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ACTION SS-00

*Release in part*  
~~DENIED IN FULL~~  
B1, 1.5(D)

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W  
-----7D4C78 150020Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0208  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
CIA WASHDC

Dept. of State, RPS/IPS, Margaret R. Grafeld, Dir.  
( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as (S) Downgrade to  
Date 4/16/02 Declassify on N/A Reason 25X1  
N/A

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EXDIS **DECAPTIONED**

NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PTER, PREL, PE  
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RAGS TO RICHES IN THE  
- GARCIA DAYS

REF: 90 LIMA 12153

1. ~~SECRET~~/NOFORN/ORCON - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY:

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RECOUNTED HIS FIRST HAND EXPERIENCE WITH  
MONTESINOS: FROM MONTESINOS' DAYS AS A SENIOR  
AND UNOFFICIAL "ADVISOR" TO ALAN GARCIA'S  
ATTORNEY GENERAL; TO MONTESINOS' INITIAL  
ASSOCIATION WITH THE SIN DURING THE APRA  
ADMINISTRATION THANKS TO THIS POSITION; AND THEN

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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

Exemptions B1  
ARP Action Cert. C.F.Y. Date 8/20/02

HOW, \_\_\_\_\_ HE WAS INTRODUCED TO FUJIMORI IN A LAST DITCH EFFORT TO SAVE THE CANDIDATE FROM SKELETONS IN HIS CLOSET THAT COULD HAVE PREMATURELY ENDED FUJIMORI'S PRESIDENTIAL RUN. SEPARATELY, A RESPECTED HUMAN RIGHTS LEADER DISCUSSED WITH POLOFF MONTESINOS' ACCESS AND RELATIONSHIP WITH GARCIA'S ATTORNEY GENERAL DURING THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE CAYARA MASSACRE, WHICH IMPLICATED SEVERAL SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS. FINALLY, A BITTER \_\_\_\_\_ DETAILED HOW A MACHIAVELLIAN MONTESINOS HIJACKED FUJIMORI AND ISOLATED THE PRESIDENT FROM HIS OWN ADVISORS (INCLUDING

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3. THE RECOUNTING OF \_\_\_\_\_ STORY BEARS REPEATING IF ONLY TO REFRESH THE INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY AND TO PROVIDE A POINT OF REFERENCE AT THE OUTSET OF FUJIMORI'S SECOND PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. IN ANY EVENT, \_\_\_\_\_ ASSERTS HE CAME

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GETTING TO KNOW THE LIEUTENANT

4. \_\_\_\_\_ FIRST MET THEN-LIEUTENANT VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS ABOUT 1972, WHEN LT. MONTESINOS WAS A LAW STUDENT AND

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INTRODUCED THEM TO EACH OTHER. MONTESINOS STRUCK \_\_\_\_\_ AS BRIGHT BUT SYCOPHANTIC.

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5. IN LATE 1972, \_\_\_\_\_ MET THEN FOREIGN MINISTER GEN. EDGARDO MERCADO JARRIN AT \_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_ DURING THE PARTY, JARRIN AND \_\_\_\_\_ ENGAGED IN A LONG CONVERSATION

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ON GEOPOLITICS, WHICH [REDACTED] DISCOVERED WAS ONE  
OF JARRIN'S FAVORITE TOPICS. [REDACTED] CLAIMED  
THAT HE MUST HAVE MENTIONED THIS CHANCE MEETING  
TO LT. MONTESINOS, AS MONTESINOS ASKED HIM HOW  
HE, TOO, COULD MEET THE FORMIN.  
FACILITATED THEIR MEETING AND MONTESINOS  
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APPARENTLY GOT HIMSELF "NOTICED" BY MERCADO.

6. IN JANUARY 1973, MERCADO JARRIN BECAME  
PREMIERE AND MINISTER OF WAR. SHORTLY

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R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0209  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
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CIA WASHDC

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NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PTER, PREL, PE  
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THEREAFTER.

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WAS ALSO

SURPRISED TO FIND MONTESINOS WORKING FOR THE  
PREMIERE AS AIDE.

7. IN JANUARY 1975, MERCADO JARRIN RETIRED AND  
WAS REPLACED BY GEN. FRANCISCO MORALES BERMUDEZ  
CERRUTI.

MONTESINOS WAS  
SENT OFF AS AN ADVISOR TO AGRICULTURE MINISTER  
GEN. ENRIQUE GALLEGOS VENERO. SAID AT  
THE TIME THERE WERE RUMORS THAT MORALES BERMUDEZ  
DID NOT TRUST MONTESINOS, BUT HAD NO HARD  
INFORMATION AS TO WHY THIS WAS SO. IN  
RETROSPECT, SAID IT APPEARS THAT MORALES  
HAD BEEN WARNED OFF MONTESINOS OVER SOME  
SENSITIVE PAPERS THAT HAD GONE MISSING FROM  
MERCADO JARRIN'S OFFICE AND HAD BEEN SOMEHOW  
LINKED TO MONTESINOS.

