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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9133

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 09075

FOR ARA/AND MACK AND AMBASSADOR QUAINTON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: AMGT  
SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ADCM MET JUNE 17 WITH TWO ADVISORS TO PRESIDENT-ELECT ALBERTO FUJIMORI. DISCUSSION TOUCHED ON FUJIMORI'S UPCOMING TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES, U.S. VIEWS ON ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS, CORRUPTION IN THE MILITARY, AND THE STATE OF PLAY IN CAMBIO 90. END SUMMARY.

3. ADCM MET JUNE 17 WITH ONE OF PRESIDENT-ELECT ALBERTO FUJIMORI'S TOP ADVISORS, IN THE PRESENCE OF \_\_\_\_\_ AND, LATER, A CIVILIAN AIDE TO NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE CHIEF GENERAL EDWIN DIAZ ZEVALLOS. THE MEETING TOOK PLACE AT \_\_\_\_\_ COMMERCIAL OFFICES

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THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO ALLOW \_\_\_\_\_ TO TAKE THE MEASURE OF AN EMBASSY OFFICIAL WHOM \_\_\_\_\_ HAD TOLD HIM WAS RELIABLE. \_\_\_\_\_ HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS HIGHLY SKEPTICAL TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES.

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FUJIMORI AIDE  
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DEPT OF STATE APPEALS REVIEW PANEL (ARP)

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FOIA/PA	Mandatory Review
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\_\_\_\_\_ WAS  
PLAINLY NERVOUS ABOUT DEALING WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF  
AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. HIS MANNER AT THE BEGINNING OF  
THE CONVERSATION WAS CHALLENGING. HE ANNOUNCED  
THAT HE WAS A GRADUATE OF SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY, THAT  
HE "HAD BEEN A RADICAL LEFTIST" IN HIS STUDENT DAYS  
(FELLOW STUDENTS HAVE PORTRAYED HIM TO US AS MUCH  
LESS RADICAL THAN HE LIKES TO REMEMBER) AND AN  
UNREPENTANT VELASQUISTA. HE WORKED IN "SINAMOS"  
(NATIONAL SYSTEM OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATION) DURING THE  
EARLY YEARS OF THE VELASCO MILITARY REGIME. HE SAID  
HE HAD NO REGRETS ABOUT HAVING SUPPORTED VELASCO.

5. WHEN HIS INTERLOCUTOR DID NOT FLEE IN HORROR HE  
SEEMED TO RELAX SOMEWHAT, SAID THAT HE HAD MATURED,  
REGRETTED THAT VELASCO HAD NOT SUCCEEDED IN SOME OF  
THE THINGS HE HAD SET OUT TO DO, AND HOPED THAT  
FUJIMORI COULD BE MORE SUCCESSFUL AT INTEGRATING THE  
PERUVIAN MASSES INTO THE SOCIETY. WHEN ASKED WHAT HE  
WAS DOING IN THE COMPANY OF AN \_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_ BECAME EXPANSIVE. HE SAID HE  
AND \_\_\_\_\_ HAD BEEN CLASSMATES AT THE CENTER FOR  
ADVANCED MILITARY STUDIES' (CAEM) NATIONAL DEFENSE  
COURSE AND HAD BECOME GOOD FRIENDS. CLEARLY  
TREASURES THE TIME HE SPENT AT CAEM AND TALKED  
EFFUSIVELY ABOUT ALL THE "BRILLIANT AND PATRIOTIC"  
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PEOPLE HE HAD MET THERE.

