

[REDACTED]
n/a
Case Number: S200200010

[REDACTED] PTQ5262

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ACTION WHA-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	INL-01	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ANHR-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00
	EUR-01	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01
	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	IIP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-00
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-01	DRL-02	G-00	FDIC-01	NFAT-00
	SAS-00	/014W					

-----5C74F6 282339Z /38

O 282338Z MAY 00
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4594
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USCINCSO MIAMI FL

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(B)

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 03 LIMA 003183

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/28/05
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PREL, PE
SUBJECT: PERU ELECTIONS: [REDACTED]

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REF: (A) LIMA 3128, (B) LIMA 3131

1. (U) CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL BY AMBASSADOR JOHN R. HAMILTON FOR REASONS 1.5 B AND D.

2. [REDACTED] SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] THE GOP WOULD NOT AGREE TO A POSTPONEMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL RUNOFF BEYOND JUNE 1 BECAUSE TWO OF THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION (JNE) WILL BE REPLACED JUNE 16 AND THE ELECTION LAW ALLOWS 15 DAYS FOR LEGAL CHALLENGES. THAT IS, A DATE LATER THAN JUNE 1 WOULD HAVE RUN THE RISK OF A NEW JNE NULLIFYING THE ELECTIONS. [REDACTED] THE OAS COULD

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n/a
[REDACTED]

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n/a

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HAVE AGREED TO A POST-ELECTION VERIFICATION OF THE SOFTWARE AND VOTE COUNT; THE GO BELIEVES THAT THE OAS (AND U.S.) POSTURE IN RECENT WEEKS WAS INFLUENCED BY A PREFERENCE FOR OPPOSITION CANDIDATE TOLEDO. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT, BY REFUSING TO AGREE TO A SHORT POSTPONEMENT, THE GOP HAD SNATCHED A PUBLIC RELATIONS DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY. THE U.S. HAD BEEN NEUTRAL THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS; IF THE GOP THOUGHT OTHERWISE, IT WAS SIMPLY MISTAKING U.S. CRITICISM OF THE PROCESS FOR AN ANTI-FUJIMORI BIAS. [REDACTED] THE GOP WAS ALREADY CONSIDERING HOW TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE TO ITS STANDING ABROAD. AMBASSADOR SAID THE GOP WOULD HAVE TO GO BEYOND COSMETICS AND SPIN CONTROL TO LIMIT ITS ISOLATION. END SUMMARY.

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3. [REDACTED] AMBASSADOR CALLED ON [REDACTED] FOR POST-MORTEM OF WHY OAS-GOP EFFORTS TO AGREE ON A NEW DATE FOR PERU'S RUNOFF ELECTIONS HAD UNRAVELED. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT, AFTER TOLEDO PUBLICLY DENOUNCED GOP/OAS TALKS AS AN "AMBUSH," THE GOP HAD A MAGNIFICENT [REDACTED]

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PAGE 03 LIMA 03183 01 OF 03 282339Z OPPORTUNITY TO CLAIM THE MORAL HIGH GROUND, SHOWING ITSELF TO BE THE MORE SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE OF THE TWO CONTENDING PARTIES. IT WAS INEXPLICABLE TO THE RESIDENT DIPLOMATIC CORPS WHY THE GOP HAD ALLOWED A TWO-DAY DIFFERENCE (THE GOP PROPOSING JUNE 1, THE OAS INSISTING ON A POSTPONEMENT AT LEAST UNTIL JUNE 3) TO BLOCK AGREEMENT. WITH THE OAS MISSION STANDING DOWN ITS OBSERVATION, THERE WAS NOW NO WAY THE ELECTIONS COULD BE JUDGED TO HAVE MET MINIMUM INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS. THIS WAS NOT THE OUTCOME WE OR ANYONE ELSE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WANTED. WHY COULDN'T THE GOP HAVE OFFERED TWO MORE DAYS--UNTIL JUNE 3?

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4. [REDACTED] THE FOLLOWING WAS HIS "PERSONAL READING" OF GOP THINKING. ON JUNE 16, THE TERMS OF TWO OF THE FIVE MEMBERS OF THE JNE EXPIRE AND THE TWO MEMBERS WILL BE REPLACED. ONE OF THE TWO NEW MEMBERS COULD WELL BE VLADIMIR PAZ DE LA BARRA, FORMER PRESIDENT OF LIMA BAR ASSOCIATION (DE FACTO NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION) AND A STRIDENT ANTI-FUJIMORISTA. UNDER THE ELECTION LAW, THE POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE TWO PERIODS FROM THE DAY OF ELECTIONS TO SUBMIT LEGAL CHALLENGES--ONE OF FIVE DAYS (FOR CHALLENGES TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS TRIBUNALS), AND A SECOND OF TEN DAYS (FOR CHALLENGES TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE JNE ITSELF). THE TWO PERIODS RUN CONSECUTIVELY, FOR A TOTAL OF 15 DAYS. THE JNE HAS TO ALLOW THE FULL 15 DAYS TO RUN