8. IN AUGUST 1975, GEN. MORALES BERMUDEZ STAGED  
A COUP AGAINST THE VELASCO GOVERNMENT AND  
SHORTLY THEREAFTER HE HEARD THAT MONTESINOS HAD  
BEEN POSTED AWAY FROM LIMA AND LOST TRACK  
OF HIM.

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WELCOME TO THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

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10.

~~DESCRIBED THE~~  
SIN AT THE TIME AS UNDERFUNDED AND UNDERSTAFFED  
AND UNABLE TO OBLIGE ANY OF THE OTHER VERY  
INDEPENDENT INTELLIGENCE UNITS IN THE MILITARY  
AND POLICE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION OR COORDINATE  
AMONG THEMSELVES.

11. IN JANUARY 1986, ARMY GEN. EDWIN  
"CUCHARITA" DIAZ ZEVALLOS WAS NAMED TO HEAD THE  
SIN. ABOUT A YEAR LATER, IN LATE 1987 OR EARLY  
1988, \_\_\_\_\_ LEARNED DURING A CONVERSATION WITH  
A FRIEND ABOUT LEGAL MATTERS THAT THERE WAS A  
BRIGHT LAWYER SPECIALIZING IN DEFENDING  
NARCOTICS CASE DEFENDANTS WITH A REPUTATION FOR  
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GETTING THINGS "TAKEN CARE OF" AND SOLVING HIS  
CLIENTS PROBLEMS. HIS NAME WAS MONTESINOS. HE  
TOLD HIS INTERLOCUTOR THAT HE HAD WORKED WITH

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INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 /000W  
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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0210

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INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
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MONTESINOS AND THE THE FRIEND APPARENTLY  
MENTIONED HAVING RUN INTO \_\_\_\_\_ ] TO MONTESINOS,  
BECAUSE SHORTLY THEREAFTER \_\_\_\_\_ WAS INVITED TO  
EAT AT MONTESINOS' HOME. \_\_\_\_\_ SAID HE HAD  
ASSUMED MONTESINOS STILL LIVED ON JR. CAMANA, IN  
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A RUN DOWN SECTION OF CENTRAL LIMA. TO HIS  
SURPRISE, MONTESINOS WAS NOW LIVING IN AN  
ELEGANT APARTMENT ON JAVIER PRADO, IN A WELL  
HEELED LIMA SUBURB. MONTESINOS TOLD HIM THAT  
SINCE RETURNING FROM "STUDYING" IN ARGENTINA, HE  
HAD ENTERED A SUCCESSFUL PRIVATE PRACTICE.

\_\_\_\_\_ FOUND OUT LATER THAT MONTESINOS HAD ALSO  
ESTABLISHED ESPECIALLY STRONG TIES TO ASSISTANT  
ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR CRIMINAL CASES (FISCAL  
SUPREMO EN LO PENAL) PEDRO MENDEZ JURADO.

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MONTESINOS OFFERS SIN PUBLIC MINISTRY DOCUMENTS  
-----

12. SOMETIME IN MID TO LATE 1988, MONTESINOS  
BEGAN BRINGING CERTAIN CONFIDENTIAL PUBLIC  
MINISTRY DOCUMENTS TO \_\_\_\_\_ AT THE TIME, THE  
SIN DID NOT HAVE READY ACCESS TO PUBLIC MINISTRY  
CASE FILES AND WHAT SIN GOT THROUGH OFFICIAL  
CHANNELS WAS USUALLY CAREFULLY SCREENED AND  
PARTIAL. MONTESINOS, WHO HAS BECOME A CLOSE  
"INFORMAL ADVISOR" TO FISCAL DE LA NACION

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(ATTORNEY GENERAL) HUGO DENEGRI, AND THE FISCAL SUPREMO PARA LO PENAL (ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR CRIMINAL CASES) PEDERO MENDEZ JURADO, USED THE ALMOST UNRESTRICTED ACCESS TO PUBLIC MINISTRY FILES WHICH THESE CONNECTION OFFERED TO OBTAIN SENSITIVE RECORDS ON TERRORISM DEFENDANTS.

