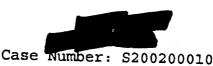
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EXTEND CLASSIFICATION

TAGS:

PGOV, PTER, PINS SNAR, PHUM, PE

PAGE 02 SUJBECT:

STATE <u>0204</u>13 222057Z COMMENTS ON

FUJIMORI, MONTESINOS, BUT NOT ON BARRIOS ALTOS

ENTIRE TEXT

SUMMARY:

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THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAS A GOOD THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS;



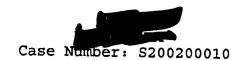
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR DATE/CASE ID: 19 JUL 2002 S200200010 **CLASSIFICATION: SECRET REASON: 25X6**

DECLASSIFY AFTER: 29 JAN 2019



IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, FUJIMORI IS PREPARED TO SACRIFICE PRINCIPLES TO ACHIEVE A QUICK VICTORY 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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VIEWED THIS AS THE BEST RECRUITING MECHANISM SENDERO LUMINOSO HAD. EVERY ABUSED PERSON, HE SAID, RESULTS IN TEN NEW RECRUITS FOR SL.

FUJIMORI AND HUMAN RIGHTS



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7. CHARGE SAID HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI UNDERSTOOD THIS TRUTH AND WAS APPLYING IT IN PRACTICE. CERTAINLY, FUJIMORI'S



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DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE WITH US AND HIS PUBLIC SPEECHES REFLECT A CONPREHENSION OF THE DAMAGE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DO TO A GOVERNMENT'S OVERALL STRATEGY, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN CONTINUING PRACTICES INDICATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH TO ROOT OUT THE BAD PRACTICES OF THE PAST. CHARGE ASKED F HE AGREED WITH THIS.	B1
8. SAID HE AGREED THAT FUJIMORI SHOWS A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF THE THEORY. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, HE IS GOVERNED BY OTHER CONSIDERATIONS. SAID THAT FUJIMORI IS ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO DESTROYING SENDERO	B1
LUMINOSO AND THE MRTA WITHIN HIS FIVE YEAR TERM AND IS PREPARED TO COUNTENANCE ANY METHODS THAT ACHIEVE THAT GOAL. THE PRESIDENT, HE SAID, IS CONVINCED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO ERADICATE SL IS BY PHYSICALLY ELIMINATING THE MEMERS OF THE ORGANIZATION; OVERALL GOVERNMENT COUNTER-	B1
TERRORISM POLICY REFLECTS THIS. CALLED THIS VIEW MISGUIDED. 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,	B1 .
PAGE 06 STATE 020413 222057Z HARD TO DETECT CELLS. CONSISTENT, LONG TERM POLICY APPROACHES ARE NEEDED TO ATTACK IT, NOT QUICK FIXES.	
CHANGES IN STATISTICS	
9. CHARGE ASKED WHY HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES DECLINED NUMERICALLY FROM MID-1991, NOTING THAT MANY BELIEVE THAT THIS CHANGE PEFFECTS A CONSCIOUS PROPERTY.	В1
THIS CHANGE REFLECTS A CONSCIOUS DECISION ON THE PART OF FUJIMORI THE MAIN REASON IS THAT TERRORIST ACTIVITY BEGAN TO DECLINE IN THIS PERIOD. IN HIS VIEW, SL, THE MAIN SOURCE OF VIOLENCE, SUFFERED THE EFFECTS OF TOO RAPID A	B1

GROWTH IN THE LATE 1980'S. FROM A FEW HUNDRED ACTIVISTS IT BALLOONED TO THOUSANDS. COMMAND AND CONTROL CONSEQUENTLY SUFFERED AND THE GROUP



