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ENVELOPE

CDSN = LGX199 MCN = 92101/30163 TOR = 921011650  
OTTCZYUW RUEKJCS1785 1011653-CCCC--RUEALGX.  
ZNY CCCCC

HEADER

O 101653Z APR 92  
FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC  
INFO RUEADWD/OCSA WASHINGTON DC  
RUENAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC  
RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC  
RUEACMC/CMC WASHINGTON DC  
RUEADWD/PTC WASH DC  
RUEKCCG/USDP-CCC WASHINGTON DC  
RUWTPGA/12 AF BERGSTROM AFB TX//IN//  
RUEOACC/CDRPSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//AORC-POG-SB//  
RUWSMXI/MAC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//  
RUCQVAB/USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL  
RUEDFAA/COMJSOC FT BRAGG NC//J2//  
RULKQAN/MARCORINTCEN QUANTICO VA  
RUEALGX/SAFE

P B1 (d)

O 101640Z APR 92  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7355  
INFO RHLBAAA/USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM  
BT

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir  
( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny ( ) Declassify  
Date 1 AUG 1990 Exemption B1 d

CONTROLS

~~SECTION 01 OF 03 LIMA 05338~~

DEPT PLEASE PASS OAS COLLECTIVE

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

/\*\*\*\*\* THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE \*\*\*\*\*/

BODY

TAGS: ECON, PGOV, PREL, PE  
SUBJECT: [ ] PROSPECTS FOR FUJIMORI REGIME

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: [ ] CLOSE  
CONFIDANTE OF QGAN GARCIA, MET WITH ECONOFF  
APRIL 9 TO DISCUSS THE COUP AND PROSPECTS FOR  
THE NEW REGIME. [ ] ASSERTED THAT SUPPORT  
WOULD QUICKLY FADE AS THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF  
FUJIMORI'S AGENDA BECAME CLEAR AND AS THE  
ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS INTENSIFIED. FUJIMORI  
WOULD BE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT HIS PLANNED

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CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM AND HOLD NEW ELECTIONS WITH ANY LEGITIMACY. NO REPUTABLE JURIST OR POLITICAL LEADER WOULD TAKE PART IN SUCH A PROCESS WITHOUT GUARANTEES OF POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

3. AS THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION UNRAVELED, [ ] PREDICTED THAT THE MILITARY WOULD SACK FUJIMORI AND QUICKLY RETURN TO DEMOCRACY. IN THIS CONTEXT, APRA PARTY LEADERS HAVE SET A CLEAR AGENDA: PRESERVING THE LIVES OF THOSE DETAINED, IDEOLOGICAL (NON-VIOLENT) OPPOSITION TO THE FUJIMORI REGIME AND UNITY WITH THE OTHER LEGITIMATE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES WORKING TO RESTORE DEMOCRACY. [ ] ASSERTED THAT STRONG INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE -- WITH U.S. LEADERSHIP -- WOULD BE CRUCIAL IN HASTENING THE RETURN TO DEMOCRACY AND PRESERVATION OF HUMAN LIFE IN THE INTERIM. END SUMMARY.

4. [ ] CLOSE CONFIDANTE OF ALAN GARCIA, MET WITH ECONOFF APRIL 9 TO DISCUSS THE COUP AND PROSPECTS FOR THE NEW FUJIMORI REGIME. [ ] HAD BEEN IN HIDING FOR THE FIRST TWO DAYS AFTER THE COUP, BUT HAD RETURNED TO HS NORMA, ACTIVITIES WHEN NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO ARREST HIM.

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WHY DID FUJIMORI DO IT?  
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5. [ ] IS CERTAIN FUJIMORI HAD PLANNED THE COUP FOR MONTHS (IF NOT YEARS) ALTHOUGH THE ACTUAL TIMING WAS LIKELY A FUNCTION OF IMMEDIATE CONCERNS. WITH HINDSIGHT, FUJIMORI'S INTENTIONS ARE EVIDENT IN PAST SPEECHES, PARTICULARLY HIS SPEECH TO BUSINESS LEADERS AT CADE LAST AUTUMN, IN WHICH HE SPOKE OF BEING "EMPEROR FOR TEN YEARS," AND THOSE SPEECHES ATTACKING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

6. THE SPECIFIC TIMING WAS DUE TO A NUMBER OF FACTORS, INCLUDING THE FIRST LADY'S ACCUSATIONS ABOUT CORRUPTION BY FUJIMORI'S FAMILY, THE EXPECTATION THAT BOLONA MIGHT FACE CONGRESSIONAL CENSURE ON APRIL 7 AND BE FORCED TO RESIGN, AND ALAN GARCIA'S GROWING STATURE AS LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION.