13. BY JANUARY 1989, MONTESINOS HAD BROUGHT  
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WHAT APPEARED TO BE THE  
COMPLETE PUBLIC MINISTRY CASE FILES ON VICTOR POLAY, THE CAYARA MASSACRE AND THE ASSASSINATION OF LOPEZ ALBUJAR, AMONG OTHERS. SAID HE HAD TAKEN THESE DOCUMENTS TO GEN. "CUCHARITA" DIAZ, BUT MONTESINOS WAS STILL IN SUCH DISREPUTE WITH THE MILITARY THAT DIAZ REFUSED TO MEET DIRECTLY WITH MONTESINOS UNTIL MARCH 1989. ACCORDING TO \_\_\_\_\_ DIAZ APPEARED TO BE VERY PLEASED WITH WHAT MONTESINOS OFFERED TO PROVIDE SIN, MEANING VIRTUALLY COMPLETE ACCESS TO THE TERRORIST FILES. AT A LUNCH WHICH MONTESINOS SET UP SOMETIME LATER BETWEEN DIAZ AND PEDRO MENDEZ JURADO AND AT WHICH \_\_\_\_\_ WAS ALSO INVITED, IT WAS AGREED THAT SIN WOULD GET THE TERRORISM FILES AND IN EXCHANGE, SIN WOULD PROVIDE SECURITY FOR SENIOR PUBLIC MINISTRY PERSONNEL, INCLUDING PEDRO MENDEZ JURADO.

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14.

CONFIRMED SEPARATELY TO POLOFF THAT MONTESINOS PROVIDED "INFORMATION" TO THE SIN IN THE FINAL YEARS OF THE GARCIA ADMINISTRATION. SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED THAT THE INFORMATION WAS CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION FROM THE PUBLIC MINISTRY. HE ALSO CORROBORATED STATEMENTS THAT MONTESINOS HAD DIRECT CONTACT WITH \_\_\_\_\_

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AS WELL AS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF  
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SIN. DURING THE CONVERSATION, li

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INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 (CIAE-00 DODE-00 INSE-00 NSAE-00  
NSCE-00 USIE-00 )  
(ADS) /000W

-----7E7CBC 182041Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0211  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
CIA WASHDC

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EXDIS

NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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MANNED OF SAYING MONTESINOS WAS  
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PROVIDING THE SIN WITH INFORMATION. AS THIS WAS  
NOT AN INTERROGATION BUT RATHER A SOCIAL  
CONVERSATION, IT WAS NOT MADE CLEAR IF

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MONTESINOS WAS A DIRECT HIRE OFFICER IN SIN, AN  
AGENT, OR PERHAPS MERELY A COLLABORATIVE  
SOURCE. END COMMENT.)

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15. IN AUGUST 1989, \_\_\_\_\_ LEFT SIN TO GO INTO  
PRIVATE BUSINESS AND LOST DIRECT CONTACT WITH  
MONTESINOS. \_\_\_\_\_ SAID THAT HE DID HEAR THAT  
ABOUT OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER 1989, \_\_\_\_\_ WAS SO  
IMPRESSED WITH MONTESINOS THAT HE ASSISTED IN  
GETTING HIM ACCREDITED ACCESS TO SEVERAL OTHER  
GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES (HE DID NOT KNOW WHICH  
ONES) BUT THAT THE MILITARY WAS STILL OFF-LIMITS  
TO THE "TRAITOR" MONTESINOS, OF COURSE.

\_\_\_\_\_ MEETS FUJIMORI  
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16. AROUND MARCH 1990, WELL-KNOWN ECONOMIST  
JORGE CHAVEZ ALVAREZ, AT THE TIME WORKING AT THE  
NATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL (ESAN) AND LATER TO  
BECOME PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL RESERVE BANK,  
TOLD HIS FRIEND, \_\_\_\_\_ THAT HE HAD DEVELOPED A  
NATIONAL ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN THAT CALLED FOR  
RADICAL FREE MARKET STRUCTURAL REFORMS TO GET  
PERU OUT OF THE ECONOMIC "MESS" THAT THE ALAN  
GARCIA ADMINISTRATION HAD GOTTEN PERU INTO.

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CHAVEZ HAD SENT HIS PROPOSAL TO THE MAIN  
POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES, BUT SAID HE  
DID NOT KNOW ANYONE THROUGH WHOM HE COULD SEND  
HIS PROPOSAL TO A DARK-HORSE PRESIDENTIAL  
CANDIDATE NAMED ALBERTO FUJIMORI FUJIMORI,  
RUNNING UNDER A CAMBIO-90 BANNER.

17. \_\_\_\_\_ SAID HE TOLD CHAVEZ THAT HE HAD SEEN  
A CAMBIO-90 SIGN PAINTED ON A WALL HE OFTEN  
DROVE PAST WHICH URGED VOTERS TO VOTE FOR  
FUJIMORI AND A CAMBIO-90 CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE  
NAMED OSCAR PULIESE. ON HUNCH, \_\_\_\_\_ CALLED A  
FRIEND NAMED CESAR PULIESE AND OSCAR TURNED OUT  
TO BE CESAR'S BROTHER. \_\_\_\_\_ PASSED ON  
CHAVEZ'S ECONOMIC PLAN ON TO FUJIMORI THROUGH  
THE PULIESES.

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18. (AS AN ASIDE, \_\_\_\_\_ /ADDED THAT SOMETIME  
AROUND EARLY TO MID-MARCH 1990, MONTESINOS HAD  
SHOWN HIM A PRIVATE SURVEY POLL AVAILABLE TO THE  
SIN AND NOT RELEASED PUBLICLY THAT INDICATED A  
SPIKE OF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR FUJIMORI OF 4  
PERCENT - BEFORE OTHER POLLS SHOWED ANY SUPPORT  
FOR FUJIMORI.)

