1,400-mi.) Pacific Ocean coastline. The country has three topographical and climatic regions.

- The coastal area (the *costa*), 26–260 kilometers (10–100 mi.) wide, consists of arid plains and foothills, with mild temperatures year round. The country's industrial and commercial population and political centers are in this region, dependent upon water running off the Andes. The contrast between the desert and the verdant river valleys along the coast is abrupt and striking.
- The Andes Mountains (the *sierra*), about 320 kilometers (200 mi.) wide, occupy nearly 27% of Peru's land area and represent a formidable natural barrier to transportation and communication between the coast and the interior. The highest mountain, Huascaran, is 6,729 meters (22,071 ft.) above sea level. The climate in the *sierra* ranges from temperate to frigid, depending on elevation and time of day. The *sierra* contains major mineral deposits.
- The eastern jungle (the *selva*) accounts for more than half of Peru's land area. Many rivers descend from the high jungle on the Andes' eastern slopes (the *montana*) and feed into the Amazon. The climate is warm and humid, with abundant rainfall throughout the year. Rainfall normally exceeds 254 centimeters (100 in.) annually on the eastern slopes. The *selva* is proving to have moderate petroleum and large natural gas deposits.

Lima's climate is often compared to that of San Francisco, except annual rainfall on the desert coast totals only 2.5–5 centimeters (1–2 in.). Lima has no extreme temperatures and little daily variation. Summers (January–March) are warm (high temperatures rarely above 29°C—85°F) and sunny during the day and pleasantly cool (mid-60s) at night. In contrast, during winter (May–November), the city is almost constantly covered with a low-hanging mist, produced by the cold waters of the Humboldt Current (winter temperatures rarely fall below 10°C—50°F).



Local market scene.

PEOPLE

Peru's ethnic structure is primarily made up of Indians, mestizos, and Hispanic Europeans. Some Peruvians are also of African descent, and Lima and other coastal cities have Chinese and Japanese communities. Mestizos form a cultural bridge between the Hispanic-European and Indian societies. White Europeans tend to be culturally homogeneous throughout the country, whereas the mestizos and Indians show greater cultural diversity. Through education and economic development and the movement from rural to urban areas, however, a more homogeneous national culture is developing, especially in major cities.

Peru has two official languages—Spanish and the foremost indigenous language, Quechua. Spanish is the language of government, the media, education, and commerce. The Indians of the *selva* (forest) speak various dialects and languages and are ethnically distinct from those of the *sierra* (mountains). Some of these tribes still live much as they have since prehistoric times, while others have been almost completely assimilated into the mestizo-Hispanic culture.

Under the 1979 constitution, primary education is free and compulsory. The system is highly centralized, with the Minister of Education appointing all public school teachers. Private schools, especially Catholic, traditionally have exercised a more influential role and enrolled proportionately more students than private schools in the United States. Eighty-four percent of Peru's students attend public schools at all levels. School enrollment has been rising sharply for years, due to a widening educational effort by the government and a growing school-age population. Illiteracy, above 70% in isolated areas of the *sierra*, is estimated at 28% in urban areas. Elementary and secondary school enrollment is about 5 million. University enrollment is more than 250,000.

Cultural Achievements

The relationship between Hispanic and Indian cultures determines much of the nation's cultural expression. Peru has passed through various intellectual stages, from the implantation of colonial Hispanic culture to an affectation of European romanticism after independence. The beginning of this century brought *indigenismo*, expressed in a new awareness of pre-Hispanic and Indian culture. After World War II, Peruvian writers, artists, and intellectuals participated in worldwide intellectual and artistic movements, drawing especially on U.S. and European trends.

The first phase of the 1968–80 military government sought to move away from European and North American influence toward Peruvian indigenous cultural forms, including the increased use of Quechua in the official media and emphasis on symbols such as 18th-century rebel Indian leader Tupac Amaru. Nonetheless, Peruvian literature remained tied to continental and world trends, and such writers as Mario Vargas Llosa, Alfredo Bryce Echenique, and Julio Ramon Ribeyro contributed to the Latin American literary boom, achieving an international readership.

government. The most recent period of military rule (1968–80) began when Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado overthrew elected President Fernando Belaunde Terry of the Popular Action Party (AP). As part of what has been called the "first phase" of the military government's nationalist program, Velasco undertook an extensive agrarian reform program and nationalized the fishmeal industry, some petroleum companies, and several banks and mining firms.

As a result of Velasco's economic mismanagement and deteriorating health, Gen. Francisco Morales Bermudez Cerruti replaced Velasco in 1975. Morales Bermudez moved the revolution into a more pragmatic "second phase," tempering the authoritarian abuses of the first phase and beginning the task of restoring the country's economy. Morales Bermudez presided over the return to civilian government in accordance with a new constitution drawn up in 1979. In the May 1980 elections, President Belaunde Terry was returned to office by an impressive plurality.

Nagging economic problems left over from the military government persisted, worsened by a period of unusual weather in 1982–83, which caused widespread flooding in some parts of the country, severe droughts in others and decimated the schools of ocean fish that are one of Peru's major resources. After a promising beginning, Belaunde's popularity eroded under the stress of inflation, economic hardship, and terrorism. The 1983 municipal elections were won largely by opposition party candidates. In 1985, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), founded in 1928 by Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, won the presidential election, bringing Alan Garcia Perez to office. The transfer of the presidency from Belaunde to Garcia on July 28, 1985, was Peru's first exchange of power from one democratically elected leader to another in 40 years.

GOVERNMENT

The president is popularly elected for a 5-year term and may not be reelected to a consecutive term. The first and second vice presidents also are popularly elected but have no constitutional functions unless the president is unable to discharge his duties. The principal executive body is the Council of Ministers, headed by a prime minister. Like other cabinet members, the prime minister is appointed by the president. All presidential decree laws or draft bills sent to Congress must be approved by the Council of Ministers.

The legislative branch consists of a bicameral Congress with a 60-member Senate and a 180-member Chamber of Deputies, both elected for 5-year terms. Constitutionally elected former presidents are also designated senators for life. Congress convenes from July 27 to December 15 and from April 1 to May 31, annually. In addition to passing laws, Congress is empowered to approve treaties, authorize government loans, and approve the government budget. Each congressional body has the power to initiate legislation, which is then submitted to the other body for revision. The president has the power to review legislation but may not veto laws passed by Congress.