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PROSPECTS FOR THE NEW REGIME  
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7. [ ] DOES NOT EXPECT THE FUJIMORI REGIME TO SURVIVE FOR LONG. "FOR FUJIMORI'S AGENDA TO WORK, PERUVIAN MENTALITY MUST CHANGE, NOT JUST PERUVIAN INSTITUTIONS. CHANGING PEOPLE TAKES YEARS -- NOT MONTHS. YET FUJIMORI WILL NOT HAVE MORE THAN A FEW MONTHS." RECALLING THE VELASCO COUP, CORNEJO NOTED THAT THE REGIME HAD HAD BOTH STRONG MILITARY AND LABOR UNION SUPPORT. THERE WERE MASSES IN THE STREETS ACCLAIMING VELASCO, FAR MORE THAN FOR FUJIMORI NOW. YET VELASCO'S REGIME FAILED AND POPULAR SUPPORT EVAPORATED.

[ ] EXPECTS FUJIMORI'S SUPPORT TO EVAPORATE FAR MORE QUICKLY.

8. PERUVIANS DO NOT YET UNDERSTAND WHAT FUJIMORI HAS DONE. AS WITH ANY DICTATORSHIP, HE

/\*\*\*\*\* BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 \*\*\*\*\*/  
HAS SUSPENDED CIVIL GUARANTEES/LIBERTIES. MOST REGIMES DO SO OVERTLY, BUT FUJIMORI DID NOT ANNOUNCE IT. RATHER, HE SAID ONLY THAT HE WAS SUSPENDING THE ARTICLES OF CONSTITUTIONS NOT IN ACCORD WITH HIS ACTIONS.

9. THE MILITARY NATURE OF THE REGIME IS ALSO NOT RECOGNIZED YET. FUJIMORI CALLS HIS A "GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION" WHICH SOUNDS FAR BETTER THAN CIVIL/MILITARY DICTATORSHIP.

10. THE ECONOMIC AGENDA IS ALSO HIDDEN. FUJIMORI HAS PROMISED EXPORTERS TO DEVALUE THE SOL, TO PROVIDE LOW INTEREST CREDIT AND TO SPEND LABOR STABILITY. HE HAS PROMISED THE MILITARY AND POLICE TO RAISE SALARIES SUBSTANTIALLY. YET, SUBSTANTIAL DEVALUATION OF THE SOL AND/OR SIGNIFICANT INCREASES IN MILITARY SALARIES WOULD REQUIRE INFLATIONARY MONETARY EMISSION INCONSISTENT WITH THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM. AS THESE ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS BECOME MORE SERIOUS, AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS INTENSIFY, FUJIMORI MUST CHOOSE TO EITHER ABANDON THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM OR TO RADICALIZE THE PROGRAM, IGNORING MILITARY AND BUSINESS DEMANDS, IMPOSING MORE DISCIPLINE AND AUSTERITY.

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11. ECONOMICS IS FUJIMORI'S WEAK POINT, AND HE KNOWS IT. IN THE ADEX SPEECH OF APRIL 8, HE DID NOT MENTION ECONOMIC ISSUES AT ALL, BUT SPOKE INSTEAD AGAINST CORRUPTION, TERRORISM AND NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING -- ALL NON-CONTROVERSIAL CROWD PLEASERS. FUJIMORI KNOWS THAT MUCH OF HIS SUPPORT WILL EVAPORATE AS SOON AS PEOPLE RECOGNIZE THAT INFLATION IS NOT FALLING, THAT SALARIES ARE NOT RISING, THAT EMPLOYMENT IS NOT INCREASING, THAT DOMESTIC DEMAND IS NOT RISING AND THAT EXPORTS STILL CAN'T COMPETE. HE MUST DELAY THIS REALIZATION AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.

12. IN [ ] VIEW, TO DISTRACT THE POPULACE FROM THE ECONOMIC ISSUES FUJIMORI PLANS:

(1) CORRUPTION TRIALS OF WELL-KNOWN PEOPLE, INCLUDING CONGRESSMEN, EX-MINISTERS OF GARCIA (MANTILLA AND MORALES BERMUDEZ) AND JUDGES. HE WILL MANUFACTURE EVIDENCE IF NECESSARY, JUDGES WILL BE CAREFULLY SELECTED, AND SENTENCES ALREADY DECIDED. IF GARCIA IS ARRESTED, HIS WILL BE THE MAJOR SHOW.

(2) ANTI-TERRORIST ACTIONS. PEOPLE STRONGLY SUPPORT ACTION AGAINST TERRORISTS. (ALTHOUGH [ ] POINTED OUT THAT MILITARY CONTROL OF PRISONS COULD HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED WITHOUT SUSPENDING THE CONSTITUTION.)

