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Release in Part ✓
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-----341460 242226Z /38

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5794
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
USEC BRUSSELS

Dept of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret P. Grafeld, Dir.
(~~Classify as (S)~~) Extend as (S) Downgrade to
Date 4/15/02 Declassify on N/A 25X1
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EXDIS **DECAPTIONED**

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, SNAR, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: VIEWS THE
FUJIMORI GOVERNMENT

B1

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY:

FORMER MONTESINOS ALLY,
EXPECTS THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI WILL SUCCEED IN
HIS REELECTION BID. ATTRIBUTED HIS LIKELY
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SUCCESS TO THE DISORDERED OPPOSITION, ALTHOUGH
DISCONTENT OVER ECONOMIC CONDITIONS COULD HURT
FUJIMORI. SAID THERE IS NO DOUBT IN HIS
MIND THAT MONTESINOS FULLY CONTROLLED THE GROUPS
THAT CARRIED OUT LA CANTUTA AND BARRIOS ALTOS.
HE ALSO ASSERTED THAT MONTESINOS TOLERATES HEAVY
ARMY INVOLVEMENT IN DRUG TRAFFICKING. CREDITING
FUJIMORI WITH A DESIRE TO CURB THIS PROBLEM,
SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT CANNOT RISK
ATTACKING IT SERIOUSLY. ATTRIBUTED ARMY
"SUCCESSES" AGAINST TRAFFICKERS TO INTERNAL
RIVALRIES IN THE DRUG TRADE. THE ARMY, HE SAID,

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DEPT OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)

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Mandatory Review

- () Declassify
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ARP Action Cert. ESR Date 8/20/02

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IS ATTACKING THE ENEMIES OF THEIR FRIENDS AMONG
TRAFFICKERS. HESSE ASSERTED THAT PROFESSIONALISM
IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS BEEN DESTROYED BY
FUJIMORI'S GOVERNING STYLE. END SUMMARY

3. DCM MET MARCH 21 WITH

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FUJIMORI HEADED TO REELECTION

4. _____ SAID HE HAD NO DOUBT THAT PRESIDENT
FUJIMORI WILL SUCCEED IN HIS REELECTION BID.
HIS ABILITY TO USE GOVERNMENT RESOURCES TO
SUPPORT THAT EFFORT IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR, BUT
THE MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT WORKING IN FUJIMORI'S
FAVOR IS THE DISORDER AMONG OPPOSITION GROUPS.
THEY HAVE NO CANDIDATE -- AND ARE NOT LIKELY TO
FIND OR SETTLE ON ONE -- WHO CAN PRESENT AS
COHERENT A VISION TO THE VOTERS AS FUJIMORI.

_____ ALLOWED THAT SEVERE ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
FOR THE POOREST PERUVIANS, WHOSE NUMBERS ARE
VERY HIGH, COULD HURT FUJIMORI, BUT THIS DOES
NOT NOW SEEM LIKELY. _____ RULED OUT ANY DAMAGE
TO FUJIMORI AMONG VOTERS BECAUSE OF CASES LIKE
LA CANTUTA OR BARRIOS ALTOS. MOST PERUVIANS OF
ALL CLASSES, HE SAID, THINK THAT ANY MEANS USED
TO SUPPRESS THE TERRORISTS ARE ACCEPTABLE.

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MONTESINOS WAS IN CHARGE

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5. [REDACTED] ACCEPTED, HOWEVER, THAT THESE SERIOUS
CASES DO CREATE PROBLEMS FOR FUJIMORI EXTERNALLY.
GIVEN THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ARMY EXERCISES VERY
STRICT INTERNAL CONTROL OVER THE OPERATIONS OF
ITS UNITS AND THE HIGH SENSITIVITY OF THE BARRIOS
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ALTOS AND LA CANTUTA INCIDENTS, [REDACTED] SAID THERE
IS NO DOUBT IN HIS MIND THAT MONTESINOS WAS FULLY
IN CONTROL OF THE GROUPS THAT CARRIED OUT THESE
TWO OPERATIONS. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN IMPOSSIBLE
FOR GROUPS CAPABLE OF SUCH OPERATIONS TO EXIST
AND FUNCTION WITHOUT BEING UNDER HIS VERY STRICT
COMMAND CONTROL. FOR THIS REASON, [REDACTED]
HE THOUGHT THE FUJIMORI GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE
TO BE FORCED TO CONCEAL THE TRUTH AND PROTECT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5795
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
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USEC BRUSSELS

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TAGS: PGOV, SNAR, PHUM, PE
SUBJECT: [REDACTED] VIEWS THE
THE PERPETRATORS OF THE ACTIONS, AND THUS SUFFER

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THE CONSEQUENCES IN RELATIONS WITH OTHER STATES.

