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SECRET

NODIS, ONLY

Case Number: S200000044

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DENIED IN FULL PART  
B1, 1.5(B), 1.5(D)

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 /000W  
-----9325E3 221404Z /38

P 221359Z JAN 93  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5157

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 00756

NODIS

*deception*

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV. PTER. PINS, SNAR, PHUM, PE  
SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON  
FUJIMORI, MONTESINOS, BUT  
NOT ON BARRIOS ALTOS

B1

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT

PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAS A GOOD THEORETICAL  
UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS;  
IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, FUJIMORI IS PREPARED TO  
SACRIFICE PRINCIPLES TO ACHIEVE A QUICK VICTORY

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OVER TERRORISM. CHARACTERIZED PRESIDENTIAL  
ADVISOR VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS AS CONSUMED BY  
AMBITION. THE FUJIMORI/MONTESINOS TEAM IS  
GOVERNED BY AN OBSESSION FOR QUICK RESULTS THAT  
OFTEN LEADS TO UNWISE POLICY MOVES. BARRIOS  
ALTOS WAS TOO HOT, TO TOUCH.

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SECRET DEPT OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)

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FOIA/PA	Mandatory Review
( ) Release	( ) Declassify
( <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ) Excise	( ) Declassify in Part
( ) Deny	( ) Class. Ret/Renew

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Exemptions

ARP Action Cert.

Date 02/13/02

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RESULTS IN TEN NEW RECRUITS FOR SL.  
EVERY ABUSED PERSON,

FUJIMORI AND HUMAN RIGHTS

7. CHARGE SAID HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI UNDERSTOOD THIS TRUTH AND WAS APPLYING IT IN PRACTICE. CERTAINLY, FUJIMORI'S DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE WITH US AND HIS PUBLIC SPEECHES REFLECT A COMPREHENSION OF THE DAMAGE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DO TO A GOVERNMENT'S OVERALL STRATEGY, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN CONTINUING

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PRACTICES INDICATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH TO ROOT OUT THE BAD PRACTICES OF THE PAST.

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8. FUJIMORI SHOWS A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF THE THEORY. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, HE IS GOVERNED BY OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

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FUJIMORI IS ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO DESTROYING SENDERO LUMINOSO AND THE MRTA WITHIN HIS FIVE YEAR TERM AND IS PREPARED TO COUNTENANCE ANY METHODS THAT ACHIEVE THAT GOAL. THE PRESIDENT IS CONVINCED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO ERADICATE SL IS BY PHYSICALLY ELIMINATING THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION; OVERALL GOVERNMENT COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY REFLECTS THIS.

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SENDERO LUMINOSO IS A DEEPLY ROOTED MOVEMENT AND CANNOT BE QUICKLY DEFEATED. IT HAS BEEN BADLY HURT BY THE REVERSES OF THE PAST YEAR, BUT COULD EASILY EVOLVE INTO SOMETHING EQUALLY DANGEROUS, SUCH AS A PURELY TERRORIST ORGANIZATION BASED ON SMALL, HARD TO DETECT CELLS. CONSISTENT, LONG TERM POLICY APPROACHES ARE NEEDED TO ATTACK IT, NOT QUICK FIXES.

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CHANGES IN STATISTICS

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9. CHARGE [ ]  
WHY HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES DECLINED NUMERICALLY

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FROM MID-1991, NOTING THAT MANY BELIEVE THAT  
THIS CHANGE REFLECTS A CONSCIOUS DECISION ON THE  
PART OF FUJIMORI. THE MAIN REASON IS  
THAT TERRORIST ACTIVITY BEGAN TO DECLINE IN THIS  
PERIOD. SL, THE MAIN SOURCE OF  
VIOLENCE, SUFFERED THE EFFECTS OF TOO RAPID A  
GROWTH IN THE LATE 1980'S. FROM A FEW HUNDRED  
ACTIVISTS IT BALLOONED TO THOUSANDS. COMMAND  
AND CONTROL CONSEQUENTLY SUFFERED AND THE GROUP  
LOST A GOOD PART OF ITS STRATEGIC THRUST. ALSO,  
INTERNAL EVENTS IN SL, SUCH AS THE MYSTERIOUS  
DEATH OF ABIMAEEL GUZMAN'S WIFE (COMRADE NORAH,  
THOUGHT BY MANY TO HAVE BEEN KILLED BY GUZMAN)  
AND THE FAMOUS "ZORBA THE GREEK" VIDEO WHICH  
SHOWED GUZMAN TO BE A LIBERTINE, CREATED  
DISSENTION THAT UNDERMINED SL'S COHESION AND  
EFFECTIVENESS.  
INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO LED  
THE SECURITY FORCES TO EXERCISE GREATER CONTROL  
TO LIMIT INDESCRIMINATE ABUSES.

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MONTESINOS: BLIND AMBITION

10.

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THE ROLE OF VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS,  
PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S ADVISOR, IN THE COUNTER-  
TERRORISM PROGRAMS OF THE GOVERNMENT.  
MONTESINOS IS FUJIMORI'S INTELLIGENCE  
COORDINATOR.