13. YET, THE REGIME'S DAYS ARE NUMBERED. THERE IS NO WAY FUJIMORI CAN CARRY OUT HIS ANNOUNCED PLANS OF REFORMING THE CONSTITUTION AND HOLDING NEW ELECTIONS WITH ANY LEGITIMACY. NO REPUTABLE JURIST WILL BE PART OF FUJIMORI'S COMMITTEE TO DRAFT A NEW CONSTITUTION. NO REPUTABLE POLITICAL LEADER WILL TAKE PART IN AN ELECTORAL PROCESS IN WHICH POLITICAL PARTIES ARE NOT PERMITTED TO FREELY CAMPAIGN AND IN WHICH FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ASSEMBLY IS NOT GUARANTEED. FUJIMORI WILL CERTAINLY BE INDICTED BY THE NEXT CONGRESS ELECTED DEMOCRATICALLY, NO MATTER HOW FAR IN THE FUTURE THAT MAY BE.

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THE MILITARY  
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14. [ ] ALLEGED THAT SUPPORT FOR FUJIMORI IN MILITARY IS SUPERFICIAL. ONLY THE HIGHEST

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RANKS ACTUALLY SUPPORT THE REGIME. THE OTHERS ARE NOW COOPERATING BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN PROMISED SALARY INCREASES AND A TOTALLY FREE HAND IN FIGHTING TERRORISM.

15. MILITARY SUPPORT (AT LEAST IN THE LOWER RANKS) MAY EVAPORATE RATHER QUICKLY. THOSE WHO

/\*\*\*\*\* BEGINNING OF SECTION 003 \*\*\*\*\*/  
EXPECT HIGHER SALARIES WILL BE DISAPPOINTED, AS THERE ARE NO IMMEDIATE PLANS TO RAISE SALARIES. THOSE WHO WANT A FREE HAND EXPECT TO BE ALLOWED TO IGNORE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS, WHICH WILL ENDANGER INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE REGIME.

16. [ ] EXPECTS THE MILITARY TO SACK FUJIMORI AS THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION UNRAVELS, AND CALL FOR ELECTIONS AND RETURN TO DEMOCRACY. MANY MILITARY OFFICERS REMEMBER THE DISASTER OF VELASCO AND DO NOT WANT THE MILITARY RUNNING THE COUNTRY, FEARING THAT IT WOULD BE TERRIBLY DESTRUCTIVE TO THE MILITARY ITSELF AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE POPULATION AS A WHOLE.

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APRA'S AGENDA  
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17. APRA LEADERS ARE IN CONTACT WITH ONE ANOTHER AND THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES. THEY HAVE RULED OUT ANY TYPE OF VIOLENCE. THE AGENDA NOW IS:

- (1) PRESERVE THE LIVES OF THOSE DETAINED. TAKE NO ACTION TO ENDANGER THEM.
- (2) IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE: PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS OF OPPOSITION.
- (3) UNITY WITH THE OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. PAST DIFFERENCES HAVE BEEN PUT ASIDE, AND A COMMON STRATEGY IS BEING FORGED.

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ALAN GARCIA  
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18. [ ] BELIEVES THAT ALAN GARCIA IS ALIVE AND FREE, AT LEAST FOR NOW, ALTHOUGH HE DOES NOT KNOW WHERE. HE RECOUNTED EVENTS SURROUNDING

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GARCIA'S ESCAPE ON THE NIGHT OF THE COUP. DEPUTY JORGE DEL CASTILLO, WHO WAS WITH GARCIA AT THE TIME, WAS ARRESTED AT THE HOUSE. GARCIA SOMEHOW GOT AWAY, AND HAS NOT BEEN SEEN SINCE BY ANY OF HIS CLOSE FRIENDS. THE AUDIO TAPE, AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS TO NEWS MEDIA AND MRS. GARCIA, HAVE CONVINCED THOSE CLOSE TO GARCIA THAT HE IS (OR HAS BEEN) FREE.

19. THE REGIME HAS DETAINED TWO CATEGORIES OF GARCIA'S ASSOCIATES: (A) CLOSE FRIENDS OF GARCIA, WHO MIGHT KNOW WHERE HE IS HIDING, AND (B) SECURITY/MILITARY LEADERS WITH THE ABILITY TO MOBILIZE FORCES AGAINST FUJIMORI'S REGIME.

20. GARCIA'S LONG-TIME SECRETARY, DETAINED IN THE EARLY HOURS OF APRIL 6, REMAINS IN DETENTION. HER HUSBAND BELIEVES SHE IS STILL ALIVE, AS HE WAS ORDERED TO BRING CLOTHING TO A DROP POINT ON APRIL 8, WHERE IT WAS COLLECTED BY MILITARY PERSONNEL.

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INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE  
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21. [ ] ARGUED THAT STRONG INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE WAS ESSENTIAL NOW, TO ENSURE THE LIVES OF THOSE IN DETENTION AND TO PCESS FOR SWIFT RETURN TO DEMOCRACY. HE BELIEVED THAT THE U.S. WOULD LEAD THIS EFFORT, AND THAT SUCH LEADERSHIP WOULD MAKE THE DIFFERENCE.  
QUAINTON##

ADMIN

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