

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ4080

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ACTION WHA-00

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| INFO | LOG-00 | NP-00 | AID-00 | ACQ-00 | CIAE-00 | SMEC-00 | INL-01 |
| | DINT-00 | DODE-00 | DOEE-00 | DOTE-00 | SRPP-00 | DS-00 | EB-00 |
| | EUR-01 | OIGO-02 | FAAE-00 | FBIE-00 | VC-01 | H-01 | TEDE-00 |
| | INR-00 | IO-00 | L-00 | VCE-00 | AC-01 | NSAE-00 | NSCE-00 |
| | OIC-02 | OMB-01 | OPIC-01 | PA-00 | PM-00 | PRS-00 | ACE-00 |
| | P-00 | SP-00 | SSO-00 | STR-00 | TRSE-00 | USIE-00 | SNIS-00 |
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 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LIMA 002169

E.O. 12958: DECL 4/07/2010
 TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PHUM, MOPS, PE
 SUBJECT: THE STATE OF THE MILITARY ON THE EVE OF ELECTIONS
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REF A: 99 LIMA 7920 REF B: LIMA 1335 REF C: LIMA 1974

- (U) CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL BY AMBASSADOR JOHN R. HAMILTON, REASON 1.5B AND 1.5D.
- (C) SUMMARY: MANY OPPOSITION FIGURES ARE WORRIED THAT THE MILITARY -- WHO ARE FORBIDDEN BY LAW FROM VOTING -- WILL "STEAL" THE ELECTIONS FOR FUJIMORI ON APRIL 9. WHILE THE ARMED FORCES HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL TO SUPPORT FUJIMORI'S REELECTION EFFORT DURING THE CAMPAIGN, IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WILL BE ORDERED TO ATTEMPT MASSIVE FRAUD ON ELECTION DAY BECAUSE SUCH FRAUD WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY BE DETECTED AND WOULD RESULT IN DISASTROUS

DEPT OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: OSCAR J. OLSON
 DATE/CASE ID: 7 AUG 2001 200003849

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Exemptions B1
 ARP Action Cert fw Date 060402

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE GOP ON THE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC FRONTS. ALSO, THE SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE ALEJANDRO TOLEDO AS A VIABLE CONTENDER LIMITS THE GOP'S ABILITY TO DEMAND MORE DIRTY WORK FROM THE ARMED FORCES AND STILL RETAIN THEIR LOYALTY. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) WITH INCUMBENT PRESIDENT ALBERTO FUJIMORI AND CHALLENGER ALEJANDRO TOLEDO NECK-AND-NECK IN THE POLLS JUST 72 HOURS BEFORE NATIONAL ELECTIONS ON APRIL 9, THE SALIENCY OF THE ARMED FORCES AND THEIR POTENTIAL IMPACT ON THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS IS INCREASING. NOT SURPRISINGLY, IN LIGHT OF THE PRO-GOVERNMENT ROLE THAT THE ARMED FORCES HAVE PLAYED DURING THE CAMPAIGN, MANY ARE SKEPTICAL THAT THEY WILL REFRAIN FROM INTERVENING ON ELECTION DAY. IN THAT VEIN, WE WOULD LIKE TO REVIEW WHAT THE MILITARY HAS REPORTEDLY DONE DURING THE CAMPAIGN TO BENEFIT FUJIMORI'S REELECTION EFFORT, WHAT IT COULD DO ON ELECTION DAY, AND ITS EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REGIME.

