

## **Document Profile: "The Peruvian Military"**

**Title:** The Peruvian Military: A Summary Political Analysis

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### **Description and Contents Summary:**

This report explains the political structure and demographics of the Peruvian military. The report uses historical and statistical analysis to show that, by the end of the 1960s, the once elitist and colonial military had transitioned to a structure that encouraged the education of lower and middle classes. This transition, which occurred gradually following the severing of colonial ties to Spain in the nineteenth century, left the military with a complex set of demographics and political opinions. The report also describes the origin of the military's independence: separation from the economic elite (traditionally conservative and repressive), promotion of internal political diversity, and a "cautious" sense of responsibility (12). In addition, Einaudi argues that in the typical fashion of Latin America, the military is not constitutionally beholden to the government. Further, the military served, both before and following the coup of 1968, as a policymaker and political participant rather than merely the enforcement arm of the government. The military had become involved in the development of the nation, believing development to be important for defense. From here, Einaudi contends that this politically diverse body is loath to take extreme action as each of its political components does not want to decrease the institutional cohesion of the military, which had become so important to Peruvian development, highlighting the cautious and responsible nature of the military.

In this light, Einaudi argues that in order to avoid the unpopularity and institutional weakness caused by past coups, the military initially attempted to install civilian leaders to promote reform. Later it found these civilian leaders ineffectual and took direct control of the country. This mentality resulted in the coup of 1968, in which Juan Velasco Alvarado (Chief of the Joint Staff) was appointed president of Peru, leading to a long-lasting, powerful regime. Einaudi describes how the military was decisive, but cautious and thoughtful, with plans aimed towards national reform in an environment of disdain for the competency of civilian leadership.

The author, Luigi R. Einaudi, was a U.S. diplomat; he was appointed Secretary-General of the Organization of American States (OAS) from 2004-2005 and served as the U.S. ambassador to this organization from 199-1993 during the end of the Cold War period. The OAS was created as part of an effort to keep communism out of the western hemisphere but now focuses on election monitoring throughout the Americas. Einaudi received a Ph.D. from Harvard, where he later taught, along with four other prestigious U.S. institutions. Between 1962 and 1974 he was a researcher at the RAND Corporation, a non-profit which researches world affairs, science, and healthcare for the public welfare, defense, and education of the U.S. Einaudi is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The intended audience of this report is U.S. foreign policy officials, particularly senators, as well as U.S. diplomats, homeland security officials, and foreign intelligence officials. This report is based upon testimony Einaudi gave before the Senate's Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Relations on April 14, 1969. This report summary is a publication of the publicly given testimony before Congress. This document states that it contains only Einaudi's opening statements, alluding to a larger report that remains unpublished, to the best knowledge of the authors of this profile. It was written as a source of intelligence for policymakers, but is informative to anyone interested in the history of Peru or Peruvian-American Relations. It uses no illustrations and has a standard layout and font, indicating its professional, statistics-focused, and abstract nature.

### **Significance:**

The report was prompted by the coup d'état of 1968, in which General Juan Velasco Alvarado was appointed president of the Republic of Peru. Many U.S. experts on the region were surprised by the actions taken after the coup in 1962, when the instigators installed a civilian president rather than a military leader. When Fernando Belaúnde Terry, that civilian president, was removed in 1968 because he had not fulfilled the military's desire for social reforms, interest in such a report was reinforced. Einaudi's report was also motivated by the Peruvian seizure of U.S. oil interests, which were nationalized by the military in the 1968 coup. This coup was significant because the Peruvian military was able to maintain power for more than a decade and reduced U.S. influence in the country.

In order to write his report, Einaudi claims to have gotten his information from military sources, which as he admitted, tend to be secretive. This could be problematic as this method might yield a view favoring the military. It makes sense then that the report summary generally takes a favorable view of the Peruvian military despite the military's distrust of liberal democracy and its actions taken against U.S. interests in Peru. The report is evenhanded in that it presents the Peruvian perspective and calculations on the recent events. While these events take place during the Cold War, the author associates the elite with conservative policy and tends to associate both the general public's and the military's preferences for social reform and development in a favorable light, contrary to the rampant conservatism and anti-socialism happening in the U.S. at the time.

The historical questions this source can answer are:

1. What distinguishes the Peruvian coup of 1968 (which led to a successful and stable government) when Latin American coups were regular occurrences and the resulting governments were generally unstable?
2. How does the character of a military affect the development and foreign relations of a country?
3. What forces contribute to development or lack thereof in Peru and Latin America?
4. What forces contribute to equalizing income and social capital in Peru?

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**Geographical Subject:** Peru

**Subject:** coup of 1968; organization, ideology, structure, and function of the military

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