The judicial branch of government is headed by a 16-member Supreme Court seated in Lima. The Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees, a separate judicial body, interprets the constitution on matters of individual rights. An independent attorney general serves as a judicial ombudsman. Superior courts sit in departmental capitals and hear appeals from decisions by lower courts. Courts of first instance are located in provincial capitals and are divided into civil, penal, and special chambers.

Peru is divided into 24 departments and the constitutional province of Callao, the country's chief port, adjacent to Lima. The departments are subdivided into provinces, which are composed of districts. Local authorities below the departmental level are elected.

Principal Government Officials

President—Dr. Alan **Garcia** Perez
First Vice President—Dr. Luis Alberto **Sanchez** y Sanchez
Second Vice President—Dr. Luis Juan **Alva** Castro*

Ministers
Prime Minister—Guiellermo Larco Cox
Minister of the Presidency—Nicanor **Mujica** Alvarez Calderon
Foreign Minister—Dr. Allan **Wagner** Tizon
Economy and Finance—Dr. Gustavo Saberbein
Interior—Dr. Jose **Barsallo** Burga
Justice—Dr. Carlos **Blancas** Bustamante
War—Gen. Jorge **Flores** Torres
Navy—Vice Adm. Willy **Harm**
Aeronautics—Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Jose **Guerra** Lorenzetti
Education—Mercedes Cabanillas De Llanos de la Mata
Public Health—Dr. Ilda Urizar
Agriculture and Food—Ing. Remigio **Morales-Bermudez** Pedraglio
Labor—Dr. Orestes **Rodriguez** Campos
Housing and Construction—Ing. Luis **Bedoya** Velez
Transportation and Communication—Gen. German **Parra** Hovera
Energy and Mines—Abel Salinas Izaguirre
Fisheries—Ing. Javier **Labarthe** Correa
Industry, Commerce, Tourism and Integration—Alberto **Vero** La Rosa
Chief of the National Planning Institute—Ing. Javier **Tantalean** Arbulu

Ambassador to the United States—Ing. Cesar **Atala** Nazal
Permanent Representative to the United Nations—Amb. Carlos **Alzamora** Traverso
Ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS)—Dr. Luis **Gonzales Posada** Izaguirre

*Holds three positions.

Peru maintains an embassy in the United States at 1700 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20036 (tel. 202–833–9860). Peru has consulates in New York; Paterson, N.J.; Miami; Chicago; Houston; Los Angeles; and San Francisco.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

After a 57-year wait, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), Peru's oldest mass-based political party, came to power in 1985 with the inauguration of President Alan Garcia Perez. At 36, Garcia became one of the world's youngest leaders.

A dynamic orator, now famous for his hours-long balcony speeches, Garcia mixes populism, pragmatism, and the basic tenets of APRA ideology (anti-imperialism and Latin American integration) and occupies a unique position in the noncommunist left. In the 1985 election, the center-right Popular Action (AP) of President Fernando Belaunde Terry suffered a disastrous defeat (receiving only 6% of the vote), leaving the United Left (IU) as Garcia's primary opposition.

In dealing with the Marxist left, Garcia frequently tries to usurp its positions, especially in his appeals to the poorest sectors of the society and his anti-imperialist rhetoric. His strategy appears to have been successful and led APRA to an upset victory in the 1986 municipal elections when APRA candidate Jorge Del Castillo defeated incumbent Lima Mayor and IU

U.S. Economic Assistance
Fiscal Years 1946–86

	US$ millions	Cumulative total *US$ millions*
AID		615.0
Loans	396.0	
Grants	212.0	
ESF grants	7.0	
PL 480 (Food for Peace)		482.3
Loans (Title I)	219.7	
Grants (Title II)	262.6	
Other		98.8
Loans	50.7	
Grants	48.1	
(Peace Corps $25.2)		
(Narcotics control $16.8)		
(Other $6.1)		
Total direct US economic assistance		1,196.1
Other US Government loans/grants		
Export-Import Bank loans		483.5
All other loans		463.4
Assistance from international agencies*		3,302.1
International Finance Corporation	90.1	
Inter-American Development Bank	1,466.7	
World Bank	1,677.4	
UN Development Program	53.3	
Other UN assistance	14.6	

*Partially US funded

President Alfonso Barrantes. Barrantes' defeat has threatened the stability of IU's six-party coalition as the more radical IU members push for greater confrontation with APRA. Barrantes resigned as IU President in May 1987.

Peru's political situation is complicated by two Marxist terrorist organizations—*Sendero Luminoso* (The Shining Path) and the MRTA-MIR (Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement-Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The Maoist *Sendero Luminoso* began its terrorist violence in 1980 and has concentrated its subversion in seven mountain departments. In the past 3 years *Sendero* has become increasingly bold, expanding into the capital, where it commits frequent bombings and assassinations of military and police officers and political leaders. The MRTA-MIR, a more traditional insurgent group, is concentrated in Lima and generally limits its attacks to property.

The Popular Action Party (AP) and the Popular Christian Party (PPC) make up the center-right and right of the Peruvian political spectrum. President Belaunde heads AP (despite the problems of his last administration, he remains personally powerful). The PPC is led by its founder, former Lima Mayor Luis Bedoya Reyes. His party remains strong among Lima's upper- and middle-class residents but has made few inroads among the urban poor or outside the capital. Bedoya ran for president in 1985 and mayor of Lima in 1986, in both cases placing third behind the APRA and IU candidates.

Following its successes in the 1985 and 1986 elections, APRA controls both houses of the Peruvian Congress as well as municipal governments in a majority of Peru's important cities, including Cusco, Huancayo, Trujillo, Piura, Iquitos, Huaraz, and Cajamarca. With control of the Congress, Garcia has been able to fight off legislative attacks by the opposition and push his own agenda, which includes decentralization of the Peruvian bureaucracy and reorganization of several government branches.

The next municipal elections will occur in 1989, but the real test of APRA's performance comes in the 1990 sponsibility for an abysmal economy was laid at the feet of Popular Action in 1985, APRA will most likley be judged by the voters on its economic performance.

ECONOMY

Peru's economy has moved somewhat erratically in recent years, the result of shifts in government orientation and policies, fluctuating international prices for the country's major exports, and, to a lesser extent, weather patterns that have had particularly negative effects on agriculture and fisheries. The government of former President Belaunde (1980–85) endeavored to rebuild a market economy, dismantling structural inefficiencies inherited from 12 years of military rule. Nonetheless, a swollen and corrupt bureaucracy, ill-chosen and often nonproductive investment projects, a heavy external debt burden, increasing budget deficits, and spiralling inflation inhibited the reformist government from meeting its goals. Popular dissatisfaction with the failures of the Belaunde presidency led to its replacement by the more interventionist Garcia administration in 1985.