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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BEFORE RULING ON THEM AND DECLARING THE ELECTION RESULTS FINAL. THE EARLIEST THAT THE JNE COULD RULE ON CHALLENGES TO ELECTIONS HELD JUNE 3 WOULD BE JUNE 18. BY THAT TIME THE COMPOSITION OF THE JNE WOULD HAVE CHANGED. THE GOP FEARED THAT A NEW JNE, WITH SOMEONE LIKE PAZ PARTICIPATING, MIGHT JUST NULLIFY THE ELECTIONS ALTOGETHER. HENCE, THE BOTTOM-

[REDACTED]

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LINE OFFER OF JUNE 1. THAT DATE WOULD HAVE ALLOWED THE CURRENT JNE TO RULE ON ANY CHALLENGES.

5. [REDACTED] CONSTITUTIONAL CONCERNS (I.E., THAT RUNOFF ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD WITHIN 30 DAYS OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF OFFICIAL RESULTS FROM THE FIRST ROUND) WERE ALSO A FACTOR IN GOP THINKING. [REDACTED] HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE CYNICAL VIEW THAT A GOVERNMENT THAT HAD COME UP WITH THE LAW OF AUTHENTIC INTERPRETATION COULD FIND A CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS FOR POSTPONEMENT. THE AMBASSADOR SAID HE PLED GUILTY TO THAT KIND OF CYNICISM. THE GOP HAD TO UNDERSTAND THAT, AFTER THE LEGAL CONTORTIONS THE GOP WENT THROUGH TO JUSTIFY THE PRESIDENT'S RE-ELECTION BID, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD NOT ACCEPT CONSTITUTIONAL OBSTACLES AS THE REAL REASON WHY THE GOP REFUSED TO POSTPONE. BUT, AS THE GOP HAD OFFERED JUNE 1, HOW HAD IT PLANNED TO JUSTIFY THAT CONSTITUTIONALLY? [REDACTED] THE JNE RESOLUTION PROCLAIMING MAY 28 AS THE RUNOFF DATE HAD NOT BEEN PUBLISHED IN PERU'S FEDERAL REGISTER UNTIL APRIL 30, AND DID NOT TAKE EFFECT UNTIL THE NEXT DAY, MAY 1. THUS, THE GOP WOULD HAVE MAINTAINED THAT JUNE 1 WOULD HAVE FALLEN WITHIN THE 30-DAY PERIOD FOLLOWING MAY 1. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT THE MONTH OF MAY HAS 31 DAYS BUT OTHERWISE LET THAT SUBJECT DROP.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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ACTION WHA-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	INL-01	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ANHR-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00
	EUR-01	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01
	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	IIP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-00

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

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PMB-00 DSCC-00 PRM-01 DRL-02 G-00 FDIC-01 NFAT-00
SAS-00 /014W

-----5C74FD 282339Z /38

O 282338Z MAY 00
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4595
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
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USCINCSO MIAMI FL

[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 03 LIMA 003183

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[REDACTED]

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6. [REDACTED] THEN SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME ARGUING THAT THE OAS MISSION'S INSISTENCE ON A FULL EVALUATION OF THE ONPE SOFTWARE PRIOR TO THE ELECTION WAS UNREASONABLE. HE ADMITTED THAT ONPE SHOULD HAVE COME UP WITH THE FINAL VERSION OF THE SOFTWARE BEFORE MAY 24. HE ALSO ADMITTED THAT ONPE'S CLAIM THAT THE MAY 21 SIMULATION EXERCISE WAS A SUCCESS HAD TAKEN ITS TOLL ON OAS TRUST. BUT THE SOFTWARE HAD WORKED AS IT WAS SUPPOSED TO IN THE MAY 24 SIMULATION; EVEN THE OAS SAID SO. AS THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH TIME AS OF THAT DATE FOR THE OAS TO CHECK OUT THE SOFTWARE'S INTEGRITY PRIOR TO THE ELECTIONS, THE OAS COULD AND SHOULD HAVE WORKED WITH THE GOP TO VERIFY IT POST-FACTO. PLUS, THE GOP AND OAS COULD HAVE COME UP WITH A BACKUP SYSTEM TO VERIFY THE ACCURACY OF THE VOTE COUNT. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] PROPOSED THIS TO STEIN, WHO HAD REJECTED IT AS INSUFFICIENT TO RE-ESTABLISH CONFIDENCE AND TO DISSIPATE THE CLIMATE OF TENSION AND POTENTIAL VIOLENCE. [REDACTED] THAT HAD MADE THE GOP ANGRY, AS DEALING WITH POTENTIAL VIOLENCE WAS "NOT STEIN'S PROBLEM."