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PRE-ELECTION DAY INTERVENTIONS
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4. (C) NUMEROUS CREDIBLE REPORTS HAVE THE ARMED FORCES ESSENTIALLY CAMPAIGNING ON BEHALF OF FUJIMORI. A FEW MONTHS AGO, OVERNIGHT, GIGANTIC PRO-FUJIMORI POLITICAL SLOGANS APPEARED ON THE SIDES OF HILLS WITHIN SOME MILITARY RESERVATIONS AND BASES. MOSTLY AT NIGHT BUT SOMETIMES IN BROAD DAYLIGHT, TROOPS HAVE BEEN SIGHTED FROM TACNA TO TUMBES BOTH PAINTING PRO-FUJIMORI SLOGANS AND BLACKING OUT THE SLOGANS OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATES. MILITARY VEHICLES HAVE BEEN MADE AVAILABLE TO GOVERNMENT CANDIDATES TO TRANSPORT SUPPLIES AND PEOPLE AT NO CHARGE. NOT ONLY HAS THE MILITARY PERFORMED THE BASIC PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATIONAL SERVICES FOR FUJIMORI THAT NORMALLY WOULD BE REALIZED BY A POLITICAL PARTY, IT HAS SIGNALLED LOUDLY AND CLEARLY TO PERUVIANS THAT FUJIMORI IS THE CANDIDATE OF THE ARMED FORCES AND, HENCE, OF STABILITY.

5. (C) IN ADDITION TO ARRANGING ROUTINE PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS TO MAXIMIZE THEIR ELECTORAL IMPACT AND USE OF OPERATIONAL FUNDS TO PURCHASE CAMPAIGN MATERIALS, THE MILITARY ALSO HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF FOMENTING OR ENCOURAGING RUMORS AMONG POORLY EDUCATED PEASANTS (CAMPEBINOS) THAT THEIR VOTE WOULD NOT BE SECRET, THEREBY ALLOWING THE GOP TO SINGLE OUT AND PUNISH -- BY CUTTING OFF ACCESS TO ITS SOCIAL PROGRAMS -- THOSE WHO FAILED TO SUPPORT THE REELECTION EFFORT (REF B). THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN'S OFFICE REPORTS THAT SUCH RUMORS ARE PREVALENT IN THE ANDEAN

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HIGHLANDS OF CAJAMARCA, PIURA, HUACAVELICA, APURIMAC AND
AYACUCHO. EVEN IF THE MILITARY DID NOT ACTIVELY FOMENT SUCH
RUMORS, THEIR EXISTENCE STILL LARGELY BENEFITS FUJIMORI, SINCE
MANY CAMPESINOS WILL NOT WANT TO TAKE THE RISK THAT THE RUMORS
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MIGHT BE TRUE.

7. (C) OPPOSITION NEWSPAPERS AND RELIABLE EMBASSY CONTACTS HAVE
CONSISTENTLY REPORTED THAT REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS HAVE
RECEIVED ORDERS TO MAKE THE REELECTION OF FUJIMORI THEIR TOP
PRIORITY. APPARENTLY, THE GOP HAS LITTLE PATIENCE WITH
COMMANDERS WHO CANNOT KEEP THEIR REGIONS IN LINE. AFTER A
SERIES OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF
CUZCO AND AREQUIPA, THE RESPECTIVE MILITARY COMMANDERS WERE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LIMA 002169

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QUIETLY RELIEVED OF DUTIES. THE OPPOSITION DAILY LA REPUBLICA BROKE THE STORY ON APRIL 4 AND WE WERE ABLE TO CONFIRM THAT THE TWO GENERALS REPORTEDLY SENT TO ASSUME COMMAND, DIVISION GENERALS HELI VALLEJO ZAPATA AND CARLOS BENAVIDES Y BENAVIDES (BOTH EMBASSY CONTACTS), WERE NO LONGER AT THEIR LIMA DESKS. THAT BOTH FORMER COMMANDERS WERE MEMBERS OF THE 66TH PROMOTION - PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR AND DE FACTO CHIEF OF THE SIN VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS' PROMOTION THROUGH WHICH HE CONTROLS MOST OF THE KEY HIGH COMMAND POSITIONS -- SENDS A POWERFUL MESSAGE TO THE REMAINING COMMANDERS THAT THEY HAD BETTER DO ALL IN THEIR POWER TO ENSURE A FUJIMORI VICTORY.