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HE ALWAYS SHOWED A DESIRE TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH POWER, AND IN THE 1970'S WAS CLOSE TO THE TOP MILITARY FIGURES OF THE VELASCO REGIME. "HE WAS CASHIERED FROM THE ARMY FOR REASONS THAT ARE OBSCURE"

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5159

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PINS, SNAR, PHUM, PE  
VIDAL SAID. MONTESINOS THEN DROPPED OUT OF SIGHT.

ONE THING: POWER, MONTESINOS WAS FOCUSED ON HE WAS INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE, AND ABLE AND BEGAN HIS SUCCESSFUL LAW CAREER TAKING CLIENTS WHO COULD PAY THE MOST. THIS LED HIM TO DRUG TRAFFICKERS WHO ALWAYS PAID WELL. MONTESINOS ALSO CULTIVATED USEFUL POLITICAL CONNECTIONS, WHICH IN THIS PERIOD MEANT AMONG THE APRISTAS WHO WERE THEN IN POWER. ONE OF HIS KEY ALLIES WAS A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, HUGO DENEGRI, WHO WAS PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO MONTESINOS

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(AFTER APRIL 5, FUJIMORI

TRIED TO MAKE DENEGRI ATTORNEY GENERAL, BUT WAS FORCED TO BACK OFF DUE TO THE MAN'S POOR REPUTATION.) IN THIS PERIOD, MONTESINOS ALSO REBUILT HIS TIES TO THE MILITARY. ONE OF HIS KEY POINTS OF ENTRY WAS VIA THE DEFENSE OF GENERAL JOSE VALDIVIA DUENAS, THE OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CAYARA MASSACRE AND COVER-UP.

13. IN 1990, AS THE GARCIA GOVERNMENT DREW TO A CLOSE, MONTESINOS LOOKED FOR NEW CONNECTIONS. HIS APPROACH TO THE MARIO VARGAS LLOSA CAMP WAS REBUFFED. VARGAS THOUGHT HE WAS A SHOE-IN AND HAD NO NEED FOR MONTESINOS. MONTESINOS THEN HIT ON ALBERTO FUJIMORI, VIA A MUTUAL FRIEND, FRANCISCO LOAYZA. ONCE LOAYZA WAS USED, MONTESINOS GOT RID OF HIM, "IN TYPICAL FASHION," MAKING A GESTURE LIKE FLICKING AWAY A CIGARETTE BUTT.

14. FUJIMORI NEVER IMAGINED -- OR PLANNED FOR -- THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY THAT FELL TO HIM IN 1990, HE WAS TOTALLY UNPREPARED IN TERMS OF A NATIONAL POLICY OR POLITICAL BASE TO CARRY ONE OUT. CAMBIO-90, HIS PARTY, WAS THROWN TOGETHER OVERNIGHT AND HAD NO CONSISTENCY. ENTER MONTESINOS. MONTESINOS OFFERED FUJIMORI THE ARMY AS HIS POLITICAL BASE. THAT, HAS BEEN THE STORY OF THE FUJIMORI GOVERNMENT.

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15. MONTESINOS AS A CLEVER AND ABLE MAN WITH MANY IDEAS, BUT NO STRATEGIC CONCEPTION. HE IS ACTION ORIENTED, WANTS TO GET THINGS DONE QUICKLY. IN THIS, HE AND FUJIMORI ARE NEARLY IDENTICAL. IN ADDRESSING THE SENDERO PROBLEM, THE THROW IDEAS AT IT WITHOUT THINKING THROUGH THE CONSEQUENCES OR A STRATEGIC SCOPE.

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16. ANOTHER KEY ELEMENT OF MONTESINOS, IS HIS EXTREME JEALOUSLY OF HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE WANTS NO OTHER PERSON TO ENJOY THE ACCESS HE HAS AND SYSTEMATICALLY BARS CONTENDERS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S THINKING PROCESSES FROM CONTACT WITH HIM. BECAUSE FUJIMORI HAS ALLOWED MONTESINOS TO DO IT. THE REGIME, IS THUS LOCKED INTO THE VERY SHORT TERM POLITICAL CALCULATIONS AND MAKE-SHIFT POLICY IDEAS THAT THE TWO OF THEM DEVELOP.

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17. CHARGE ASKED IF HE THOUGHT MONTESINOS STILL MAINTAINED HIS CONTACTS WITH DRUG FIGURES. MONTESINOS NO LONGER NEEDED THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES THAT HIS DRUG CONNECTIONS

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BROUGHT HIM IN HIS LAW PRACTICE.

BARRIOS ALTOS

18. CHARGE SAID THAT MANY PEOPLE HAVE LINKED MONTESINOS TO THE BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE IN NOVEMBER 1991. RECALLING THE EARLIER DISCUSSION OF PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S REAL VIEWS ON HUMAN

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PTER. PINS, SNAR, PHUM, PE  
RIGHTS, CHARGE ASKED \_\_\_\_\_ WHAT WAS THE MEANING  
OF BARRIOS ALTOS AND WHETHER MONTESINOS HAD A  
CONNECTION TO IT. "THAT IS A VERY SENSITIVE  
ISSUE."  
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