6. \_\_\_\_\_ THEN BEGAN TO RATTLE OFF NAMES TO  
WHO TRIED TO INTERPRET FOR THE ADCM. ACCORDING TO  
THE THIRTY-SECOND GRADUATING CLASS OF CAEM  
PRODUCED AN UNUSUALLY ABLE GROUP OF OFFICERS AND  
CIVILIANS. HE SAID THAT ALL BUT ONE OF TODAY'S  
"GENERALES DE DIVISION" HAS IN THE CLASS, INCLUDING  
ALL FOUR OF THE REGIONAL COMMANDERS. SPECIAL PRAISE  
WAS HEAPED ON ARMY GENERAL "PEPE" DEL SOLAR, THE  
FORMER REGIONAL COMMANDER IN CUSCO. \_\_\_\_\_  
DESCRIBED DEL SOLAR AS THE ONLY QUECHUA-SPEAKING  
GENERAL IN THE ARMY, A BRILLIANT MAN MUCH LOVED BY  
HIS TROOPS. THEY CREDITED HIM WITH THE STRATEGY THAT

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KEPT CUSCO FREE OF SENDERO FOR SEVERAL YEARS. IT SEEMED CLEAR THAT IF \_\_\_\_\_ HAS ANY INFLUENCE WITH FUJIMORI, DEL SOLAR WILL PROBABLY GET A GOOD COMMAND.

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ON DRUG POLICY  
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8. \_\_\_\_\_ SAID CLEARLY THAT HE THOUGHT PERU AND THE U.S. WERE GOING TO HAVE TROUBLE ON THE DRUG FRONT. HE BELIEVES THAT OUR POLICY IS PREDICATED ON INVOLVING THE PERUVIAN MILITARY IN THE WAR ON DRUGS.

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ACTION ARA-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 LIMA 09075

FOR ARA/AND MACK AND AMBASSADOR QUAINTON

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SUBJECT: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

HE BELIEVES THAT IS A MISTAKE AND SAID THAT FUJIMORI AGREES. HE HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH JUSTO SILVA BALLON AND MARIO ESCUDERO OF THE COCA GROWERS COOPERATIVE IN UCHIZA WHO HAVE REPEATED THEIR ARGUMENT THAT THE COCA GROWERS WANT OUT OF THE BUSINESS AND IT IS UP TO THE GOP TO HELP THEM ACHIEVE THEIR AIM. SAID OUR DECISION TO EQUIP ARMY BATALLIONS AND "UNLEASH" THEM ON THE VALLEY WOULD PRODUCE HAVOC.

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9. ECHOING FUJIMORI'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS, SAID THAT ONLY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM AND WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO "COME TO TERMS" WITH THE IDEA THAT REPRESSION WILL NOT WORK WITHOUT A SOCIAL PROGRAM.

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10. ADCM TOLD HIM THAT WE ARE WAY AHEAD OF THEM. THE U.S. STRATEGY IS BASED ON A BASIC PREMISE THAT DEMAND REDUCTION IS THE LONG-RANGE KEY TO A SUCCESSFUL DRUG STRATEGY. MEANWHILE, WE ARE WORKING WITH THE ANDEAN GOVERNMENTS TO CUT SUPPLY. IN PERU WE WANT TO HELP THE GOP MAKE ITS OPERATIONS MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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SUCCESSFUL, BUT IN ORDER FOR THAT TO HAPPEN THEY ARE GOING TO HAVE TO COME UP WITH A SERIOUS STRATEGY. WE WILL BE SKEPTICAL OF AD HOC EFFORTS AND WE WILL BE LOOKING AT THE BOTTOM LINE -- HOW MUCH COCAINE FROM PERU GETS TO THE UNITED STATES. COUNTERED THAT WE HAVE LITTLE TO SHOW FOR OUR EFFORTS TO DATE AND SAID HE WAS SURE THAT CAMBIO 90 COULD COME UP WITH PROGRAMS THAT WOULD BE MORE COST EFFECTIVE.