President Garcia's initial domestic economic policies sought to stabilize and then reactivate the economy by establishing strict price controls and reducing nonessential government spending to fight inflationary tendencies. Salaries were increased to promote consumption and domestic growth, and in a unilateral, unorthodox decision, the government redirected foreign exchange to local investment by strictly limiting external debt service payments to 10% of exports. In late 1985, total external debt stood at $13.7 billion, or 81% of GDP. Of that amount, $3 billion represented interest and principal payments past due.

The refusal to process debt repayments when due has led the International Monetary Fund to declare Peru ineligible for further borrowing and has created a growing spirit of confrontation between Peru and its other foreign creditors. Lower debt payments initially stimulated the domestic economy but will do long-term damage to Peru's ties to the international financial community. According to preliminary government statistics, the economy grew by 9% in 1986. The inflation rate, which had risen to some 250% on an annual basis during the last months of the Belaunde government, dropped from 158% at the end of 1985 to 63% in 1986.

Much of the growth in 1986 was the direct result of a boom in industry and construction. Peru's industrial sector—based almost exclusively in the Lima metropolitan area—produces a wide variety of products primarily for domestic consumption. Because family incomes could not keep up with high inflation during the early 1980s, local demand for consumer goods—and, therefore, inputs into these goods as well—fell off considerably, and the country's factories began to operate well below capacity. Due to the new government's policy of periodic salary increases accompanied by strict price controls, demand soared beginning early in 1986. Manufacturers responded by stepping up production at little additional cost because of the existing idle capacity. The net result was an estimated 25% jump in production of consumer goods industries and a 16% increase in industry as a whole. Construction activity also increased as higher family incomes found their way into new or improved housing.

Although industry is the country's dominant sector in terms of output, agriculture continues to provide a living for some 38% of all Peruvians. Large-scale, cooperatively owned irrigated farms located on the coast produce cotton, rice, and sugarcane, as well as fruit and vegetables for domestic and export sales. Most farmers, however, continue to work small subsistence plots in the highlands where they grow potatoes, corn, and fodder for their small herds. Due to the lack of suitable land (only 2.2% of the land is considered arable) and the decreased agricultural productivity in the wake of largely unsuccessful land reform efforts during the 1970s, the sector continues to suffer. The government's high priority on raising agricultural production is critical for the country's future, but inefficiency and low yields continue to hamper advancement. Following several poor crop years in a row caused by abnormal climatic conditions, low agricultural prices, and large-scale migration to the cities, agriculture experienced a relatively good year in 1986. Partly a result of increased and concessional farm credit and higher food prices, agriculture grew by almost 4% in 1986 with record potato, cotton, and corn crops. Incomes in the countryside increased as much as 25% in 1986, stemming migration to Lima and other coastal cities at least temporarily.

Peru has traditionally based its economy, in large part, on the nation's rich and varied mineral resources. Mining remains extremely important today, both as a source of badly needed foreign exchange as well as employment, particularly in the impoverished Andean highlands. Peru is one of the world's leading producers of silver, lead, zinc, copper, gold, and iron ore. Nonetheless, mining was the only sector to experience a poor year in 1986. Largely because of the drop in international prices for mineral products and hydrocarbons, the sector's output contracted for 2 consecutive years. Labor unrest in the mines also took a toll on production, and several small and medium-sized mines have been closed. Peru has been a net petroleum exporter since 1978. Although the country's crude oil reserves are not great—only 500–550 million barrels—Occidental Petroleum has recently made several substantial discoveries both in the eastern jungle and on the northern part of the continental shelf. More importantly, Royal Dutch Shell has uncovered a major gas deposit near the Brazilian border; the initial estimate is that the find contains 7 trillion cubic feet of gas. Peru's actual petroleum production, nonetheless, declined in 1986.

Before 1982, Peru was one of the world's largest fish producers, but the climatic effects associated with the *El Nino* phenomenon killed schools of fish and forced them offshore into deeper water. Overfishing has also had negative effects in some years, but the sector began to recover in 1985, and during 1986 turned in a growth rate of 25%. Although it contributes only a small amount to total GDP, Peru's fisheries—producing not only fish for human consumption but also fishmeal—are of major importance to the country's foreign trade.

U.S. Development Assistance

FY 1986

US $ millions (rounded)

Development Assistance	
Grants	17.6
Loans	
ESF grants	7.0
PL 480 (Food for Peace)	
Title I (loan)	20.0
Title II (grant)	13.5
Total	58.1

Foreign Trade

Foreign trade is critical to Peru's economic well-being. In the past, the country's diverse exports made the national economy less susceptible to the damaging effects of individual commodity price fluctuations than that of most other Latin American nations. In spite of the economy's rapid recovery in 1986,

Vegetable market, Lima.

Travel Notes

Climate and clothing: During the damp winter (May–November), mediumweight clothing is suitable; in summer, wear lightweight clothing. Local fashions are similar to those in the US.

Health: Community sanitation conditions are not a serious problem. Lima has several good restaurants; however, outside the city it is best to dine at a tourist hotel and take reasonable precautions. Although Lima's tapwater is treated, many people drink bottled water, and elsewhere it should be boiled. Yellow fever inoculation and malaria suppressants are recommended for jungle travel. Health requirements change; check latest information. Gamma globulin is recommended against hepatitis. At high altitudes in the Andes, lack of oxygen may cause headaches and nausea.

Security: The cities of Lima and Callao have been under a state of emergency and a 1:00 am to 5:00 am curfew due to terrorism since February 1986. Tourists arriving at the airport during curfew hours will be issued a limited safe-conduct pass. The Peruvian Government continues to designate portions of the departments of Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Apurimac, Huanuco, and Pasco as emergency zones, also due to terrorism. Terrorist activity is unpredictable.

Telecommunications: National and international telephone and telegraph service is available in Lima and in major cities, although there are often delays in placing calls. Long-distance telephone and telegraph service to the US, via satellite, is fairly good. Peru is in the eastern standard time zone.

