

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: 200102877

PTQ0823

[REDACTED]

PTQ0823

PAGE 01 LIMA 02792 01 OF 02 302100Z
ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	ACQ-01	CIAE-00
	INL-01	DINT-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	IM-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01
	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00
	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00	CIO-00	SCT-00	SP-00	STR-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-01	DRL-04
	G-00	SAS-00	SWCI-00	/025W			

-----391E0B 302117Z /38

P 302047Z APR 98
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2816
 INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC
 DIA WASHINGTON DC
 USCINCSO MIAMI FL
 AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
 AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 02 LIMA 002792

DEPT FOR ARA A/S DAVIDOW, ARA/AND, INR/IAA

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 02792 01 OF 02 302100Z
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD AND J-5

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/23/2008
 TAGS: PREL PGOV PHUM PINR PE
 SUBJECT: THE SLOW-MOTION AUTO-GOLPE THAT'S KILLING PERU'S
 DEMOCRACY

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR DENNIS C. JETT, EMBASSY LIMA.
REASON 1.5 (D).

[REDACTED] n/a

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: 200102877

2. (C) SIX YEARS AGO PRESIDENT FUJIMORI INITIATED HIS OWN COUP BY CLOSING DOWN CONGRESS AND THE COURTS, DECLARING BOTH INSTITUTIONS HOPELESSLY CORRUPT AND INEFFICIENT. INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO THIS ASSAULT ON PERU'S DEMOCRACY WAS ONE OF OUTRAGE, BUT 85 PERCENT OF PERUVIANS AGREED WITH HIM. WITH PUBLIC OPINION AND THE MILITARY ON HIS SIDE, FUJIMORI HAD LITTLE TROUBLE IN HAVING HIS WAY THROUGH THIS AUTO-GOLPE. HE RULED BY DECREE AND REWROTE

THE CONSTITUTION THE NEXT YEAR SO THAT IT ALLOWED HIM TO BE REELECTED IN 1995. UNDER INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE, THE GOP EVENTUALLY REINSTATED AT LEAST THE TRAPPINGS OF A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

3. (C) AFTER EIGHT YEARS IN OFFICE, FUJIMORI HAS GROWN ACCUSTOMED TO RULING AND IS THOROUGHLY CONVINCED OF THE WISDOM OF HIS OWN JUDGMENT. HE HAS ALSO CONVINCED HIMSELF THAT HE IS THE KEY TO THE COUNTRY'S CONTINUED SUCCESS AND IS NOW BUSILY PULLING OUT ALL THE STOPS TO ENSURE THAT HE IS REELECTED AGAIN IN 2000. IN THE PROCESS HE IS IN EFFECT CARRYING OUT A SECOND AUTO-GOLPE. INSTEAD OF A SINGLE DRAMATIC ACT, THIS TIME IT IS A SLOW-MOTION SERIES OF STEPS ALL DESIGNED TO ELIMINATE ANY INDIVIDUAL OR INSTITUTION THAT

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 02792 01 OF 02 302100Z
COULD POSE AN OBSTACLE TO REELECTION. TO THIS END, A COMPLIANT OFFICIAL MAJORITY IN CONGRESS HAS DISEMBOWELED THE JUSTICE SYSTEM. THE CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL AND THE NATIONAL JUDICIARY COUNCIL - BOTH BODIES SET UP BY THE 1993 CONSTITUTION TO STRENGTHEN THE JUDICIARY, HAVING LARGELY CEASED TO FUNCTION THANKS TO LEGISLATIVE ACTION. APPARENTLY THEY SUCCEEDED TOO WELL FOR FUJIMORI'S LIKING AND HAD TO BE REINED IN TO SPARE THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH THE PROBLEM OF DEALING WITH AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. AS A RESULT, JUDGES CAN NOW HAVE NO DOUBT AS TO WHOM THEY OWE THEIR JOBS.

4. (C) FURTHERMORE, FUJIMORI SUPPORTERS ARE MAKING INCREASING USE OF THE TAX AUTHORITIES AND PUBLIC PROSECUTORS TO PUNISH OPPONENTS AND STIFLE CRITICISM. THE HEAD OF THE LIMA BAR ASSOCIATION IS THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE. SHE AND HER HUSBAND FLED TO COSTA RICA AND ASKED FOR ASYLUM RATHER THAN HANG AROUND AND FACE A POSSIBLE EIGHT YEAR SENTENCE FOR THE CRIME OF IMPORTING A USED MERCEDES (ON WHICH THEY PAID THE TAXES AND CUSTOMS DUTIES). BARUCH IVCHER IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE AS HE LOST HIS CITIZENSHIP AND HIS TELEVISION STATION WHEN HE EMBARRASSED THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING. THE MESSAGE TO THE MEDIA AND OTHERS IS CLEAR. IF YOU WANT TO SURVIVE, SELF-CENSORSHIP HAD BETTER BE

[REDACTED]
n/a

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: 200102877.

PRACTICED.

5. (C) FUJIMORI'S EFFORTS GO BEYOND MERELY WIELDING THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT LIKE A BASEBALL BAT. AMONG THE DIRTY TRICKS BEING EMPLOYED ARE ILLEGAL PHONE TAPPING, DISINFORMATION, THREATS AND, OFTEN LESS THAN SUBTLE INTIMIDATION. THE WORST ELEMENTS OF THE TABLOID PRESS ARE CURRENTLY BEING USED TO VICIOUSLY ATTACK, IN AN ORCHESTRATED MANNER, INDIVIDUAL INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISTS. VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS, THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE ADVISOR, APPEARS TO BE ONLY TOO WILLING TO INGRATIATE HIMSELF FURTHER BY BEING THE

PAGE 04 LIMA 02792 01 OF 02 302100Z
HEAD HATCHET MAN IN ALL THESE MANEUVERS.