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11. VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS THEN JOINED THE GROUP. HE WAS NEVER CLEARLY IDENTIFIED BUT WE HAVE SINCE LEARNED THAT HE IS A LAWYER WHO WORKS CLOSELY WITH THE CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, GENERAL EDWIN DIAZ ZEVALLOS. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND HE WAS A SECRETARY TO GEN. MERCADO JARRIN. MONTESINOS CRITICIZED THE POLICE AND THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR. HE CLAIMED THAT "COCO" MANTILLA, THE BROTHER OF INTERIOR MINISTER AGUSTIN MANTILLA, AND POLICE GENERAL JUAN ZARATE GAMBINI, THE CHIEF OF DIPOD, THE PERUVIAN POLICE ANTI-NARCOTICS COMMAND

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WITH WHOM WE WORK IN THE UPPER HUALLAGA VALLEY AND THE EMBASSY'S CLOSEST AND MOST IMPORTANT ANTI-DRUG CONTACT, ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN DRUG TRAFFICKING. HE SAID THE EMBASSY MUST KNOW THIS AND QUESTIONED WHY WE CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THEM.

12. THE ADCM SAID THAT OF COURSE WE HAD HEARD THOSE RUMORS BEFORE BUT HAD NEVER BEEN DEVELOPED A SINGLE PIECE OF EVIDENCE TO SUSTAIN THEM. MONTESINOS SAID THAT "THEY" HAD LOTS OF INFORMATION AND WOULD MAKE IT AVAILABLE TO US AFTER FUJIMORI TAKES OFFICE.

13. MONTESINOS, THEN ENTERED INTO A  
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LONG, RAMBLING DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEMS OF DEALING WITH SENDERO. THEY ALL AGREED THAT THE PRESENT BATTALION-LEVEL STRATEGY WILL NOT WORK AND THAT THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PACKAGE THE U.S. IS CONTEMPLATING IS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. THEY AGREED

AND NOW UNDERWAY IN THE HUANTA AREA IS PROVIDING BETTER RESULTS. THAT STRATEGY CONTEMPLATES A MASSIVE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM SUPPLEMENTED BY SMALL, WELL-TRAINED AND WELL-LED SQUADS OF TROOPS NATIVE TO THE AREA MERCILESSLY HARASSING SENDERO. THEY SAID THE PROGRAM WORKED SO WELL IN HUANTA THAT THE VILLAGERS ERECTED A MONUMENT TO

14. UNFORTUNATELY, SAID, A NEW STRATEGY IS BEING ADOPTED WHICH DEPENDS ON BATTALION SIZED ACTIONS. HE SAID THE PERUVIAN MARINE CORPS IS RECRUITING AND TRAINING FIVE NEW BATTALIONS TO USE IN THE PUCALLPA AREA.

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MILITARY CORRUPTION  
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15. ALLEGED THAT IT WOULDN'T MAKE MUCH DIFFERENCE WHAT WAS DONE AS LONG AS THE SAME CORRUPT GROUP OF PEOPLE RUN THE ARMED FORCES. AGREED BUT WONDERED ALOUD WHAT COULD BE DONE TO PURGE THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 LIMA 09075

FOR ARA/AND MACK AND AMBASSADOR QUAINTON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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"CROOKS." HE SUGGESTED, BUT DID NOT SAY, THAT FUJIMORI WOULD NOT HAVE THE POWER TO CHALLENGE THE ARMED FORCES. HE SAID THAT THE CASE OF AIR FORCE COMMANDING GENERAL GERMAN VUCETICH IS A GOOD EXAMPLE. DESPITE OVERWHELMING PUBLIC EVIDENCE OF HIS MALFEASANCE NOBODY CAN TOUCH HIM. MONTESINOS SAID THAT VUCETICH HAS NEUTRALIZED HIS CHIEF CRITIC, TELEVISION COMMENTATOR CESAR HILDEBRANDT, WITH A COMBINATION OF THREATS AGAINST HILDEBRANDT'S FAMILY AND OFFERS OF LUCRATIVE BUSINESS DEALS. HE NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO MORE CRITICISM FROM HILDEBRANDT IN SEVERAL WEEKS.

