

[REDACTED]  
n/a  
Case Number: 200102877

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RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.5(D), B6

[REDACTED] PTQ9487

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ACTION WHA-01

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	INL-01	DINT-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	FBIE-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	L-00	ADS-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01
	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	TRSE-00
	USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00

/008W

-----1CCD11 171829Z /38

P 171822Z DEC 99  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1917  
INFO AMEMBASSY QUITO  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY ASUNCION  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
USCINCSO MIAMI FL

[REDACTED] SECTION 01 OF 02 LIMA 007920

STATE FOR WHA/AND -- WIEGOLD

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/07/2004  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PINS, PE  
SUBJECT: SKEWED PROMOTION LISTS FOCUS UNWANTED ATTENTION ON  
CONTROVERSIAL PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR  
CONFIDENTIAL

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1. (U) CLASSIFIED [REDACTED] BY DCM HEATHER HODGES, REASON  
1.5B AND D.

SUMMARY

2. (U) SPECULATION ON SOON-TO-BE-RELEASED PROMOTION LISTS AND A  
TELEVISED REBUKE FROM EX-MILITARY PRESIDENT FRANCISCO MORALES  
BERMUDEZ HAVE AGAIN DRAWN UNFAVORABLE ATTENTION TO  
PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR AND DE FACTO HEAD OF THE NATIONAL  
INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIN) VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS. PRESIDENT  
FUJIMORI AND HIS ENTIRE GOVERNMENT HAVE LEAPED TO MONTESINOS  
DEFENSE, BUT THE ALACRITY AND VIGOR OF THE DEFENSE HAS  
ENGENDERED A DEGREE OF GRUMBLING WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES. THE

n/a  
[REDACTED]

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SPECTER OF WIDE-SPREAD DISCONTENT, HOWEVER, IS MORE IMAGINARY THAN REAL. MEANWHILE, FUJIMORI HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL NOT TRAVEL ABROAD UNTIL AFTER THE APRIL 2000 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN ORDER TO FOCUS ON THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND ENSURE A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD FOR ALL CANDIDATES. END SUMMARY.

PROMOTION LISTS LEAKED

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3. (U) ALTHOUGH THE PROMOTION LISTS HAVE NOT BEEN PUBLISHED, OPPOSITION NEWSPAPERS ARE REPORTING THAT FROM FIVE TO SEVEN NEW THREE-STAR GENERALS WILL BE PROMOTED FROM PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR AND DE FACTO HEAD OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS MONTESINOS TORRES' GRADUATING CLASS OF 1966. IF TRUE, THIS WILL MEAN THAT THE CLASS OF '66 WILL HAVE MORE THREE-STAR GENERALS THAN ANY OTHER CLASS IN THE HISTORY

[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 LIMA 07920 01 OF 02 171824Z OF THE PERUVIAN ARMY. MOREOVER, MONTESINOS BROTHER-IN-LAW LUIS CUBAS PORTAL, CLASS OF '69, WILL BE ALSO REPORTEDLY PROMOTED TO THREE STARS AND GIVEN COMMAND OF THE MOST POLITICALLY IMPORTANT COMMAND IN PERU, THE SECOND MILITARY REGION WHICH IS HEADQUARTERED IN LIMA. LA REPUBLICA OPPOSITION NEWSPAPER REPORTED THAT OF THE 12 CRITICAL MILITARY COMMANDS WITHIN THE ARMY, NINE ARE HELD BY MONTESINOS' CLASSMATES AND A 10TH BY HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW.

EX-PRESIDENT LASHES OUT

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4. (U) RETIRED GENERAL AND FORMER PRESIDENT (1975-80) FRANCISCO MORALES BERMUDEZ IS WIDELY RESPECTED LARGELY BECAUSE HE WAS THE MILITARY LEADER WHO RETURNED PERU TO CIVILIAN RULE. IT WAS ALSO DURING HIS WATCH THAT THEN CAPTAIN MONTESINOS WAS DISHONORABLY DISCHARGED FROM THE ARMY AND SENTENCED TO A YEAR IN PRISON FOR FORGING A TRAVEL DOCUMENT AND FAILING TO REPORT TO HIS DUTY STATION. ON DECEMBER 12, APPARENTLY FED UP WITH MONTESINOS' INFLUENCE IN THE PROMOTION PROCESS, MORALES APPEARED AS A GUEST ON A MEET-THE-PRESS TYPE NEWS PROGRAM AND PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE CURRENT MILITARY LEADERSHIP WAS REGRETTABLY ENGAGED IN POLITICKING. HE CLARIFIED THAT THE LEADERSHIP HE WAS REFERRING TO WAS MONTESINOS. MORALES ARGUED THAT THE SITUATION WAS PARTICULARLY RIDICULOUS SINCE MONTESINOS WAS SUSPECTED IN THE 1970S OF HAVING TIES AND PASSING SECRET DOCUMENTS TO THE CIA. MORALES FURTHER ANNOUNCED THAT MONTESINOS HAD FORGED MORALES' OWN AND THE THEN