Transportation: Lima is served by several international airlines, and Peru has economical domestic air travel. The scenic Central Railway connecting Lima with the central highlands of the Peruvian Andes is the world's highest standard-gauge railway, crossing the main range at above 4,570 m. (15,000 ft.). The more extensive Southern Railway links Mollendo on the coast with Arequipa, Cusco, and Puno.

Taxis are available in Lima and principal cities; rental cars are available in Lima.

Tourist attractions: Lima—cathedral, gold museum, Larco Herrera Museum (ceramics). Pre-Inca sites—Nazca, Pachacamac (south of Lima), Chan Chan (north of Trujillo). Inca sites—Cusco, Machu Picchu. Colonial cities (besides Lima and Cusco)—Arequipa, Trujillo, Iquitos (on the Amazon River). Callejon de Huaylas (Andean mountain valley). Lake Titicaca (highest navigable lake in the world).

Tourists are generally admitted for 60–90 days without a visa. Business travelers should obtain a visa from a Peruvian consulate in the United States before departure.

the government continues to take a relatively protectionist line in formulating trade policy—largely in an effort to conserve reserves now that access to external credit is threatened by the government's unorthodox and isolationist stance on servicing its external debt. Import licenses or foreign exchange authorizations are currently required for all products, and the administration has prohibited the importation of all luxury goods. The government also makes full use of tariffs and a multitiered system of exchange rates to promote exports and discourage imports considered nonessential to economic reactivation.

The trade surplus that Peru has enjoyed for the past several years narrowed to only $70 million in 1986, partly the result of lower prices for the country's mineral and petroleum exports and partly because the economy's rapid growth demanded more imports to fuel domestic production. Decreases in export receipts have created serious deficits in Peru's current account and caused an unforeseen drain on foreign exchange reserves in 1986.

The United States is Peru's largest trading partner. Bilateral trade between the countries has favored Peru for the last 5 years. Imports from the United States in 1986 accounted for about 29% of all imports into Peru, while the United States in turn received about 35% of Peru's exports, mostly in the form of minerals. Total 1986 trade between the United States and Peru equaled about $1.6 billion.

U.S. Investment in Peru

Much of the U.S. investment in Peru is concentrated in the mining and petroleum sectors; many other U.S. subsidiaries manufacture consumer products or provide services. Current book value of U.S. investment in the country is estimated at $3 billion. The largest single U.S. investors are the Southern Peru Copper Corporation—primarily owned by ASARCO—and Occidental Petroleum, which has important concessions and operations in the northern jungle areas.

The Garcia administration is increasingly placing major importance on new investment as the only way to keep the economy growing in the absence of access to new external credits. It has, nonetheless, made it clear that investors must subordinate their interests to those of Peru. Potential investors are concerned about the government's price control policies, the continuing restriction on profit remittances, the uneasy situation resulting from the country's unorthodox debt service policies, and the lack of a clear set of rules of the game. Potential investors will also watch closely how the Garcia administration follows through with its commitment to compensate the Enron Corporation for the assets of its Belco Oil subsidiary, which the state took over following the termination of its contract. Finally, investment is also hindered by restrictive Peruvian labor laws. Recently, the government has reinstated several tax and other financial incentives for new investors, with additional incentives for those willing to establish plants or projects outside metropolitan Lima.

The Outlook for the Future

The economy is likely to grow considerably more slowly in 1987 as capacity constraints inhibit substantial additional increases in production; these production bottlenecks, coupled with relaxation of price controls, government pledges to increase wages faster than the cost of living index, and mounting central government budget deficits, indicate that inflationary pressures will intensify. Low prices for Peru's mineral exports, a continuing bias toward domestic rather than export sales of manufactured goods, capital flight, and the lack of new external credits will contribute to continuing balance-of-payments problems during the years to come.

Development momentum may well have slowed somewhat due to the government's preoccupation with macroeconomic issues, insufficient capital investment funds at home, and a dramatic falloff in foreign credits as a result of Peru's policy of debt service limitation. Upgrading of education and services, reducing the 2.5% population growth rate through expanded family planning activities, decentralization of the economy, and agricultural development remain high government priorities, as does reducing the high unemployment and underemployment rates.

U.S. Economic Assistance

U.S. bilateral assistance to Peru (including food aid and disaster relief and rehabilitation) totaled $327 million during the 1984–86 period. Excluding food aid, the program averaged about $65 million per year in loans and grants. It has been AID's (Agency for International Development) largest program in South America. AID has provided valuable resources for priority development projects at a time when Peru's own domestic resources have been severely restricted by the need for austerity in public spending and by unprecedented natural disasters. Projects are concentrated in agriculture, health, private enterprise promotion, and institutional development.

AID is assisting Peru in raising agricultural productivity through development of more rational policies, by improving agriculture technology transfer, and through improved water and soil conservation practices. Other projects support Peru's decentralization programs and new development efforts in the mountainous areas of the jungle.

AID is also active in providing health, nutrition, and family planning services, emphasizing preventive health and nutrition interventions for small children and their mothers.

In addition, U.S. economic assistance is reaching the poor who have migrated to Lima and other cities, many of whom live in squatter settlements (known as *pueblos jovenes*) that surround the city. Specific AID projects include food for work programs, vocational training, and urban small enterprise development programs.

DEFENSE

Beginning in the early 1970s, Peru embarked on an arms modernization program for all military services. Deliveries extended into the late 1980s. The purchases included:

- **Army:** Soviet T–55 Tanks, artillery, surface-to-air missile systems, helicopters; and U.S. self-propelled artillery pieces;
- **Air Force:** Soviet supersonic fighter-bombers, helicopters, assault transport aircraft, surface-to-air missiles, and anti-aircraft guns; U.S. A–37 aircraft, helicopters, and transports; Italian advanced training aircraft; and French Mirage fighters;
- **Navy:** West German submarines; a converted Dutch helicopter cruiser; Italian missile frigates and helicopters; French missile patrol boats; used Dutch destroyers; and U.S. helicopters.

Further Information

These titles are provided as a general indication of material published on this country. The Department of State does not endorse unofficial publications.

Astiz, Carlos. *Pressure Groups and Power Elites in Peruvian Politics.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

Bourque, Susan C., and Kay Barbara Warren. *Women of the Andes—Patriarchy and Social Change in Two Peruvian Towns.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981.

Chaplin, David, ed. *Peruvian Nationalism: A Corporate Revolution.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1976.