8. (C) THE INFLUENCE OF THE ARMED FORCES, WHILE PRESENT EVERYWHERE, IS PARTICULARLY HIGH IN RURAL AREAS AND EXTREMELY HIGH IN FORMER EMERGENCY ZONES. THE FEW REMAINING EMERGENCY ZONES WERE OFFICIALLY DONE AWAY WITH MARCH 1, BUT LITTLE HAS CHANGED ON THE GROUND AND THE ARMED FORCES RETAIN NEAR ABSOLUTE POWER. SLOWLY, POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, A JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND A POLICE PRESENCE ARE BEING RESTORED BUT IT WILL TAKE TIME. MEANWHILE, THE MILITARY WILL RETAIN ITS POWERFUL ROLE UNTIL RELIEVED.

POTENTIAL ELECTION DAY INTERVENTION
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9. (C) GIVEN THE OVER 3,000 VOTING CENTERS AND THE OVER 87,000 VOTING TABLES, THE MILITARY'S ABILITY TO MEDDLE WITH THE ACTUAL VOTING PROCESS IS LIMITED. BY TRADITION, THE ARMED FORCES PROVIDE THE PHYSICAL SECURITY FOR ALL OF THE VOTING CENTERS; HENCE, ARMED SOLDIERS WILL BE PRESENT OUTSIDE THE CENTERS. IN
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WORST CASE SCENARIOS, SOLDIERS COULD HARASS AND PROHIBIT THE ENTRY OF OPPOSITION POLL WATCHERS AND OR VOTERS, INTERFERE WITH THE VOTE TALLYING PROCESS, AND SUBSTITUTE TABULATION SHEETS EN ROUTE TO PROCESSING CENTERS, BUT SUCH ACTIVITIES ON A SCALE PERVASIVE ENOUGH TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE OVERALL ELECTIONS WOULD BE DETECTED THROUGH QUICK COUNTS AND OTHER SAFEGUARDS AND ALMOST CERTAINLY RESULT IN POTENTIALLY DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES FOR FUJIMORI'S LEGITIMACY. WE SUSPECT THAT THE GREATEST IMPACT OF THE MILITARY WAS ALREADY FELT DURING THEIR PRE-ELECTION ACTIVITIES AND WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE THE ARMED FORCES TO INSTIGATE FRAUD ON A MASSIVE LEVEL ON THE DAY OF ELECTIONS.

MILITARY AND FUJIMORI
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10. (C) WHILE THE REELECTION EFFORT IS BEING LED BY A POLITICIZED HIGH COMMAND, FUJIMORI REMAINS POPULAR AMONG THE RANK AND FILE AS WELL AND, AS NOTED IN REF C, THERE IS NO INDICATION OF ORGANIZED ANTI-FUJIMORI ELEMENTS IN THE ARMED FORCES. MOST EMBASSY CONTACTS IN THE ARMED FORCES SEEM TO GENUINELY ADMIRE FUJIMORI FOR HIS PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS AGAINST TERRORISM AND INFLATION AND UNTIL RECENTLY NO OPPOSITION CANDIDATE WAS SEEN AS A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE. HOWEVER, WITH THE PRECIPITOUS RISE OF OPPOSITION CANDIDATE ALEJANDRO TOLEDO IN THE POLLS OVER THE LAST THREE WEEKS, MANY MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES ARE TAKING A SECOND LOOK. AS THE POPULARITY OF TOLEDO BEGINS TO APPROACH THE LEVEL OF FUJIMORI, NO DOUBT MANY MID-LEVEL OFFICERS MAY LOOK TO TOLEDO TO BREAK UP THE LOGJAM OF OFFICERS WITH TIES TO MONTESINOS THAT DOMINATES THE MOST SENIOR POSITIONS (REF A). SEVERAL ARMY OFFICERS HAVE CONFIDED THAT THE ARMY WAS BECOMING TOO "POLITICIZED" AND THAT IT SHOULD NOT BE
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SUPPORTING FUJIMORI'S REELECTION CAMPAIGN. IN SUM, THE ARMED FORCES CAN ONLY BE ASKED TO DO SO MUCH BEFORE THEY BEGIN TO BRIDLE AND RESENT THE POLITICAL TASKS SET BEFORE THEM. THIS, TOO, WILL SERVE TO LIMIT THE POTENTIALLY FRAUDULENT ROLE TO BE PLAYED BY THE MILITARY COME ELECTION DAY.

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