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ACTION SS-25

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN AND S/P - DR. EINAUDI

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, PE
SUBJECT: DETENTION OF VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS

1. THIS IS TO ALERT YOU THAT THE DEPARTMENT MAY BE RECEIVING INQUIRIES ABOUT FORMER PERUVIAN ARMY CAPTAIN VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS, WHO IS BEING DETAINED BY THE PERUVIAN INVESTIGATIONS POLICE SEGURIDAD DEL ESTADO UNIT.

2. MONTESINOS WAS AIDE TO PRIME MINISTER MERCADO JARRIN, (EARLY 1970'S) AGRICULTURE MINISTER GALLEGOS (1974-75) AND LEFTIST PRIME MINISTER GENERAL JORGE FERNANDEZ MALDONADO (1976). HE WAS ALSO A VALUED EMBASSY CONTACT, A RELATIONSHIP THAT WAS QUITE OPEN AND KNOWN TO HIS SUPERIORS. (IN FACT, I MENTIONED THE RELATIONSHIP TO FERNANDEZ MALDONADO.) WHEN FERNANDEZ MALDONADO WAS REMOVED AS PRIME MINISTER AND RETIRED IN JULY, 1976, A MAJOR EVENT IN PERU'S SHIFT FROM RADICAL/LEFTIST TO MORE MODERATE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES, MONTESINOS REMAINED ON THE STAFF OF THE POLITICALLY-MODERATE PRIME MINISTER GENERAL GUILLERMO ARBULU GALLIANI. THIS WAS A REMARKABLE FEAT ON MONTESINO'S PART, GIVEN HIS OWN LEFTIST CONNECTIONS, BUT ALSO STTESTED TO HIS

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RECOGNIZED COMPETENCE AND USEFULNESS TO HIS SUPERIORS.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DATE/CASE ID: 4 APR 2001 200100459

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3. IN AUGUST, 1976, MONTESINOS INFORMED THE EMBASSY THAT HE WAS AT LAST IN A POSITION AND HAD THE PRIME MINISTER'S APPROVAL TO ACCEPT THE U.S. INTERNATIONAL VISITORS' LEADER GRANT THAT WE HAD BEEN PROFERRING SINCE 1974. HE VISITED THE U.S. UNDER SUCH A GRANT FROM 9/5/76 TO 9/21/76.

4. UPON HIS RETURN HIS SUPERIORS IN THE ARMY CHARGED MONTESINOS WITH HAVING LEFT PERU AND TRAVELED TO THE U.S. WITHOUT PERMISSION. (WE SUBSEQUENTLY LEARNED THAT ALTHOUGH THE PROCESS OF SECURING APPROVAL WAS UNDERWAY, HE HAD, INF FACT, LACKED FINAL AND FORMAL WRITTEN PERMISSION BEFORE HE LEFT FOR THE U.S. WE FURTHER LEARNED THAT PERUVIAN OFFICIALS OFTEN LEAVE THE COUNTRY ON TRIPS ONCE THEY HAVE ORAL OR "IN PRINCIPLE" PERMISSION BUT BEFORE THE FINAL PAPERS ARE SIGNED. WE ALSO HEARD THAT THAT THE FORMAL PERMISSION MATTER WAS BUT A PRETEXT TO CASHIER MONTESINOS WHO WAS IN FACT PURGED FOR POLITICAL/PERSONAL REASONS AND THAT ARBULU AT LEAST ACQUIESCED.)

5. THE ARMY TRIED MONTESINOS OVER THE LACK OF PERMISSIORMAND CASHIERED HIM. IN EARLY OCTOBER, AT ARBULU'S INSTIGATION, FONMIN DE LA PUENTE CALLED ME IN TO COMPLAIN ABOUT THE EMBASSY'S HAVING SENT MONTESINOS TO THE U.S. WITHOUT GOP PERMISSION. I POINTED OUT THAT MONTESINOS' INVITATION WAS A LONG-STANDING ONE WHICH HE HAD NOT ACCEPTED PREVIOUSLY BECAUSE, AS HE TOLD US, OF THE PRESSURE OF HIS RESPONSIBILITIES. HE EVENTUALLY APPROACHED THE EMBASSY TO TELL US THE PRIME MINISTER HAD GIVEN PERMISSION. WE KNEW THAT OTHER MORE SENIOR OFFICERS ON THE PRIME MINISTER'S STAFF WERE AWARE OF THE INVITATION AND WE COULD ONLY ASSUME MONTESINOS, KNOWS AS A BRIGHT, RESPONSIBLE OFFICER, HAD RECEIVED THE NECESSARY PERMISSION. I REGRETTED IF HIS STATEMENT TO US HAD NOT BEEN TRUE AND UNDERTOOK TO INFORM THE FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE FUTURE ABOUT LEADER GRANT TRAVEL OF PERUVIAN MILITARY OFFICERS.