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19. ON APRIL 12, TWO DAYS AFTER FUJIMORI'S  
SURPRISE SECOND PLACE FINISH IN THE FIRST ROUND  
OF VOTING, \_\_\_\_\_ WAS HIMSELF SURPRISED WHEN  
FUJIMORI CALLED AND ASKED TO MEET WITH CHAVEZ  
AND HIM LATER THAT DAY. \_\_\_\_\_ SAID HE WAS  
STRUCK BY THE AMATURISH NATURE OF THE FUJIMORI  
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"CAMPAIGN." ACCORDING TO \_\_\_\_\_ FUJIMORI  
ADMITTED THAT HE HAD IN FACT BEEN TRYING TO GET  
ELECTED SENATOR AND HAD DREAMED UP THE  
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN GAMBIT ONLY AS AN EFFORT  
TO GAIN SOME NAME RECOGNITION. STILL CONSIDERED  
A DARK HORSE FOR THE SECOND ROUND OF VOTING,

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NSCE-00 USIE-00 )  
(ADS) /000W

-----7E7CC2 182042Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0212  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
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FUJIMORI SUDDENLY FOUND HIMSELF RUNNING WITH  
ONLY A NOTIONAL "PLAN FOR GOVERNMENT" AND NO  
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TEAM OF ADVISORS. ACCORDING TO FUJIMORI  
APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED WITH CHAVEZ'S  
UNSOLICITED ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLAN AND HAD  
DECIDED TO ADOPT IT.

20.

A "TEAM OF ADVISORS,"  
INCLUDING, AMONG OTHERS, SANTIAGO ROCA TAVELLA  
(AN ECONOMICS PROFESSOR AT ESAN), MARTHA  
RODRIGUEZ, VICTOR PAREDES (WHO BECAME A MINISTER  
OF HEALTH UNDER FUJIMORI), AND LUIS GRADOS, WAS  
HASTILY COBBLED TOGETHER TO ASSIST THE FUJIMORI  
CAMPAIGN. ACCORDING TO THE TEAM HAD A  
"LESS THAN SERIOUS" ATTITUDE, SINCE NOT ONE OF  
THEM BELIEVED FUJIMORI WOULD IN FACT WIN.

SKELETONS HIDING IN FUJIMORI'S CLOSET  
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21. ACCORDING TO THE "ACCIDENTAL" WAY  
IN WHICH FUJIMORI NOW FOUND HIMSELF IN THE RUN  
FOR PIZZARO'S PALACE MEANT THAT AMONG THE MANY  
PROBLEMS UNRESOLVED AT THAT LATE DATE OF THE  
CAMPAIGN WERE SKELETONS IN THE CANDIDATE'S  
CLOSET WHICH LEFT FUJIMORI HIGHLY EXPOSED TO THE  
RUTHLESS POLITICOS RUNNING THE OPPOSITION MARIO  
VARGAS LLOSA CAMPAIGN. ONE MAJOR "SKELETON" WAS  
THE MATTER OF UNPAID OR UNDERPAID TAXES ON  
PROPERTY THE FUJIMORI'S HAD SOLD IN LIMA'S

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UP-SCALE MONTEERRICO DISTRICT. THIS WAS  
PARTICULARLY PROBLEMATIC, AS THE PAPER TRAIL  
WAS LONG AND COULD BE TIED DIRECTLY TO  
FUJIMORI. UNDER PERUVIAN LAW, NO PERSON COULD  
RUN FOR PRESIDENT IF THERE WAS A CRIMINAL CASE  
OUTSTANDING AGAINST HIM.

22. AFTER FUJIMORI PLACED SECOND IN THE FIRST  
ROUND OF VOTING, ALAN GARCIA AND APRA MADE THE  
DECISION TO BACK FUJIMORI AGAINST THEIR NEMESIS,  
MARIO VARGAS LLOSA. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] ORDERS  
WERE ISSUED TO APPROPRIATE GOP MINISTRIES AND  
SECTIONS TO ASSIST CANDIDATE FUJIMORI WHERE  
POSSIBLE. AMONG THE MORE HELPFUL SECTIONS WAS  
THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, WHICH BEGAN  
TO PASS ALONG INTERCEPTED MESSAGES.  
SPECIFICALLY, MONTESINOS BEGAN SHOWING  
INTERCEPTS TO HIS OLD FRIEND [REDACTED] TO PASS  
ALONG TO THE CAMPAIGN.

