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Release in Part ✓  
DENIED IN FULL  
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INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W  
-----341460 242226Z /38

O 242228Z MAR 94  
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

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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  
"SUCCESSSES" 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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Exemptions B1

ARP Action Cert. ESR

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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  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
USEC BRUSSELS

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5796  
INFO AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
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"VATICANO" IS AN ARMY CREATION  
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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  
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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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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5797  
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.

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