Cleaves, Peter S., and Martin J. Scurrah. *Agriculture, Bureaucracy, and Military Government in Peru.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Dietz, Henry A. *Poverty and Problem-Solving Under Military Rule: The Urban Poor in Lima, Peru.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980.

Einaudi, Luigi R. *Revolution From Within? Military Rule in Peru Since 1968.* Santa Monica: Rand Corp., 1971.

FitzGerald, E.V.K. *The State and Economic Development: Peru Since 1968.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

McClintock, Cynthia, and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds. *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Gutierrez, Gustavo. *A Theology of Liberation.* Mary Knoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1973.

Hilliker, Grant. *The Politics of Reform in Peru; The Apristas and Other Mass Parties of Latin America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971.

Kuczynski, Pedro-Pablo. *Peruvian Democracy Under Economic Stress: An Account of the Belaunde Administration, 1963–68.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.

Lowenthal, Abraham F., ed. *The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change Under Military Rule.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.

Mason, John Alden. *The Ancient Civilization of Peru.* Baltimore: Penguin, 1964.

Palmer, David Scott. *Peru: The Authoritarian Tradition.* New York: Praeger, 1967.

Pike, Frederick B. *The Modern History of Peru.* New York: Praeger, 1967.

———. *The United States and the Andean Republics, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Prescott, William H. *History of the Conquest of Peru.* Rev. ed. New York: New American Library, 1961.

Sigmund, Paul E. *Multinationals in Latin America, the Politics of Nationalization.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980.

Stein, Steve. *Populism in Peru.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980.

Stepan, Alfred C. *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

English-language periodicals published in Peru:

Andean Report. Economic monthly. Apartado 2482, Lima.

Lima Times. Weekly for expatriate community. Carabaya 928, Office 304, Casilla 531, Lima.

Available from the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402:

American University. *Peru: A Country Study.* Area Handbook Series, 1981.

U.S. Department of Labor. *Foreign Labor Trends.*

U.S. Department of State. "U.S. Policy Toward Governments of Peru, 1822–Present." *Department of State Bulletin.* Vol. LXXI, No. 1947. November 18, 1974.

———. *Peru Post Report.* September 1985.

For information on economic trends, commercial development, production, trade regulations, and tariff rates, contact the International Trade Administration, US Department of Commerce, Washington, DC 20230 or any Commerce Department district office.

These purchases greatly increased Peru's economic burden but have made Peru a formidable military force in the region, causing Chile and Ecuador some concern. Peru was the first South American country to purchase Soviet arms. Peruvian officers, however, feel they can accept material support from the U.S.S.R. without allowing Soviet influence.

The armed forces are now challenged by an increasingly violent struggle with insurgents in the southern highlands and metropolitan Lima. To date, however, its principal focus is on the external threat.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Since his election in 1985, President Garcia has actively sought the role of Third World spokesman—traveling frequently and courting the nonaligned movement. He has been a vocal supporter of Nicaraguan sovereignty, visited Argentina to personally announce

Peru's solidarity against Great Britain in the Falklands/Malvinas dispute, and contributed $5 million to the African fund to help South Africa's neighbors.

As his APRA political heritage would suggest, Garcia is a strong proponent of Latin American integration in order to break traditional dependencies. He has frequently labeled the United States as "imperialist" and has suggested the creation of an organization of American states that would exclude the United States. Garcia has been especially critical of U.S. policy in Central America.

Peru, historically, has had conflicts with Ecuador and Chile, although relations with both countries are currently stable. Garcia scrupulously avoids commenting on the internal affairs of his neighbors but was energetic in his defense of Ecuador's democracy during the January 1987 kidnaping of President Febres Cordero.

Peru has relations with most communist countries and has allowed the Soviet Union a greater presence than any other nation in South America.

U.S.-PERUVIAN RELATIONS

U.S. relations with Peru are generally good but occasionally have been strained since APRA came to power in 1985. President Garcia's unilateral decision to limit Peru's external debt payment, strong support for Nicaraguan sovereignty, and continuous "anti-imperialist" rhetoric has often put him at odds with the United States. Despite the problems, the United States and Peru share the goals of supporting democracy, curbing the narcotics trade, and controlling terrorism. Cooperation in these areas as well as substantial U.S. development assistance to Peru have allowed the two nations to retain a working relationship. The principal U.S. interest in Peru continues to be the stability and strengthening of democratic institutions.

Principal U.S. Officials

Ambassador—Alexander F. Watson
Deputy Chief of Mission—Douglas Langan
Director, AID Mission—Donor Lion
Counselor for Public Affairs (USIS)—Charles Loveridge
Counselor for Political Affairs—John Hamilton
Counselor for Economic Affairs—Robert Knickmeyer
Counselor for Consular Affairs—Donna Hamilton
Counselor for Administrative Affairs—George Lowe Jr.
Naval Attache—Capt. John Shillingsburg
Army Attache—Col. Robert McGarity
Air and Defense Attache—Col. Thomas Crawford
Chief, Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG)—Col. August G. Jannarone
Counselor for Agricultural Affairs—Kenneth Murray
Commercial Attache—Arthur Alexander
Labor Attache—Enrique Perez
Consular Agent, Cusco—Dr. Olga Villagarcia

The U.S. Embassy in Peru is located at Avenidas Garcilaso de la Vega and Espana, Lima (tel. 33–8000). The consulate is located at Grimaldo Del Solar 346, Miraflores, Lima (tel. 44–3621). ■

Published by the United States Department of State • Bureau of Public Affairs • Office of Public Communication • Editorial Division • Washington, D.C. • December 1987
Editor: Juanita Adams

Department of State Publication 7799
Background Notes Series • This material is in the public domain and may be reproduced without permission; citation of this source would be appreciated.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

nized as a power in the world, has been discredited almost everywhere for its support of Saddam Hussein in the Gulf. And it has just been disarmed in Lebanon. The PLO retains only its ability to intimidate concession-minded Palestinians in the territories.

According to scholars such as Elie Kedourie, currently at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the United States and other outsiders should stop attempting to breathe artificial life into the Palestinian movement and should let Israel and the Palestinians find their own equilibrium. Kedourie thinks that increasing numbers of West Bank Palestinians are willing to defy the PLO, though he is not sure there are yet enough to get useful dialogue started with Israel. In any event, he says, the historic argument for focusing U.S. diplomacy on the Palestinian issue—that it offers an opening for Soviet exploitation—"has fallen to the ground." And Arab radicalism, he says, will always find other causes around which to rally, even if the Palestinian problem were solved.