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7. [REDACTED] AMBASSADOR COMMENTED THAT, IN RETROSPECT, OTHER SOLUTIONS MIGHT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN REASONABLE AND ACHIEVABLE. BUT, AT THE TIME, OAS CONFIDENCE IN AND

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

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PATIENCE WITH THE ONPE AND THE GOP HAD BEEN EXHAUSTED. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT ONPE HAD AGREED TO A TIMETABLE FOR FIXING THE ONPE SOFTWARE BUT DIDN'T COME UP WITH A PACKAGE THAT PERFORMED THE FUNCTIONS REQUIRED OF IT UNTIL FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION. IT HAD ALSO INVITED SUSPICION THAT, AFTER UNPUBLISHED POLLS SHOWED FUJIMORI OPENING UP A SIGNIFICANT LEAD, IT HAD TAKEN ONPE ONLY THREE DAYS TO FIX THE SOFTWARE.

[REDACTED]

NOTHING SINISTER

B1

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WAS GOING ON. AFTER THE DISASTROUS SIMULATION MAY 21,

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[REDACTED] FOUND ITS PERSONNEL WANDERING AROUND

AIMLESSLY, UNSHAVEN AND PHYSICALLY AND EMOTIONALLY EXHAUSTED. WITH NO GAME PLAN FOR PULLING ITSELF TOGETHER.

[REDACTED] THE PRESIDENT, VP CANDIDATE TUDELA AND DE FACTO

B1

INTELLIGENCE CHIEF MONTESINOS HAD MET WITH ONPE CHIEF PORTILLO

[REDACTED]

TO GIVE HIM A CLEAR MESSAGE TO

B1

GET HIS SOFTWARE PROBLEM FIXED ONCE AND FOR ALL.

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DESCRIBED THE MEETING AS FOLLOWS: (TO PORTILLO), TELL US WHAT YOU NEED. THIRTY ADDITIONAL SCANNERS? OK, YOU GOT THEM. WHAT ELSE, SIXTY ADDITIONAL DEDICATED PHONE LINES? OKAY, WE'LL GET TELEFONICA TO GIVE THEM TO YOU. AND SO ON. PORTILLO GOT THE MESSAGE THAT ANOTHER FAILURE WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED.

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8. [REDACTED] THE GOP'S RELATIONS WITH STEIN, CLAIMING THAT, WHEN STEIN RETURNED TO PERU AFTER HIS SHORT, POST-ROUND ONE VACATION, IT WAS "A DIFFERENT STEIN" WHO CAME BACK. AMBASSADOR COUNTERED THAT THAT WAS NOT HIS PERCEPTION; HE SAW STEIN AS HAVING LEANED OVER BACKWARDS TO GIVE THE GOP EVERY CHANCE.

[REDACTED]

THE GOP

B1

PERCEPTION WAS ALSO THAT THE USG ATTITUDE, NEUTRAL AT THE OUTSET, HAD BECOME ONE OF HOSTILITY TO FUJIMORI AND A CLEAR PREFERENCE FOR TOLEDO.

[REDACTED]

FINANCE MINISTER

B1

GOLDENBERG HAD RETURNED FROM THEIR MARCH VISIT TO WASHINGTON PERSUADED THAT THE USG HAD EFFECTIVELY ABANDONED NEUTRALITY. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT, TOO, WAS NOT THE CASE AND ASKED WHAT HAD GIVEN HIM THAT IMPRESSION.

[REDACTED]

GOLDENBERG

B1

HAD COME TO THAT CONCLUSION FIRST AND HE, RELUCTANTLY, HAD COME TO ACCEPT IT AFTER A SECOND TOUGH MEETING WITH SENIOR USG OFFICIALS.

[REDACTED]

THE GOP HAD LOST CONFIDENCE

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[REDACTED]

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THAT THE USG AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD EVER JUDGE THE PROCESS FAIRLY. THAT, TOO, HAD BEEN A FACTOR IN

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

n/a

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ITS THINKING NOT TO ACCOMMODATE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CONCERNS INDEFINITELY. AMBASSADOR SAID AGAIN THAT [REDACTED] MISTAKING CRITICISM OF PROBLEMS OF PROCESS FOR OPPOSITION TO FUJIMORI. THERE WAS A CLEAR DIFFERENCE. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT, AS RECENTLY AS THE AMBASSADOR'S MEETINGS MAY 16-18 (WITH MONTESINOS, BUSTAMANTE AND FM DE TRAZEGNIES), OUR MESSAGE HAD BEEN THAT, WITH NO DETERIORATION IN ELECTION CONDITIONS AND A SCRUPULOUSLY HONEST VOTE COUNT, THE GOP WOULD SQUEAK BY. THAT IS, THAT WE--LIKE STEIN--HAD BEEN TRYING TO GIVE THE GOP EVERY CHANCE TO GET A PASSING GRADE.