6. (C) THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THESE ACTIONS IS THAT PERU NEEDS STABILITY AND THAT IS EQUATED WITH FUJIMORI REMAINING IN POWER. HIS SUPPORTERS RAISE THE SPECTRE OF A RETURN OF ALAN GARCIA, OR AN IRRESPONSIBLE POPULIST OF SIMILAR ILK, AS THE BOOGEYMAN WHICH ONLY FUJIMORI CAN PREVENT. ALL THESE MACHINATIONS ARE ALSO UNNECESSARY. GIVEN HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS, HIS ABILITY TO CONNECT WITH THE PEOPLE, HIS POWER TO USE A HUGE SHARE OF THE BUDGET AS A PORK BARREL AND THE INEPTITUDE OF THE OPPOSITION, FUJIMORI FACES LITTLE REAL ELECTORAL THREAT IN 2000.

7. (C) BECAUSE THE CONGRESS IS SO COMPLIANT, THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM CORRUPT AND COOPTED AND THE MEDIA LARGELY INTIMIDATED, FUJIMORI AND COMPANY ACT WITH VIRTUAL IMPUNITY. BECAUSE THE POWER IS THERE TO BE USED WITH IMPUNITY, IT WILL BE ABUSED. BECAUSE FUJIMORI IS A MICRO-MANAGER WHO LEAVES NOTHING TO CHANCE, HE ALREADY APPEARS TO BE ATTEMPTING TO MANIPULATE THE VOTING PROCESS TO HELP ENSURE THE OUTCOME HE WANTS. CHARGES OF INFILTRATION OF THE TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE SUPPOSED TO RUN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS ABOUND.

8. (C) OBVIOUSLY ONLY STRONG INSTITUTIONS, NOT STRONG INDIVIDUALS, CAN ENSURE STABILITY. FUJIMORI, HOWEVER, RECOGNIZING THAT PERU HAS NEVER HAD STRONG INSTITUTIONS, IS CYNICALLY WORKING TO ENSURE STABILITY BY PERPETUATING HIMSELF IN POWER. IN THE

[REDACTED]
NNNNPTQ0770

[REDACTED] PTQ0770

[REDACTED]
n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

Case Number: 200102877

PAGE 01 LIMA 02792 02 OF 02 302059Z
ACTION ARA-01

INFO	LOG-00	ACDA-08	ACDE-00	INLB-01	AID-00	ACQ-01	CIAE-00
	INL-01	DINT-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00
	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01	L-01
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00
	PRS-00	P-00	CIO-00	SCT-00	SP-00	STR-00	TRSE-00
	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-01	DRL-04	G-00
	SAS-00	/024W					

-----391C1E 302100Z /38

P 302047Z APR 98
 FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2817
 INFO DIRONDCP WASHDC
 DIA WASHINGTON DC
 USCINCSO MIAMI FL
 AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
 AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
 AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
 AMEMBASSY CARACAS
 AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
 AMEMBASSY QUITO
 AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 02 LIMA 002792

DEPT FOR ARA A/S DAVIDOW, ARA/AND, INR/IAA
SOUTHCOM ALSO FOR POLAD AND J-5

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 LIMA 02792 02 OF 02 302059Z

E.O. 12958: DECL: 04/23/2008
 TAGS: PREL PGOV PHUM PINR PE
 SUBJECT: THE SLOW-MOTION AUTO-GOLPE THAT'S KILLING PERU'S
 DEMOCRACY

PROCESS, HE IS FURTHER WEAKENING PERU'S INSTITUTIONS AND WHAT
 LITTLE CONFIDENCE THE PUBLIC HAS IN THEM. IF, AS A RESULT, HE WINS
 A DISCREDITED VICTORY, RESISTANCE TO HIS RULE WILL GROW AND
 GOVERNING WILL BECOME MORE DIFFICULT. THAT WILL PRODUCE GREATER
 GOVERNMENT REPRESSION WHICH WILL ONLY INSPIRE MORE RESENTMENT AND
 RESISTANCE.

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

Case Number: 200102877

9. (C) BOTTOM LINE: FUJIMORI WILL RUN AND WIN IN THE YEAR 2000 BUT, IF THINGS CONTINUE AS THEY ARE, HE AND/OR PERU'S DEMOCRACY WON'T SURVIVE A THIRD TERM.

10. (C) U.S. POLICY RESPONSE: WE SHOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO SUGGEST TO FUJIMORI AND HIS FEW CONFIDANTS THAT A DISCREDITED ELECTION VICTORY DELEGITIMIZES HIS REGIME AND IS ULTIMATELY SELF-DEFEATING. BY PLAYING WITHIN NORMS ACCEPTABLE IN A TRUE DEMOCRACY, HE CAN WIN NOT ONLY REELECTION, BUT A FAR BETTER PLACE IN PERU'S HISTORY. THIS IS NOT A SIMPLE OR PLEASANT MESSAGE TO CONVEY ESPECIALLY WHEN OUR RELATIONS ARE GENERALLY VERY PRODUCTIVE ON OTHER FRONTS. IT SHOULD BE DONE, HOWEVER, NOT ONLY PRIVATELY BUT PUBLICLY, IF OUR INTERESTS ARE TO BE PROTECTED AND IF PERU IS EVER TO HAVE A CHANCE OF ESTABLISHING A MEANINGFUL DEMOCRACY. JETT

[REDACTED]
NNNN