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MINISTER OF WAR'S SIGNATURES ON A SUPREME RESOLUTION, A TRAVEL DOCUMENT WHICH ACTIVE DUTY MILITARY OFFICERS NEED TO LEAVE PERU. (INTERESTINGLY, MONTESINOS WAS TRAVELING TO THE U.S. ON

PAGE 04 LIMA 07920 01 OF 02 171824Z AN USIS INTERNATIONAL VISITOR GRANT.)

5. (U) MORALES' COMMENTS CAUSED QUITE A STIR AND THE GOVERNMENT -- FROM PRESIDENT FUJIMORI TO THE JOINT COMMAND OF THE ARMY -- LEAPED TO MONTESINOS DEFENSE. MINISTRY OF DEFENSE OFFICIALS DESCRIBED MORALES' COMMENTS AS MALICIOUS, POLITICALLY MOTIVATED AND POSSIBLY LIBELOUS. PRESIDENT FUJIMORI SAID THAT HE WAS IN COMMAND, NOT MONTESINOS, AND INSISTED THAT PROMOTIONS WERE BASED SOLELY ON MERIT. FUJIMORI FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT MORALES WAS POLITICKING ON BEHALF OF THE OPPOSITION, ADDING THAT PERU WAS A FREE COUNTRY AND THAT MORALES COULD POLITICK ALL HE WANTED. THE JOINT COMMAND OF THE ARMY ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE WHICH DENIED THAT MONTESINOS HAD ANY ROLE IN THE PROMOTION PROCESS AND SPECIFICALLY CHALLENGED THE ALLEGATION THAT MONTESINOS HAD FORGED THE SIGNATURES OF THEN PRESIDENT MORALES AND HIS MINISTER OF WAR. (THE RELEASE DID NOT OFFER AN ALTERNATIVE REASON FOR WHY MONTESINOS WAS CASHIERED FROM THE ARMY.) IN AN EDITORIAL IN THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED EXPRESO NEWSPAPER, MORALES WAS DESCRIBED AS A "ZOMBIE" AND "JURASSIC DICTATOR."

GENERAL GRUMBLINGS AGAINST MONTESINOS

6. (C) THE BROUHAHA OVER PROMOTION LISTS AND THE GOP'S VIGOROUS

PTQ9494

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INFO LOG-00 NP-00 ACQ-00 CIAE-00 INL-01 DINT-00 DODE-00  
DOEE-00 SRPP-00 DS-00 FBIE-00 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00  
L-00 ADS-00 AC-01 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OMB-01 OPIC-01  
PA-00 PM-00 PRS-00 ACE-00 P-00 SP-00 TRSE-00  
USIE-00 PMB-00 DSCC-00 DRL-02 G-00 NFAT-00 SAS-00  
/008W

-----1CCD36 171830Z /38

P 171822Z DEC 99

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
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DEFENSE OF MONTESINOS HAS SPARKED A WAVE OF GRUMBLING WITHIN  
THE MILITARY COMMUNITY. POLOFF HAS HEARD FROM A NUMBER OF  
CONTACTS,

B1, B6

[REDACTED] THAT THE ARMED  
FORCES ARE INCREASINGLY FRUSTRATED WITH THE NEAR OMNIPOTENCE  
OF MONTESINOS IN THEIR RANKS. AT ISSUE ARE THREE THEMES:  
OPPORTUNITY FOR ADVANCEMENT, LACK OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND  
WOUNDED PRIDE.

7. (C) PERU WATCHERS AGREE THAT PATRONAGE IS THE PREFERRED AND  
TIME-TESTED METHOD FOR FILLING KEY COMMAND POSITIONS IN THE  
ARMED FORCES. FUJIMORI RELIES ON MONTESINOS TO OVERSEE THE  
ARMED FORCES AND MONTESINOS USES HIS INFLUENCE TO ENSURE THAT  
KEY COMMAND POSITIONS ARE FILLED BY PEOPLE HE TRUSTS. THE  
SYSTEM IS UNDERSTOOD AND GENERALLY ACCEPTED. HOWEVER, MANY  
OFFICERS WHO HAVE NOT DIRECTLY BENEFITED DURING FUJIMORI'S  
TENURE AS PRESIDENT ARE GETTING TIRED OF WAITING FOR THEIR  
SHOT AT THE PATRONAGE PIE. RECALL THAT FOR THE FIRST 6.5  
YEARS OF FUJIMORI'S TENURE, THE ARMED FORCES HAD A SINGLE  
COMMANDER, GENERAL HERMOZA RIOS. BEFORE, THE COMMANDER OF THE  
ARMED FORCES WAS ROTATED EVERY YEAR. HERMOZA WAS FINALLY  
OUSTED AS A RESULT OF A POWER STRUGGLE WITH MONTESINOS AND  
NOW, WITH THE LIKELY PROSPECT OF FUJIMORI SERVING A THIRD TERM  
AS PRESIDENT, MANY OFFICERS ARE CONCERNED THAT KEY COMMAND  
POSITIONS WILL REMAIN UNDER MONTESINOS CONTROL UNTIL 2005. A