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23. ABOUT MAY 4 OR 5, [REDACTED] SAID THAT  
MONTESINOS BROUGHT OVER A TRANSCRIPT OF A  
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION OR CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN  
FREDEMO (MARIO VARGAS LLOSA'S POLITICAL  
COALITION

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[REDACTED] AND LATER OF  
FUJIMORI. THE TRANSCRIPTS PURPORTEDLY INDICATED  
THAT FREDEMO HAD DISCOVERED FUJIMORI'S TAX  
EVASION VULNERABILITY AND HAD "BOUGHT" A FISCAL  
(PROSECUTOR) AND A FIRST INSTANCE JUDGE FOR USD  
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5,000 A PIECE TO RECEIVE AND "QUICKLY" OPEN A  
LEGAL CASE AGAINST FUJIMORI, EFFECTIVELY  
KNOCKING HIM OUT OF THE RACE.

24. A DEEPLY CONCERNED FUJIMORI TURNED TO HIS  
LAWYER, JOSE SANTOS CHICHISOLA, BUT SANTOS

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INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ADS-00 (CIAE-00 DODE-00 INSE-00 NSAE-00  
NSCE-00 USIE-00 )  
(ADS) /000W

-----7E7CCA 182042Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0213  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
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S E C R E T SECTION 06 OF 11 LIMA 09601

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NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

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TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PTER, PREL, PE  
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RAGS TO RICHES IN THE  
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APPARENTLY DID NOT KNOW HOW TO HANDLE THE  
MATTER. SANTOS INFORMED FUJIMORI AND HIS SENIOR  
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CAMPAIGN AIDES, INCLUDING THAT THERE WAS  
LITTLE HE COULD DO UNTIL THE COMPLAINT WAS  
FORMALLY FILED. UNTIL THEN, THERE LITERALLY WAS  
NO CASE AND NOTHING HE COULD DO.

RE-ENTER MONTESINOS: DARK LORD SAVES THE DAY  
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25. FUJIMORI GREW INCREASING DESPERATE AS THE  
DAYS PASSED AND THE JUNE 12 SECOND ROUND LOOMED

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CLOSER. IT SEEMED CLEAR THAT FREDEMO WOULD WAIT UNTIL JUST BEFORE THE ELECTIONS TO DROP THEIR BOMBSHELL. \_\_\_\_\_ SUGGESTED HE KNEW SOMEONE WHO COULD HELP -- VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS -- BUT WARNED FUJIMORI THAT MONTESINOS WAS CONTROVERSIAL (TELLING HIM OF THE SPY CHARGES, HIS BANISHMENT FROM THE MILITARY, AND HIS ALLEGED NARCO CONNECTIONS) BUT ADDED THAT MONTESINOS WAS KNOWN TO GET RESULTS AND WAS REPUTED TO HAVE EXCELLENT CONTACTS INSIDE THE PUBLIC MINISTRY.

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26. FUJIMORI AUTHORIZED \_\_\_\_\_ TO CONTACT MONTESINOS. \_\_\_\_\_ SAID THAT MONTESINOS SEEMED TO BE EXPECTING THE CALL AND AGREED TO A LATE NIGHT MEETING AT FUJIMORI'S HOME. WHAT STRUCK HIM (AND PRESUMABLY FUJIMORI) THE MOST WAS THAT AS SOON AS MONTESINOS WALKED THROUGH THE DOOR, HE STARTED TALKING ABOUT GENERAL CAMPAIGN STRATEGY AND ELECTIONS. FUJIMORI REPORTEDLY STARTED TO CHANGE THE SUBJECT TO THE MORE PRESSING MATTER WITH MONTESINOS OF THE TAX

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EVASION CASE, BUT MONTESINOS WAVED HIM OFF, SAYING IT WAS NO LONGER A PROBLEM. STARTLED, FUJIMORI ASKED HIM HOW THIS COULD BE TRUE AND \_\_\_\_\_ RECALLED MONTESINOS TELLING THE CANDIDATE THAT THE ISSUE WOULD BE SETTLED WITHIN TWO DAYS -- AND IF NOT, THEN THEY COULD DISCUSS HOW TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE.

B1

27. ACCORDING TO \_\_\_\_\_ MONTESINOS TOLD HIM HOW HE PROPOSED TO SETTLE THE ISSUE AS THEY DROVE HOME EARLY THE NEXT MORNING. AFTER RECEIVING \_\_\_\_\_ CALL, MONTESINOS SAID HE HAD CHECKED AT THE PUBLIC MINISTRY AND FOUND OUT THAT THE COMPLAINT HAD NOT BEEN FILED YET. HE CLAIMED TO HAVE HAD A MAN POSTED AT THE COMPLAINTS RECEPTION DESK (MESA DE PARTES) AT THE PUBLIC MINISTRY WITH EXPLICIT INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERCEPT THE COMPLAINT WHEN IT WAS FILED AND TAKE IT DIRECTLY TO THE SUPREME FISCAL FOR CRIMINAL MATTERS, PEDRO MENDEZ JURADO (WHO WAS \_\_\_\_\_ LATER NAMED NATIONAL ATTORNEY GENERAL). \_\_\_\_\_ EXPLAINED THAT MONTESINOS HAD A VERY CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH MENDEZ JURADO BASED ON