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6. WE UNDERSTAND THAT ON MARCH 25, WHEN MONTESINOS APPEARED IN COURT FOR WHAT WAS TO BE HIS FINAL JUDGEMENT BEFORE ARMY AUTHORITIES, THE PERUVIAN INVESTIGATIONS POLICE SEGURIDAD DEL ESTADO UNIT APPREHENDED HIM. HE HAS BEEN HELD INCOMMUNICADO SINCE THEN. MONTESINOS MANAGED TO SMUGGLE FROM DETENTION A LETTER TO ME SAYING THAT HE FEARS FOR HIS SAFETY, EVEN HIS LIFE, ASKING ME TO INTERVENE WITH PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ ON HIS BEHALF. HE ALSO SMUGGLED TO HIS LAWYER (WHO IS UNABLE TO SEE

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HIM) A LIST OF PERSONS IN THE U.S. TO WHOM MONTESINOS ASKS HIS FAMILY WRITE. THE ARE: ABRAHAM LOWENTHAL, LUIGI EINAUDI, ALFRED STEPAN AND ALBERT FISHLOW, ALL OF WHOM MONTESINOS HAS MET. AT THAT TIME HE ASKED HIS FAMILY TO TELEPHONE A RELATIVE, SERGIO ERWIN FETZER, AN OAS EMPLOYEE IN WASHINGTON, TO TELL THE OTHERS THAT LETTERS ARE ON THE WAY.

7. MONTESINOS' LAWYER CONTACTED THE EMBASSY ON MARCH 31 LARGELY CONFIRMING THE FOREGOING INFORMATION AND CONTENDING THAT THE MARCH 25 DETENTION WAS ILLEGAL (FOR LACK OF COURT ORDER) AND PRESUMABLY UNRELATED TO ORIGINAL CHARGE OF UNAUTHORIZED TRAVEL. THE LAWYER STATED THAT INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS' REPORTS ON THE CASE ALLUDED TO "POSSIBLE DISLOYALTY" BUT INCLUDED NO SPECIFICS AND NO CHARGES WERE MADE. HE ASKED THAT THE EMBASSY DO WHATEVER IT COULD IN THE CASE. THE LAWYER ADDED THAT THE FAMILY CONTACTED PERU'S CARDINAL LANDAZURI AND THE CARDINAL AGREED TO PLEAD MONTESINOS' CASE WITH PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ. WE TOLD THE LAWYER THAT THIS APPROACH THROUGH A HIGH PERUVIAN AUTHORITY WAS THE PROPER ONE. WE DID NOT COMMIT THE EMBASSY TO ANY PARTICULAR COURSE OF ACTION BUT ASKED TO BE KEPT INFORMED.

8. I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF A MARCH 31 APPOINTMENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DE LA PUENTE TO RAISE THE CASE. WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL I TOLD HIM THAT WE HAD RECEIVED WORD OF MONTESINOS' DETENTION FROM HIS LAWYER. I SAID THAT WHILE IT WAS NOT MY INTENTION TO INTERVENE IN PERUVIAN AFFAIRS, I FELT SOME RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CASE BECAUSE OF MONTESINOS' PARTICIPATION IN OUR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS' PROGRAM AND BECAUSE CHARGES AGAINST

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HIM PURPORTEDLY RELATED TO HIS TRAVEL. I TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT I WAS INFORMED WORD OF THE CASE WOULD PROBABLY GO TO CERTAIN AMERICANS LIKE LUIGI EINAUDI, ALFRED STEPAN AND AL FISHLOW. DE LA PUENTE'S REACTION WAS ONE OF DISBELIEF. HE QUESTIONED THE WORK OF OUR INFORMANT AND SAID THAT SUCH CHARGES OF DETENTION WERE SERIOUS AND ANYONE WHO MADE THEM IN AN IRRESPONSIBLE FASHION WOULD HAVE TO ANSWER FOR HIS ACTION. DE LA PUENTE THEN SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE CASE AND INFORM ME.

9. I BELIEVE THE ARMY'S AND GOP'S "CASE" AGAINST MONTESINOS GOES FARE BEYOND ANY INFRACTION OF THE RULES REGARDING FOREIGN TRAVEL. HE WAS IN KEY SENSITIVE POSITIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION'S FIRST PHASE. HE PRESUMABLY IS IN POSSESSION OF A GREAT DEAL OF INSIDE INFORMATION AND HE HAS OBVIOUSLY MADE PERSONAL AS WELL AS

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IDEOLOGICAL ENEMIES. ACCORDING TO HIS LAWYER, MONTESINOS WAS ENGAGED IN WRITING A TREATISE ON POSSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU WITH PERU IN THE ROLE OF AGGRESSOR. IN ADDITION HE WAS COMPLETING A STUDY ON THE BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR QUESTION. THE LAWYER ALSO STATED THAT MONTESINOS PLANNED TO MAKE CERTAIN CHARGES AGAINST ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF PEDRO RICHTER RELATING TO HIS ROLE IN THE 1975 POLICE STRIKE AND TO THE 1976 PURGE OF LEFTIST ARMY OFFICERS. ANYONE WRITING ON THE ABOVE TOPICS WOULD RISK AN ADVERSE GOP REACTION. GOP AND SPECIFICALLY ARMY CONCERN WOULD BE HEIGHTENED IN THE MONTESINOS CASE DUE TO FEAR OF POLITICALLY-DAMAGING REVELATIONS. DEAN

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