16. [ ] SAID THAT THE MILITARY IS NOW SPENDING THE MONEY THAT CAMBIO 90 WAS GOING TO NEED FOR ITS SOCIAL PROGRAMS ON MILITARY HARDWARE "WHICH IT DOESN'T NEED AND CAN'T AFFORD." [ ] PIPED UP THAT THE FIGURES [ ] WAS CITING ARE TOO LOW. HE ALLEGED THAT THE MILITARY HAS SIGNED OVER SIX HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF CONTRACTS IN RECENT WEEKS. MONTESINOS WARNED THEM TO BE CAREFUL BECAUSE THEY WERE STEPPING  
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ON SOME VERY IMPORTANT TOES AND THE CONSEQUENCES

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COULD BE DISASTROUS FOR FUJIMORI.

17. ADCM VENTURED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR FUJIMORI TO PLEAD POVERTY BEFORE THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE MAJOR DONORS WHEN SUCH HUGE (FOR PERU) SUMS OF MONEY COULD BE SPENT ON MILITARY HARDWARE. HE SUGGESTED THEY PUT THE QUESTION TO FUJIMORI AND ASK HOW HE PLANNED TO ANSWER WHEN IT COMES UP IN HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH DONORS, AS IT INEVITABLY MUST AT SOME POINT.

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FUJIMORI TRIP TO THE U.S.  
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18. \_\_\_\_\_ ASKED FOR ADVICE ON THE FUJIMORI TRIP TO THE UNITED STATES. HE WANTED TO KNOW HOW FUJIMORI WOULD BE RECEIVED, WHAT HE COULD EXPECT TO COME AWAY WITH, AND WHAT HE SHOULD OFFER. ADCM SAID THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO RECEIVE FUJIMORI AT THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE LEVELS, ASSUMING ALWAYS THAT THE APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS ARE AVAILABLE DURING THE DAYS WHEN FUJIMORI PLANS TO BE IN THE U.S. \_\_\_\_\_ ASKED WHY HAD THE AMBASSADOR CALLED ON VARGAS LLOSA PRIOR TO HIS TRIP TO WASHINGTON BUT NOT ON FUJIMORI? MONTESINOS INTERJECTED THAT EVERYONE KNEW THAT THE U.S. WAS BACKING VARGAS LLOSA AND WANTED HIM TO WIN BUT THAT IT WAS A SERIOUS GAFFE NOT TO HAVE CALLED ON FUJIMORI, ESPECIALLY SINCE EVERYONE KNEW HE WAS GOING TO WIN.

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19. ADCM REMINDED THEM THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD CALLED ON FUJIMORI IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE APRIL CONFIDENTIAL

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ELECTION AND SUGGESTED THAT IF THEY LOOKED CAREFULLY INTO THE MATTER THEY WOULD SEE THAT THE EMBASSY HAD BEEN IN TOUCH WITH FUJIMORI'S STAFF ABOUT ANOTHER CALL BEFORE THE AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE ON LEAVE BUT HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT HE WAS TOO BUSY PREPARING FOR THE DEBATE, THAT HE WISHED THE AMBASSADOR A GOOD TRIP, CONGRATULATED HIM ON HIS DAUGHTER'S UPCOMING WEDDING AND LOOKED FORWARD TO SEEING HIM UPON HIS RETURN. ADCM REMINDED THEM THAT CONFUSION LIKE THIS IS NOT UNUSUAL WITHIN THE CAMBIO 90 CAMP, CITING THE RECENT SNAFU WHEN A STAFFER REFUSED TO PASS A CALL TO

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FUJIMORI FROM VATICAN RADIO WHICH HAD BEEN CAREFULLY  
PLANNED DAYS IN ADVANCE.

20. AND MONTESINOS ADMITTED THAT CAMBIO 90 IS  
IN CHAOS AND THAT THEY DID NOT EVEN KNOW WHO WOULD  
ACCOMPANY FUJIMORI TO WASHINGTON. NO ONE IS IN  
CHARGE OF PREPARING HIM FOR HIS MEETINGS, THEY  
ADMITTED. THEY THOUGHT THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE  
PERUVIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY, AMBASSADOR ALFONSO RIVERO  
AND ONE OF HIS CHIEF ECONOMISTS, SANTIAGO ROCA, WOULD  
ACCOMPANY FUJIMORI ABROAD. BUT SANTIAGO ROCA STILL  
DOESN'T KNOW WHETHER HE IS REALLY GOING. FUJIMORI  
HAD TOLD HIM TO STAND BY BUT HAD NOT MADE A FINAL  
DECISION.