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HIS DEFENSE OF PROMINENT NARCO DEFENDANTS (A  
RELATIONSHIP ALSO CONFIRMED INDEPENDENTLY BY  
SEVERAL MISSION CONTACTS). MENDEZ JURADO HAD  
AGREED TO TAKE THE CASE HIMSELF -- AN UNUSUAL  
CIRCUMVENTING OF THE FIRST INSTANCE FISCAL BUT  
PERFECTLY LEGAL. MENDEZ HAD THE OPTION OF  
THROWING OUT THE CASE (WHICH WOULD BE  
POLITICALLY SUICIDAL), ACCEPTING THE CASE AND  
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OPENING A PROSECUTION (PRECISELY WHAT THEY  
WANTED TO AVOID), OR ACCEPTING THE CASE BUT  
ASKING FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS, WHICH IS WHAT  
HE DID. MENDEZ ALSO ASKED THAT ALL THE EVIDENCE  
PRESENTED IN SUPPORT OF THE CASE BE RECONFIRMED  
AND BROUGHT BEFORE HIM -- A RARE BUT LEGAL

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-----7E7CDO 182042Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0214  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
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NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PTER, PREL, PE  
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RAGS TO RICHES IN THE  
GARCIA DAYS

MOTION THAT WOULD TAKE MONTHS TO COMPLY WITH AS  
LAND TITLES WERE TRACKED DOWN, TAX RECORDS DUG  
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UP, ETC.. THE MOTION ESSENTIALLY DERAILED ANY  
HOPE FORMALLY CHARGING FUJIMORI BEFORE THE JUNE  
ELECTION AND PUT PAID, IN A PERFECTLY LEGAL  
MANNER, TO THE PLAN TO KNOCK OUT FUJIMORI.

28. WHEN MONTESINOS ARRIVED THE FOLLOWING NIGHT  
AT FUJIMORI'S HOME WITH THE LEGAL RESOLUTION  
DULY SIGNED BY PEDRO MENDEZ JURADO, *B1*  
RECALLED THAT FUJIMORI'S WIFE SUSANA CALLED HIM  
THE "MOST INTELLIGENT MAN IN THE WORLD" AND  
FUJIMORI HAD AN UNCONTROLLABLE, HUGE GRIN THAT  
WAS TO SEE AGAIN ONLY ON THE NIGHT OF HIS *B1*  
JUNE 12 ELECTORAL VICTORY. *B1*

29. SAID THAT ALL OF FUJIMORI'S ADVISORS  
WERE SHOCKED BY THE VICTORY AND THOSE WHO HAD  
PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN  
IMMEDIATELY STARTED SPECULATING ON WHAT BEING IN  
POWER WOULD MEAN TO THEM. *B1*

A WORD ON MONTESINOS POWER IN THE PUBLIC MINISTRY  
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30. COMMENT: THE NEAR COMPLETE ACCESS ENJOYED

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BY MONTESINOS TO THE PUBLIC MINISTRY AND HIS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL DENEGRI WERE FULLY CORROBORATED BY, AMONG OTHERS, A LEADING HUMAN RIGHTS FIGURE. TOWARDS THE END OF THE GARCIA ADMINISTRATION, THIS ACTIVIST WAS A KEY LINK BETWEEN THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITY AND THE PUBLIC MINISTRY IN ITS TIGHTLY CONTROLLED INVESTIGATION INTO THE HIGHLY SENSITIVE CAYARA MASSACRE, WHICH DIRECTLY IMPLICATED VERY SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS.

31. THE ACTIVIST SAID THAT ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, WHILE IN SUPPOSELY ONE-ON-ONE MEETINGS WITH DENEGRI ON CAYARA BEIND CLOSED DOORS, MONTESINOS SIMPLY WALKED INTO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE AND SAT IN ON THE CONVERSATIONS. MONTESINOS WOULD LOOK THROUGH CONFIDENTIAL FILES AND PERS BEING PROVIDED AND DISCUSSED BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST DIRECTLY WITH DENEGRI. ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION, THE ACTIVIST WAS SHOCKED TO SEE MONTESINOS POCKET SOME DOCUMENTS PROVIDED TO DENEGRI, EVEN BEFORE A PHOTOCOPY HAD BEEN MADE AND WALK OUT OF THE ROOM WITH THE PAPERS. THE ACTIVIST REMEMBERS THAT THE MINISTER'S PRIVATE SECRETARY, A SENIOR PUBLIC MINISTRY OFFICIAL WHOM HE HAD KNOWN FOR A LONG TIME, APPEARED TERRIFIED OF MONTESINOS -- WHO IN THEORY, AS A MERE ADVISOR TO DENEGRI WAS BENEATH HIM IN RANK.