The administration shares the notion that a new Palestinian leadership may emerge, and wants to intervene to help it by blocking Israeli seizure of more Arab territory. Administration officials agree that the PLO is discredited and the Palestinian population is demoralized, but they say that a Palestinian national movement will continue to exist and the job of the West is to prevent it from being radical (whether Islamic or secular) and causing trouble throughout the Arab world. With the PLO weak and Iraq defeated, the administration thinks that the time is right for a "territory for peace" trade between Israel and the Arabs, but that Israel's "aggressive" settlements policy forecloses that.

At the moment the administration and Israel are like two trains on a collision course over settlements and housing aid. The Israel lobby is gearing up for a fight that's being compared to the one waged in 1981 over the sale of AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia. Israel's government thinks it has the votes in Congress to beat the administration and is reportedly spoiling for a fight, hoping to show the administration how powerful it is. Pro-Israeli members of Congress and most Jewish organizations dislike Israel's settlements policy but can't persuade the Likud government to alter it. Meanwhile, they view housing guarantees for Russian émigrés as vital to Israel's future. Israel's side is ready to accuse the administration of politicizing the humanitarian issue of Jewish immigrant absorption.

On the other end, the administration's Middle East policy-makers also seem to want a fight, although they are looking for creative ways to limit West Bank settlements without directly conditioning housing aid. One option might be to cut overall aid to Israel (not housing money) by the amount the government spends on West Bank settlements. A surprise attempt by Texas Democrat John Bryant to do this on June 19, cutting $82.5 million from aid to Israel, was defeated by a vote of 378-44, but administration officials think this does not represent the true level of hostility to Jewish settlements.

Still, all indications are that the administration would suffer a sound thrashing in direct combat, that Likud hawks would be emboldened by the victory, and that America's Arab allies (whom the policy-makers seem eager to impress) would be dismayed. So, although from Bush on down there is nothing but rage at the Israelis for taking over Arab land, domestic pragmatists in the administration may yet prevail over would-be Mideast peacemakers. White House chief of staff John Sununu, no friend of Israel, is said to be counseling against a battle in Congress. Bush supposedly won't decide what to do for another several weeks, but top aides think he wants a stop to settlements badly enough that some linkage plan will result—and hence a bitter battle with Israel. ●

Peru battles an epidemic.

TIME OF CHOLERA

By Tina Rosenberg

LIMA

In early May, as cholera began to spread eastward into Peru's jungle, Health Ministry cholera czar Eduardo Salazar entered the business of motorboat repair. A few days later sixteen old boats, outfitted with new engines, radios, and volunteer doctors from Lima, began to navigate the rivers of Peruvian Amazonia, stopping at each stilt-house hamlet, searching for the sick. The doctors brought their i.v.s, rehydration packets, and tales of bacteria and microbes to people who have never seen an electric bulb and never felt the sensation of cold, who drink river water and the potions of *curanderos*, or shamans.

After five months, cholera is spreading to other countries in Latin America—and a few cases have been seen in the United States. But although cholera is disappearing from Peru for now, it will eventually become endemic, reappearing in weakened form each year. This is cholera's normal course. Truly astonishing, however, is the Peruvian government's success in treating it. Two thousand people have died: less than 1 percent of the roughly 250,000 who got the disease. In the world's last huge epidemic, in West Africa in the early 1970s, the death rate was between 20 and 30 percent.

Cholera has killed 2,000 people, while 40,000 children under 5 die each year from diarrhea in Peru. Yet it is cholera that inspires terror, in part because many Peruvians view the disease—never before seen here—as a metaphor for the country's slide back in

time from modernity. The more appropriate literary allusion for Peru today is not García Márquez but the book of Exodus: cholera, hunger, earthquake, drought, state terror, garbage, bombings, guerrillas, cocaine, and the blowing up of electrical towers.

Treating cholera has meant bridging the centuries separating the two Perus: the white coastal cities that live precariously in the modern age, and "Peru profundo," the largely rural Indian sierra and jungle where people live as their ancestors did a millennium ago. In 1987 researchers found a benign strain of *Vibrio cholerae* in the water of the Lima slum of Canto Grande. Peru's health infrastructure had broken down to the point where a toxic form of the bacteria could easily spread. On January 23, 1991, the inevitable happened: the first cases of cholera appeared, the bacteria probably brought by a fishing boat from Asia. "This is 'Chronicle of an Epidemic Foretold,' " said Alberto Flórez, head of the Lima-based Pan American Center for Sanitary Engineering.

It would be hard to think of a country worse prepared. Diarrhea and vomiting can kill cholera victims within four hours unless they receive rehydration. But for many in rural Peru, a health clinic is a day's journey on foot, horse, or bicycle, and the clinic is likely to stock only the most rudimentary medicines. The nurse may be there a few hours a day or not at all; in April health workers went on strike to protest their $45 monthly salaries. The streets of downtown Lima are still filled with police turning tear gas and water cannon on striking nurses. Most public hospitals have no medicine, sheets, or food. At Lima's Dos de Mayo hospital in April, I waited two hours for a doctor to arrive at the converted tuberculosis ward, which serves as one of three cholera halls. It was so jammed that men held their i.v. bottles while standing or sitting on benches. "What I'm doing won't solve this problem," said Dr. Julio Ramirez as he checked patients' antibiotic schedules. "The solution is getting water and sewers to people so they can wash."

The cholera bacterium lives in contaminated water and foods; it infects humans unless it is killed by thorough cooking. Cholera is a disease of poverty: practically absent from wealthy neighborhoods, but prevalent among those who do not wash, drink clean water, properly dispose of waste, or eat cooked food. Every control measure requires water, but a smaller percentage of people have water and sewers in Peru than practically anywhere else in the hemisphere.

Mass migration to the cities has stretched urban water systems to the breaking point. Bathrooms are filthy even in the Health Ministry. Women living in straw huts on the bleak sand dunes in the Villa El Salvador shantytown south of Lima said they bought their water from peddlers. The water is foul—some peddlers simply scoop it from rivers—and sits in foul tanks. At $4 for a month's supply, it is so expensive that the average person uses less than four gallons in a day; in the United States the average is 100 gallons.