6. IN THE PERIOD OF TIME THAT THE "COLINA" GROUP
WAS IN ITS FORMATIVE STAGES,
I.E. 1991. BARRIOS ALTOS
OCCURRED IN NOVEMBER OF THAT YEAR. IN 1992, WHEN
LA CANTUTA OCCURRED,

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"VATICANO" IS AN ARMY CREATION

12. DCM ASKED _____ HOW HE COULD EXPLAIN SOME RECENT MAJOR ARMY SUCCESSES AGAINST TRAFFICKERS, SUCH AS THE MANU OPERATION. _____ ASSERTED THAT THE ARMY MOVES AGAINST TRAFFICKERS WHO ARE RIVALS TO THEIR FRIENDS. IT IS ALL PART OF THE SYSTEM, HE CLAIMED. HE NOTED THAT THE CAPTURE OF DEMETRIO CHAVEZ PENAHERRERA ("VATICANO") HAD PRESENTED THE ARMY WITH A SPECIAL PROBLEM. HIS CAPTURE IN COLOMBIA WAS OUT OF PERUVIAN CONTROL AND HIS DEPORTATION TO PERU FORCED THE GOP TO TAKE HIM INTO CUSTODY. HE COULD NOT BE RELEASED WITHOUT PROVOKING A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL REACTION. HE COULD ALSO NOT BE TRIED PUBLICLY SINCE HE WOULD REVEAL WHO HIS ALLIES WERE IN THE ARMY. HESSE CALLED VATICANO AN "ARMY CREATION,"

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ASSERTING THAT AN ARMY COMMANDER IN IQUITOS IN THE 1980'S HAD SET VATICANO UP IN BUSINESS. BECAUSE OF THESE CONNECTIONS, VATICANO HAD TO BE SECRETLY TRIED IN A MILITARY COURT AND HELD INCOMMUNICADO THEREAFTER.

FUJIMORI'S VIEWS ON NARCO-TRAFFICKING

13. DCM ASKED _____ IF HE THOUGHT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S STATED COMMITMENT TO STOPPING THE DRUG TRADE WAS GENUINE. _____ AVOIDED A DIRECT ANSWER, BUT INDICATED THAT FUJIMORI SHOWED SINCERE INTEREST WHEN _____ GAVE HIM DATA ON ARMY INVOLVEMENT. _____ ALSO MADE NO ACCUSATION THAT VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS WAS PERSONALLY LINKED TO DRUG TRAFFICKING. _____ VIEW, FUJIMORI WAS UNABLE TO MOVE AGAINST THE ARMY'S DRUG TRAFFICKERS BECAUSE THEY ARE DEEPLY ENTRENCHED. SINCE FUJIMORI DEPENDS HEAVILY ON THE ARMY TO MAINTAIN HIS GOVERNMENT, HE CANNOT TAKE RISKS. _____ PORTRAYED FUJIMORI AS "AFRAID" OF THE ARMY.

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FOREIGN MINISTRY PROBLEMS

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14. WHILE DISCUSSING THE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT
OF FUJIMORI'S TREATMENT OF THE LA CANTUTA CASE,
NOTED THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S SEVERE
REACTIONS TO U.S. GOVERNMENT AND EUROPEAN UNION
VIEWS ON THE CASE. THESE UNMEASURED RESPONSES,
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HE SAID, ARE PART OF THE DESTRUCTION OF
PROFESSIONALISM IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY CARRIED
OUT BY FUJIMORI. RATHER THAN CAREFULLY MEASURING
RESPONSES AND CONSIDERING DOWNSTREAM CONSEQUENCES
THE MINISTRY GETS ORDERS FROM THE PALACE TO REACT
FURIOUSLY TO SOME UNWELCOME FOREIGN GOVERNMENT
ACTION. THE ORDERS ARE CARRIED OUT INSTANTLY
WITHOUT REFLECTION. MFA CAREER PROFESSIONALS ARE
AFRAID TO COUNSEL A DIFFERENT RESPONSE.

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INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
AMEMBASSY QUITO
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
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16. COMMENT: COMMENTS MUST BE TAKEN
WITH A LARGE GRAIN OF SALT. HE IS EMBITTERED AT
HIS NONETHELESS,
HE WAS IN AN EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD POSITION TO FORM
JUDGMENTS ON THE ISSUES HE DISCUSSES.

17.

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