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32. WITHOUT MAKING EXPLICIT CHARGES, THE ACTIVIST SAID BITTERLY THAT AMONG THE HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS THAT MONTESINOS HAD ACCESS TO WERE THE FILES, PHOTOGRAPHS, ADDRESSES AND POINTS OF CONTACTS OF THE WITNESSES TO THE CAYARA MASSACRE -- ALL OF WHOM WERE LATER KILLED

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NSCE-00 USIE-00 )  
(ADS) /000W

-----7E7CD8 182042Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0215  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
CIA WASHDC

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EXDIS

NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PTER, PREL, PE  
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RAGS TO RICHES IN THE  
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BY UNIDENTIFIED DEATH SQUADS. THE ACTIVIST  
ADDED THAT THE IDENTITIES AND WHEREABOUTS OF THE  
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WITNESSES HAD BEEN CAREFULLY PROTECTED AND  
INFORMATION ON THEM WAS PART OF THE REASON FOR  
THE HIGH LEVEL ONE-ON-ONE MEETINGS WITH  
DENEGRI. HE ALLUDED TO ALLEGATIONS MADE MUCH  
LATER THAT MONTESINOS OVERCAME HIS DISGRACE WITH  
THE MILITARY PRECISELY BY "TAKING CARE" OF THE  
CAYARA MASSACRE CASE AND ENSURING THAT SENIOR  
ARMY OFFICERS INVOLVED WERE NOT CONVICTED IN THE  
CASE. NOTWITHSTANDING THE INFERENCES IN THE  
ABOVE ACCOUNT, THERE IS NO HARD EVIDENCE THAT  
MONTESINOS' ACCESS TO CAYARA WITNESSES' DETAILS  
WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR DEATHS. END COMMENT.

MONTESINOS TURNS ON HIS PAL:

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33. IN LATE JUNE 1990, MONTESINOS SHOWED AN INTELLIGENCE REPORT THAT PURPORTEDLY INDICATED A TERRORIST PLOT TO ASSASSINATE THEN PRESIDENT-ELECT FUJIMORI. (COMMENT: ABOUT THIS TIME, THERE WERE RUMBLINGS OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS AGAINST FUJIMORI, ESPECIALLY FROM THE NAVY WHOSE COMMANDER REPORTEDLY THOUGHT (CORRECTLY) THAT HE WAS SLATED FOR REMOVAL BY FUJIMORI. END COMMENT.) ACCORDING TO \_\_\_\_\_ THE TERRORIST PLOT, PER THE INTEL REPORT, ALLEGED THAT SENDERO LUMINOSO, MRTA AND THE APRA GOVERNMENT LINKED RODRIGO FRANCO COMMAND (CRF) HAD AGREED ON A JOINT OPERATION TO KILL FUJIMORI. THE REPORT INCLUDED DETAILS SUCH AS A FIVE-PERSON CRF TEAM THAT HAD BEEN PLACED ON THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S

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INTERIOR MINISTRY SECURITY DETAIL. MONTESINOS SAID THAT HE AND \_\_\_\_\_ SHOULD TAKE THIS TO FUJIMORI AND ARRANGE FOR HIS SAFETY.

34. \_\_\_\_\_ CLAIMED HE LAUGHED AND TOLD MONTESINOS THAT REPORT WAS "ABSURD" -- MRTA, SL AND CRF WORKING TOGETHER WAS PREPOSTEROUS. HE TOLD MONTESINOS "TO BE CAREFUL IN TAKING LESS THAN SERIOUS REPORTS" TO THE NEW PRESIDENT LEST MONTESINOS DAMAGE HIS CREDIBILITY WITH FUJIMORI. (AS AN ASIDE, \_\_\_\_\_ ALSO SAID THAT HE REMEMBERED AN ARTICLE IN SENDERO'S PROPAGANDA SHEET "EL DIARIO" FROM AROUND THE TIME OF THE ELECTION WHICH ANNOUNCED THAT SL WAS "GRANTING" FUJIMORI THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT AND SL WOULD AWAIT THE NEW PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS BEFORE DENOUNCING HIM.)

35. SOME THREE HOURS LATER, WHILE AT HOME CHANGING TO GO TO A FUNCTION LATER THAT EVENING, \_\_\_\_\_ HEARD ON THE RADIO THAT THE PRESIDENT-ELECT HAD MOVED INTO THE "CIRCULO MILITAR" (AN ARMY OFFICERS' CLUB IN A RESIDENTIAL PART OF LIMA) DUE TO UNSPECIFIED SECURITY CONCERNS. \_\_\_\_\_ IMMEDIATELY WENT TO THE CIRCULO MILITAR TO BE WITH FUJIMORI, ARRIVING AT ABOUT 5 PM. TO HIS CONSTERNATION, HE WAS DENIED ACCESS TO THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AND INSTEAD MONTESINOS APPEARED AND MET HIM AT AN