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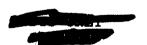
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LOST A GOOD PART OF ITS STRATEGIC THRUST. ALSO, INTERNAL EVENTS IN SL, SUCH AS THE MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF ABIMAEL GUZMAN'S WIFE (COMRADE NORAH, THOUGHT BY MANY TO HAVE BEEN KILLED BY GUZMAN) AND THE FAMOUS "ZORBA THE GREEK" VIDEO WHICH SHOWED GUZMAN TO BE A LIBERTINE, CREATED DISSENTION THAT UNDERMINED SL'S COHESION AND EFFECTIVENESS. CONCEDED THAT **B**1 INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO LED THE SECURITY FORCES TO EXERCISE GREATER CONTROL TO LIMIT INDESCRIMINATE ABUSES. MONTESINOS: BLIND AMBITION PAGE 07 STATE 020413 222057Z **B**1 PREPARING TO LEAVE WHEN CHARGE ASKED HIM HOW HE SAW THE ROLE OF VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS, PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S ADVISOR, IN THE COUNTER-TERRORISM PROGRAMS OF THE GOVERNMENT. MONTESINOS IS FUJIMORI'S INTELLIGENCE COORDINATOR. SAID HE HAS KNOWN MONTESINOS SINCE THEY REMAINED IN DISTANT TOUCH OVER THE YEARS THAT MONTESINOS WAS RISING IN THE MILITARY. HE ALWAYS SHOWED A DESIRE TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH POWER, [**B**1 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 TO ME, " **B**1 SAID. MONTESINOS THEN DROPPED OUT OF SIGHT. 12. **B**1 MONTESINOS WAS FOCUSED ON ONE THING: POWER, BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC. HE WAS INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE, AND ABLE AND BEGAN HIS SUCCESSFUL LAW CAREER TAKING CLIENTS

WHO COULD PAY THE MOST. THIS LED HIM TO DRUG

ALSO CULTIVATED USEFUL POLITICAL CONNECTIONS, WHICH IN THIS PERIOD MEANT AMONG THE APRISTAS

TRAFFICKERS WHO ALWAYS PAID WELL.



MONTESINOS

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PAGE 08 STATE 020413 222057Z WHO WERE THEN IN POWER. ONE OF HIS KEY ALLIES WAS A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, HUGO DENEGRI, WHO WAS PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO MONTESINOS

(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.

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 CIGARETTE BUTT.

FUJIMORI NEVER IMAGINED -- OR PLANNED FOR -- THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY THAT FELL TO HIM IN 1990, BAID. 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. ACCORDING TO

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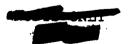
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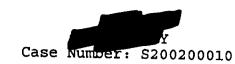
PAGE 09 STATE 020413 222057Z MONTESINOS OFFERED FUJIMORI THE ARMY AS HIS POLITICAL BASE. THAT, HE SAID, HAS BEEN THE STORY OF THE FUJIMORI GOVERNMENT.

B1

DESCRIBED 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



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THROUGH THE CONSEQUENCES OR A STRATEGIC SCOPE.		•
DID NOT HAVE A HIGH OPINION OF THE MORE POLITICALLY GEARED FUJIMORI/MONTESINOS TEAM.	B1	
16. ANOTHER KEY ELEMENT OF MONTESINOS, SAID, 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	B1	
PRESIDENT'S THINKING PROCESSES FROM CONTACT WITH HIM. EAW THIS AS HIGHLY DANGEROUS, MAINLY BECAUSE FUJIMORI HAS ALLOWED MONTESINOS TO DO	B1	
IT. THE REGIME, IN VIEW, IS THUS LOCKED INTO THE VERY SHORT TERM POLITICAL CALCULATIONS	B1	
AND MAKE-SHIFT POLICY IDEAS THAT THE TWO OF THEM DEVELOP. MADE NO MENTION OF THE ROLE OF SANTIAGO FUJIMORI, THE PRESIDENT'S BROTHER AND OTHER INTIMATE ADVISOR.	B1	
17. CHARGE ASKED VIDAL IF HE THOUGHT MONTESINOS		
PAGE 10 STATE 020413 222057Z STILL MAINTAINED HIS CONTACTS WTIH DRUG FIGURES. DOUBTEQ IT. MONTESINOS NO LONGER NEEDED THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES THAT HIS DRUG CONNECTIONS BROUGHT HIM IN HIS LAW PRACTICE.	B1	
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 RIGHTS, CHARGE ASKED WHAT WAS THE MEANING OF BARRIOS ALTOS AND WHETHER MONTESINOS HAD A CONNECTION TO IT. "THAT IS A VERY SENSITIVE	B1	
ISSUE, " PERHAPS IT CAN BE DISCUSSED AT SOME OTHER TIME."	B1	
PUTURE COOPERATION		
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