21. ADCM SAID THAT THERE WAS ALREADY GROWING

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 LIMA 09075

FOR ARA/AND MACK AND AMBASSADOR QUAINTON

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
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CONFUSION OVER WHAT KIND OF A DRUG POLICY FUJIMORI  
WOULD FOLLOW, CITING SEEMINGLY CONTRADICTIONARY ANSWERS  
TO PRESS QUESTIONS. HE URGED THEM TO PREPARE A  
SERIOUS, NON-CONFRONTATIONAL STATEMENT PUTTING  
FUJIMORI ON THE RECORD AS RECOGNIZING THAT DRUG  
PRODUCTION AND DRUG TRAFFICKING ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS  
FOR PERU, PLEDGING HIS ADMINISTRATION TO FIGHT ON  
BOTH FRONTS TO THE EXTENT OF PERU'S RESOURCES,  
CALLING ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO PROVIDE

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ASSISTANCE, AND PROMISING TO PRODUCE A PERUVIAN NATIONAL ANTI-DRUG STRATEGY WHICH OTHER COUNTRIES CAN SUPPORT. THEY TOOK NOTES FURIOUSLY AND SAID THEY WOULD TRY TO GET FUJIMORI TO DO IT.

22. ASKED ABOUT THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS ASPECTS OF THE TRIP. WOULD FUJIMORI GET GOOD COVERAGE? WHOM SHOULD HE MEET WITH? ADCM SUGGESTED THAT THAT DEPENDED ON WHAT THEY WANTED TO GET OUT OF THE TRIP. IF THEY AGREED TO ANY IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS, FUJIMORI WOULD BE PRESSED HARD FOR DETAILS OF HIS ECONOMIC PROGRAM AND HIS STAND ON DRUGS. UNLESS HE  
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WERE PREPARED TO ANSWER FORTHRIGHTLY HE PROBABLY SHOULDN'T PUT HIMSELF IN THAT POSITION. AN ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE LUNCHESES WITH THE EDITORIAL BOARDS OF THE "WASHINGTON POST" AND THE "NEW YORK TIMES" PLUS A BACKGROUND SESSION FOR A DOZEN JOURNALISTS AT THE PERUVIAN EMBASSY OVER DRINKS. ADCM SUGGESTED THAT THEY GET FUJIMORI TO NAME A SMALL GROUP TO PREPARE THE TRIP AND THAT THE GROUP THEN MEET WITH CHARGE AND OTHER EMBASSY OFFICERS. AGREED AND SUGGESTED GETTING TOGETHER ON TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY.

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23. COMMENT: MUCH IN THIS CONVERSATION CONFIRMS WHAT WE ARE HEARING ABOUT DISORDER AND CONFUSION IN THE FUJIMORI CAMP. THE TRANSITION HAS BEEN UNDERWAY A WEEK BUT IS MOVING VERY SLOWLY. RECRUITING HERNANDO DE SOTO FOR THE TRIP AS AND ADVISOR, IF CONFIRMED, WILL REASSURE MANY PEOPLE OVERSEAS BUT LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD LINING UP TALENT FOR MINISTRIES HERE. THE STOPS IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON ARE NOT BEING PREPARED PROFESSIONALLY AND FUJIMORI IS UNLIKELY TO BE IN A POSITION TO OFFER ANY SPECIFICS ON HIS PROGRAM UNLESS HERCULEAN EFFORTS ARE MADE THIS WEEK. THE QUESTION ABOUT WHY THE AMBASSADOR CALLED ON VARGAS LLOSA BUT NOT FUJIMORI BEFORE TRAVELLING TO WASHINGTON UNDERLINES THE SUSPICIOUS MINDSET OF SOME OF THE CAMBIO 90 PEOPLE TOWARD THE U.S.  
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