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OUTSIDE OFFICE. MONTESINOS SAID THAT AN PLOT TO  
KILL FUJIMORI HAD BEEN UNCOVERED, DID NOT  
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EXPLAIN WHAT THIS WAS, BUT ADDED THAT THE  
PRESIDENT-ELECT HAD GIVEN EXPLICIT ORDERS THAT  
NO ONE, INCLUDING [ ] WAS ALLOWED IN TO SEE  
HIM. MONTESINOS WAS LITERALLY THE KEEPER OF THE  
GATE. MONTESINOS PROMISED TO CONVEY ANY MESSAGE  
TO FUJIMORI AND LEFT. B1

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(ADS) /000W

-----7E7CE1 182043Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0216  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
CIA WASHDC

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EXDIS

NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PTER, PREL, PE  
SUBJECT: MONTESINOS: RAGS TO RICHES IN THE  
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36. ANGRILY RECOUNTED HOW BE BECAME B1

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INCREASINGLY DESPERATE AND FRUSTRATED IN BEING  
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UNSUCCESSFUL IN TALKING DIRECTLY TO FUJIMORI HE  
ALWAYS ENDED UP TALKING TO MONTESINOS. IN  
RETROSPECT IT WAS OBVIOUS, SAID \_\_\_\_\_ THAT  
MONTESINOS HAD SUCCEEDED IN ISOLATING FUJIMORI  
FROM MOST OF HIS ADVISORS AND HAD TAKEN OVER HIS  
ROLE AS ADVISOR ON SECURITY AND POLITICAL  
ISSUES. BUT, "NAIVELY," \_\_\_\_\_ AGREED TO WORK  
THROUGH MONTESINOS; HE HAD LITTLE CHOICE.

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37. A COUPLE OF WEEKS LATER, MONTESINOS  
REQUESTED THAT \_\_\_\_\_ COME SEE HIM "URGENTLY."  
HE SHOWED \_\_\_\_\_ ANOTHER INTELLIGENCE REPORT  
THAT INDICATED HE HAD BEEN UNDER SURVEILLANCE BY  
THE NAVY AND SUGGESTED THAT LOAYZA WAS "IN  
DANGER." \_\_\_\_\_ TOOK THE INFORMATION SERIOUSLY  
AND AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE PRUDENT TO GO ABROAD  
IMMEDIATELY FOR A LITTLE WHILE.

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38. ON JULY 29, THEN-NAVY COMMANDER VAINSTAIN,  
AWARE THAT HE WAS SLATED FOR REMOVAL BY FUJIMORI  
AS UNRELIABLE, TRIED AND FAILED TO MOBILIZE  
NAVAL OFFICERS AGAINST FUJIMORI. ONE OF THE  
ARMY OFFICERS SUSPECTED OF BEING FAVORABLY  
INCLINED TO VAINSTAIN'S EFFORT WAS GEN. SALINAS  
SEDO (CURRENTLY SERVING TIME FOR HIS OWN  
ATTEMPTED COUP OF NOVEMBER 1992). \_\_\_\_\_  
SUSPECTS, BUT ADMITTED HE DID NOW KNOW FOR A  
FACT, THAT HIS LONG STANDING FRIENDSHIP WITH  
SALINAS, DATING FROM THEIR HAVING BEEN

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CLASSMATES AT THE \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ WAS LIKELY  
USED BY MONTESINOS TO FURTHER POISON  
RELATIONSHIP WITH FUJIMORI. BY THE TIME  
RETURNED FROM MIAMI, HE WAS NO LONGER ABLE TO  
EVEN TALK DIRECTLY WITH MONTESINOS.

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0217  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
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NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

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40. COMMENT: [ ] PROVIDES A RARE FIRST-HAND  
LOOK AT VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS, HOW HE CAME INTO  
THE FUJIMORI PRESIDENCY AND SOME OF THE TACTICS  
HE USED TO SECURE HIS POSITION AND ACHIEVE  
POWER. [ ] CLEARLY HAS AN AXE TO GRIND, BUT  
HIS PRIVILEGED VIEW POINT INTO MONTESINOS IS  
INDISPUTABLE AND CORROBORATED IN KEY PARTS BY  
MANY OTHER EMBASSY SOURCES AND CONTACTS. THE  
FOIBLES OF PRESIDENT FUJIMORI, INCLUDING IN  
TERMS OF HIS PROPERTY TAX DIFFICULTIES, THAT  
[ ] REVEALS ARE ALSO CREDIBLE AND LARGELY  
CORROBORATED BY OTHER SOURCES AND CONTACTS.

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41. [ ]

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NSCE-00 USIE-00 )  
(ADS) /000W

-----7E7CF7 182043Z /38

R 142028Z OCT 94  
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0218  
INFO AMEMBASSY BOGOTA  
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ  
AMEMBASSY QUITO  
NSC WASHDC  
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NSC FOR FEINBERG AND MORLEY

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ACTIVITY.

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