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9. [REDACTED] AMBASSADOR TURNED DISCUSSION TO THE INCIDENT REPORTED IN ALL LIMA PRESS MAY 25 OF A JOURNALIST CLAIMING TO HAVE BEEN BRUTALLY TORTURED BY NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIN) AGENTS AFTER RECEIVING VIDEOS AND OTHER DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF CONTACTS BETWEEN MONTESINOS AND JNE OFFICIALS, AMONG OTHERS. [REDACTED] THE INCIDENT WAS A HOAX--THE REPORTER WAS CLAIMING TO HAVE HAD HIS WRISTS SAWED TO THE BONE AND YET HAD RECEIVED ONLY THREE STITCHES. HE ALSO POINTED TO THE ARRIVAL IN PERU THAT SAME DAY OF FORMER ARMY INTELLIGENCE (SIE) AGENT LEONOR LA ROSA (WHO WAS IN FACT TORTURED BY SIE AGENTS SEVERAL YEARS

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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ACTION WHA-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	AMAD-01	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	SMEC-00
	INL-01	DODE-00	DOEE-00	ANHR-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EB-00
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	SSO-00	STR-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00	IIP-00	SNIS-00	NISC-00
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	SAS-00	/014W					

-----5C7500 282339Z /38

O 282338Z MAY 00
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4596
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

n/a

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a
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AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USCINCSO MIAMI FL

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 03 LIMA 003183

E.O. 12958: DECL: 05/28/05
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AGO) AS TOO MUCH OF A COINCIDENCE. THIS WAS ALL A BARUCH
IVCHER-ORGANIZED CIRCUS (COMMENT: THE REPORTER DOES HAVE A
LONG-STANDING RELATIONSHIP WITH IVCHER AND STILL WORKS FOR
HIM), [REDACTED] AND HE CALLED ON THE U.S. TO BE
SKEPTICAL, NOT TO BE TAKEN IN. AMBASSADOR SAID, IN FACT, WE
WOULD LOOK INTO THE MATTER VERY CLOSELY. HE NOTED THAT
THERE IS A HISTORY OF LEAKS FROM THE SIN AND THE STORY WAS
BY NO MEANS IMPLAUSIBLE ON ITS FACE.

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10. [REDACTED] IN CLOSING, [REDACTED] AFTER THE MAY 28
ELECTIONS, THE GOP MIGHT "ADVANCE THE DATE" OF FUJIMORI'S
NEW TERM, BY WHICH HE SAID HE MEANT THAT [REDACTED]
CABINET MEMBERS MIGHT LEAVE RIGHT AWAY, WITH FUJIMORI
BRINGING IN A NEW TEAM TO GET TO WORK ON REPAIRING PERU'S
INTERNATIONAL STANDING. HE THOUGHT TUDELA WOULD PLAY A
PROMINENT ROLE IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT, AS LIKELY WOULD FORMER
FINANCE MINISTER CARLOS BOLONA. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT DE
FACTO SIN CHIEF MONTESINOS WOULD LIKELY BE PUT FORMALLY IN
CHARGE OF A REFORMED SYSTEM OF INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, WITH
CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT. (NOTE: MONTESINOS MENTIONED THIS
TO THE AMBASSADOR IN THEIR MAY 16 MEETING AND PRESIDENT
FUJIMORI SPEAKS OF IT IN A NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW PUBLISHED
HERE MAY 28). AMBASSADOR SAID HE HOPED THAT GOP EFFORTS TO
REPAIR ITS STANDING WOULD GO BEYOND DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS TO
TELL ITS SIDE OF THE STORY (A DEVICE IT HAS USED BEFORE).
THE GOP NEEDED TO LOOK AT CRITICISMS WE HAVE MADE (IN OUR
HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT, FOR EXAMPLE) OF ITS RESTRICTIONS ON
CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES AND TAKE REAL, CONCRETE STEPS
TO ADDRESS THEM. ONLY THAT WOULD BEGIN TO GET THE GOP OUT
OF THE SITUATION IN WHICH IT NOW FOUND ITSELF.
HAMILTON

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[REDACTED]
n/a
[REDACTED]