Conditions in rural Peru are even more propitious for cholera's spread. In some parts of the rural sierra, the only water comes from rivers, and one doctor serves 25,000 residents. Most rural children do not get the necessary vaccines. Unable to see any value in modern medicine, rural Peruvians carry on as they have for centuries. Water that looks clear is good enough to drink; besides, boiled water tastes funny. To many in the sierra, *cólera*—which also means anger in Spanish—is not a disease but the wrath of God, provoked by the killing of animals, to be banished through prayer. Three-day wakes for the dead are an enduring Andean custom: the people who wash the body and clothes of the cholera victim also prepare food for guests, who then get cholera, producing more wakes.

And there are the *curanderos*, healers of choice for many in the jungle and sierra. Patricio Torres, a 78-year-old *curandero* I visited in Peru's south, told me he treated patients with herbs, cards, and animals. "If you have an evil thing in your house, I'll come with a guinea pig. We let the animal go, and he goes right to where the problem is." He also passed animals over a patient's body. "A chicken is good. You pass it over the patient and then kill it and open it up. The sickness will show up as a red stain. It works just like the X-ray a doctor takes."

"Some things, like a skin infection, clear up fine with herbs," said Fulgencio Llasaca, a doctor who had worked in the village of Locumba, where he made friends with the two *curanderos*. "But when I had a seriously ill patient who preferred a *curandero*'s advice, I would take the *curandero* aside and explain the necessary treatment. He would prescribe it and everyone would be satisfied."

To citizens of Peru profundo, the *curandero*'s chicken is the familiar medicine they have used all their lives. It is the doctor's fabulous stories of invisible bugs and magic needles to ward off disease and the goings-on inside the fortresslike hospitals where people go in but never come out that seem like black magic. And yet in fighting cholera, the Health Ministry managed to find the point at which the two Perus intersect, introducing the benefits of the modern state to those left outside for centuries.

Health Ministry officials immediately announced the epidemic (some other Latin countries have tried to cover up their cholera) and have since kept reliable statistics on its progress. This did not sit well with everyone; President Alberto Fujimori and his fisheries minister, concerned about the impact on industry, ate seviche, a traditional raw fish dish, on TV. A jump in new cases followed—possibly including the fisheries minister: *The New York Times* reported rumors that he spent a week in a military hospital with "laryngitis." The agriculture minister went on TV eating unwashed grapes. The health minister, undercut by the government, resigned. His replacement has been less aggressive, but at least the rest of the government, reeling from criticism, is no longer making trouble.

Health officials from international organizations laud the work of Salazar's cholera team. Foreign donors say their equipment and medicine have gotten to the field undelayed by corruption or bureaucracy. The job was twofold: to reduce the disease's spread by teaching Peruvians about modern hygiene, and to get modern medical attention to the stricken. In both areas the task was compounded by the state's absence from rural Peru.

But ironically, Peru's decay was an asset in fighting cholera. So many babies die of diarrhea that eight years ago UNICEF and the Pan American Health Organization began teaching mothers to make and use rehydration salts. This most effective cholera treatment, then, was already known and accepted. Perhaps more important, the country boasted a network of volunteer health promoters. Thousands of women knocked on their neighbors' doors, giving hands-on reinforcement to the government's educational TV and radio ads. Even the Shining Path guerrillas' graffiti in the mountains admonishes readers to dig latrines and wash their hands.

All over Peru cholera has scared people into adopting health practices they had previously ignored. Villa El Salvador enjoys running water only two or three hours a week, woeful even by Peruvian standards. But through door-to-door visits and seminars for food handlers, the shantytown of 300,000 people, renowned for its political organization, suffered only seven cholera deaths—the second-lowest rate in the country. "In two weeks this epidemic accomplished what years of work couldn't," said Rosario Torres, a doctor in Villa El Salvador. "Women sit down in restaurants and order juice made with boiled water. That never happened before." In the jungle the Health Ministry sent motorboats to collect one woman from each village to attend a three-day course in Iquitos, the regional capital, on cholera prevention and treatment.

The Health Ministry has distributed 2,200 tons of medicines, i.v.s, salts, and plasma among almost every village in Peru, a logistical nightmare even in countries with decent roads, reliable trucks, less corruption, and no strikes. In general, the goods arrived—in trucks, on horseback, by outboard motor. A few bribes to the navy procured a riverboat, which the Health Ministry fitted out with hospital beds and sent through the jungle from Iquitos to the Brazilian border.

Yet some people still could not get treatment in time. In the jungle the death rate has been 8.5 percent; in the sierra, 7.8 percent. These victims died because their government failed them, as it always has. For the government, as well as for ordinary Peruvians, cholera has sparked the beginnings of changes that should have come centuries ago. The consequences of neglect go beyond cholera; it is in Peru profundo where the Shining Path finds an echo in its call to tear down a state that has never brought more than promises and trouble.

Peru's chances of keeping cholera from becoming endemic do not, however, look bright. Investment in water and sewers will be hit by pressure on international lenders such as the World Bank to cut back on loans to the public sector. (The Bush administration is foremost in applying such pressure.) Just as problematic is how to persuade people to keep washing their hands and boiling water when the immediate danger of cholera has passed. The government is beginning an educational campaign on TV and radio with the theme "The Solution to Cholera Is in Your Hands." Health officials have printed a million copies of a series of clever, well-written and drawn booklets to teach good hygiene to schoolchildren.

I asked Salazar where cholera has *not* become endemic. Spain, Portugal, and Italy, he said. "And in the Third World?" I asked. He smiled. "This is the fourth world."

The children's booklets are sitting stacked and tied with twine in someone's office. They will be there for some time. Though it is now midwinter, school has yet to begin. Teachers, paid like nurses, are on strike.

TINA ROSENBERG is a visiting fellow at the Overseas Development Council. Her book *Children of Cain* will be published in September by William Morrow.

Is Clarence a real conservative?

DOUBTING THOMAS

By Gary L. McDowell

The nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court has already provoked the predictable racial name-calling. On the eve of President Bush's announcement, the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks warned that if Thomas were the choice, the president was going to face the mother of all confirmation battles. When Thomas was officially nominated, the crescendo increased. "Why nominate a black at all," asked Eleanor Holmes Norton, if he is going to be a conservative? The appointment was "laughable," Harvard law professor Derrick Bell declared: Thomas "doesn't think like a black." Defenders of Thomas in turn accused the attackers of racism.