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NEW PRESIDENT WOULD IMPLEMENT A MAJOR RESHUFFLING OF SENIOR COMMAND POSITIONS AND AS SUCH IS PROBABLY THE ONLY HOPE THAT MANY OFFICERS HAVE OF GAINING A KEY COMMAND ASSIGNMENT.

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8. (C) PERU'S INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS WAS BUILT UP PRIMARILY TO DEAL WITH THE DANGEROUS TERRORIST THREAT THAT FUJIMORI INHERITED WHEN HE TOOK OFFICE IN 1990. MONTESINOS WAS THE PRIMARY ARCHITECT OF THIS EXPANSION. NOW THAT THE TERRORIST THREAT HAS DIMINISHED, OPPOSITION FIGURES, HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS AND DISGRUNTLED MILITARY OFFICERS SUGGEST THAT PERU'S INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS IS NOW BEING TASKED WITH MONITORING AND CONTROLLING THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE. [REDACTED]

B1, B6

[REDACTED] ASSERTED THAT MILITARY OFFICERS COMPLAIN OF AN OPPRESSIVE, PARANOID ATMOSPHERE IN THE ARMED FORCES. WHERE OFFICERS COULD ONCE VENT IN PRIVATE, NOW COMMENTS MADE EVEN AMONG "FRIENDS" CAN LAND THEM IN SERIOUS TROUBLE. HE ADDED THAT MANY OFFICERS ARE TIRED OF THIS RESTRICTIVE ENVIRONMENT AND BELIEVE IT WOULD CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IF FUJIMORI AND MONTESINOS LEFT POWER.

9. (C) OTHER CONTACTS HAVE EXPLAINED THAT GIVEN THE INHERENT PRIDE-IN-RANK FOUND IN THE MILITARY, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT MANY SENIOR OFFICERS RESENT THE POWER AND INFLUENCE OF MONTESINOS, WHO WAS A CAPTAIN WHEN HE WAS DISHONORABLY DISCHARGED FROM THE ARMY. IN THIS VEIN, THE ALACRITY WITH WHICH THE JOINT COMMAND ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE DEFENDING MONTESINOS FROM MORALES' ALLEGATIONS HAS STRUCK A RAW NERVE. AS A RULE, THE JOINT COMMAND DOES NOT ISSUE STATEMENTS IN DEFENSE OF PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS, PARTICULARLY CIVILIANS. THIS MOST RECENT INSTANCE, HOWEVER, IS ESPECIALLY BIZARRE SINCE THE JOINT COMMAND IS DEFENDING A DISHONORABLY DISCHARGED EX-CAPTAIN AT THE EXPENSE OF A FORMER COMMANDER OF THE ARMED FORCES.

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COMMENT  
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10. (C) EVEN THOUGH THE EMBASSY HAS REPORTED MONTESINOS' MEDDLING IN PROMOTIONS SINCE 1991, AND WHILE THERE IS A SIMILAR PROMOTION-LIST BROUHAHA EVERY YEAR AT THIS TIME,

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PRESIDENT FUJIMORI NEVER HESITATES TO COME TO THE DEFENSE OF HIS POWERFUL, ALBEIT BEDEVILED ADVISOR. FUJIMORI ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS CANCELING ALL TRIPS ABROAD UNTIL AFTER THE 2000 APRIL ELECTIONS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND TO ENSURE A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD FOR ALL CANDIDATES. THIS LATEST ROW PROBABLY PLAYED A PART IN HIS DECISION, TOO. THE QUESTION OF DISCONTENT IN THE MILITARY IS HARD TO PIN DOWN. WITH THE MOST RECENT ROUND OF PROMOTIONS, FUJIMORI, WITH THE HELP OF MONTESINOS, APPEARS MORE IN CONTROL THAN EVER. OFFICERS NOT BENEFITING FROM THE PRESENT PATRONAGE SYSTEM ARE GRUMBLING; BUT THE GRUMBLERS DO NOT, IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, APPEAR TO POSE ANY THREAT TO THE STATUS QUO.

HAMILTON

[REDACTED]  
<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

n/a  
[REDACTED]