The real debate, however, is not about race. What the opponents of Clarence Thomas are objecting to is that he does not share Thurgood Marshall's view of the role of the Supreme Court. The true bone of contention here is thus precisely the same as that which arose over the nomination of Robert Bork. It is an argument over the proper role of the Court in American society, and about the nature and extent of judicial power under a written Constitution. The real litmus test for

Address to the Nation on the Iraqi Statement on Withdrawal From Kuwait

February 26, 1991

I have a brief statement to make today. Saddam's most recent speech is an outrage. He is not withdrawing. His defeated forces are retreating. He is trying to claim victory in the midst of a rout, and he is not voluntarily giving up Kuwait. He is trying to save the remnants of power and control in the Middle East by every means possible. And here, too, Saddam Hussein will fail.

Saddam is not interested in peace but only to regroup and fight another day. And he does not renounce Iraq's claim to Kuwait. To the contrary, he makes clear that Iraq continues to claim Kuwait. Nor is there any evidence of remorse for Iraq's aggression or any indication that Saddam is prepared to accept the responsibility for the awful consequences of that aggression.

He still does not accept U.N. Security Council resolutions or the coalition terms of February 22, including the release of our POW's—all POW's—third-country detainees, and an end to the pathological destruction of Kuwait. The coalition will therefore continue to prosecute the war with undiminished intensity.

As we announced last night, we will not attack unarmed soldiers in retreat. We have no choice but to consider retreating combat units as a threat and respond accordingly. Anything else would risk additional United States and coalition casualties.

The best way to avoid further casualties on both sides is for the Iraqi soldiers to lay down their arms as nearly 30,000 Iraqis already have. It is time for all Iraqi forces in the theater of operation, those occupying Kuwait, those supporting the occupation of Kuwait, to lay down their arms. And that will stop the bloodshed.

From the beginning of the air operation nearly 6 weeks ago, I have said that our efforts are on course and on schedule. This morning I am very pleased to say that coalition efforts are ahead of schedule. The liberation of Kuwait is close at hand.

And let me just add that I share the pride of all of the American people in the magnificent heroic performance of our Armed Forces. May God bless them and keep them.

Note: President Bush spoke at 9:48 a.m. from the Rose Garden at the White House. In his address, he referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Remarks Following Discussions With President César Gaviria Trujillo of Colombia

February 26, 1991

President Bush. Mr. President, it has been a privilege to meet with you and to share our thoughts on critical challenges that our countries must face together. You're a man of courage, the worthy political heir of your nation's General Santander, who said, "If the sword gave us independence, the law will give us liberty." You're a man devoted to law and to liberty, and for that, you have our admiration and respect.

Today, we held a thorough and frank discussion on a range of issues of mutual concern, particularly the drug war and joint economic matters. I view this as a vital meeting. For although there is a crisis demanding our attention halfway around the world, we will not neglect the very pressing needs and opportunities in our own hemisphere.

One of the most urgent of these is the fierce battle that we're waging against the scourge of drugs. President Gaviria talked to me in great detail of the efforts, the heroic efforts that Colombia is making in this fight. We honor him and his countrymen, knowing they've borne a very difficult burden in this war, and knowing that it is their survival that's at stake every day.

Our hearts are with the Colombian people who have suffered so much from drug-related outlaw violence. This has included the murder of President Gaviria's own cousin only days ago by these narco terrorists. We want to tell Colombians that they inspire us by standing up—despite intimidation, despite the costs—for justice and for law.

As we spoke today, I made it clear that Colombia is not alone in this fight. Both our countries recognize that drug production

and drug use threaten our futures and our very lives. We are determined to defeat this enemy. Together, I am more and more convinced, especially after these talks, that we will win this war.

At the Cartagena summit, we said that we accepted our responsibility to cut drug demand in the United States. I told the President today that our work is succeeding; drug use here in the United States is on the decline. And also at that summit, we pledged to help Colombia and her neighbors in their struggle to reduce production and interrupt the transportation of drugs.

And we know that battling the drug war has indeed meant high costs to the Colombian people. And so, I'm glad to report that on February 25th, our countries signed an agreement providing the first $20 million of a total $41 million to help ease the financial damage that the drug war has meant to his government's programs. And second, we've signed an innovative agreement on mutual judicial cooperation to more effectively prosecute the drug traffickers. And I told the President that we will sign a multimillion-dollar, longterm agreement expanding our support for his bold initiative to strengthen the Colombian judicial system.

In addition, we know we need to offer the people of the Andes viable economic alternatives to coca production. A team led by [U.S.] Ambassador Ed Corr has just completed a report on how we can strengthen our cooperation on agricultural issues and make our market more accessible to legal exports.

Most importantly, we've proposed the Andean Trade Initiative providing special and vitally important benefits for the Colombian producers. And I hope Congress will pass this legislation speedily.

As we look ahead to the coming century, President Gaviria and I agree that we must also make trade and economic development essential priorities. Our hemisphere must see that its future lies with free markets as well as free governments. And that's why we must forge a genuine economic partnership for the future. Last year, we proposed the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, offering the hope of greater prosperity for all the Americas through greater international investment, freer trade, and greatly reduced debt burdens.

Colombia was the first nation to take up our offer to negotiate bilateral trade and investment framework agreements. Well, I told the President today that we are sending to Congress legislation necessary to implement the investment, debt, and environmental aspects of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. And I assured him that I am absolutely committed to securing its passage.

The people of our two nations are united as neighbors. And we are united as societies threatened by the human misery brought by drugs. But we're also united as people who believe in human rights and in the creative power of liberty. We're members of what is almost the world's first fully free hemisphere.

We're battling some powerful enemies: drugs, poverty, forces opposed to democracy. But we have even more powerful resources. Simon Bolivar wrote in exile: "The veil has been torn asunder. We've already seen the light and it is not our desire to be thrust back into darkness."

Well, our nations have seen the light. And our meeting today was just one more joint step in the direction of that light. I might add that we will always be grateful to Colombia for their role at the United Nations as we formulated common opposition to the forces of evil halfway around the world in the Gulf as we stood up to the aggressor, Iraq.

But that proved to me that the goals are clear. Together we will succeed. And so, may God bless your wonderful people, and thank you for coming our way.

President Gaviria. Thank you, Mr. President. I want first of all to express in the name of the Colombian people how glad we are all because of the new order we're building with the coalition, with the cooperation of the United Nations. We are very happy for the success you have had in the Persian Gulf and the way we have built in this new order that will help all the countries, all humanity to fight poverty, to fight narco traffic, and to fight the new problems we really have in our agenda.