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ACTION SCT-03

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R 072148Z AUG 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0411

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 01 OF 04 LIMA 11648

TERREP CHANNEL

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: THE POLAY ESCAPE: AN APRA CONNECTION?

REF: LIMA 10236

1. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. THERE IS A LONG LIST OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE HINTING AT APRA TIES TO ACCUSED MRTA TERRORIST VICTOR POLAY. AFTER POLAY'S 1989 ARREST, VICE MINISTER MANTILLA RUINED TWO POLICE ANTI-MRTA OPERATIONS BY PREMATURELY ANNOUNCING POLAY'S ARREST. IN THE DAYS FOLLOWING, PRIME/INTERIOR MINISTER VILLANUEVA VISITED POLAY AT LEAST FIVE TIMES IN PRIVATE MEETINGS IN JAIL. OIGA MAGAZINE EXPOSED POLICE FAILURE TO WATCH THE LIMA HOUSES OF POLAY'S WIFE AND PARENTS DURING THE FOUR YEARS OF POLAY'S WELL-KNOWN TERRORISM. POLAY RECEIVED SPECIAL TREATMENT IN PRISON AND HIS TRIAL BEHAVIOR WAS THAT

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OF A MAN ON HOLIDAY. ANTI-TERRORISM POLICE TOLD US

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Is/FPC/CDR *July* Date: *8-21-96*

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THEY WERE IMPEDED AT EVERY TURN IN THEIR EFFORTS TO INVESTIGATE THE JULY 9 ESCAPE. END SUMMARY.

3. VARIOUS UNITED LEFT, FREDEMO AND INDEPENDENT PARLIAMENTARIANS ARE PREPARING SEPARATE RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF APRA CORRUPTION DURING THE FIVE YEAR PRESIDENCY OF ALAN GARCIA. ONE OF THE KEY ISSUES IS THE ALLEGATION THAT OFFICIALS IN THE APRA GOVERNMENT AIDED IN THE JULY 9 ESCAPE OF VICTOR POLAY AND 47 MRTA TERRORISTS. THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF APRA-MRTA LINKS IS PERSUASIVE AND GOES FAR BEYOND THE MRTA LEADERSHIP'S FORMER APRA ASSOCIATIONS AND VICTOR POLAY'S ONE-TIME FRIENDSHIP WITH A YOUTHFUL "REVOLUTIONARY" NAMED ALAN GARCIA. BUT THE EVIDENCE IS STILL CIRCUMSTANTIAL. THIS CABLE REVIEWS THOSE BITS AND PIECES OF FACT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WINNOW FROM THE CHAFF.

POLAY'S 1989 ARREST

4. VICTOR POLAY AND HIS MISTRESS ROSA PADILLA WERE ARRESTED IN HUANCAYO CITY, FEBRUARY 3, 1989. THOUGH THE INTERIOR MINISTRY PUBLICLY CLAIMED THAT AN INFORMANT LED THEM TO POLAY, WE KNOW FROM ANTI-TERRORISM POLICE (DIRCOTE) SOURCES THAT THE ARREST WAS A PURE COINCIDENCE. DEFENSE MINISTER LOPEZ ALBUJAR WAS SCHEDULED TO VISIT HUANCAYO FEBRUARY 3. AS A PART OF INCREASED SECURITY IN THE CITY, THERE WAS HEAVY POLICE PRESENCE AT THE HOTEL

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WHERE THE VISITING MINISTER WOULD OVERNIGHT:
HUANCAYO'S HOTEL DE TURISTAS.

5. LATE IN THE MORNING, TWO POLICE IN THE HOTEL STOPPED A YOUNG WOMAN ENTERING THE HOTEL. THEY CHECKED HER DOCUMENTS. NO PROBLEM. THEY CHECKED HER HAND-BAG. SHE WAS CARRYING A PISTOL. IN HER PURSE WAS A KEY TO AN UPSTAIRS ROOM IN THE HOTEL. THE POLICE WENT UP TO CHECK THE ROOM AND FOUND VICTOR POLAY RESTING ON THE BED. HE AND ROSA PADILLA WERE

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ARRESTED WITHOUT RESISTANCE.

6. IMMEDIATELY AFTER POLAY'S ARREST THE MACHINATIONS BEGAN. ROSA PADILLA WAS CARRYING A LETTER TO BE DELIVERED TO A "CAMARADA JUANCHO" IN A HUANCAYO CEMETERY THAT NIGHT AT MIDNIGHT. A POLICE OFFICIAL TOLD US THAT EVEN BEFORE SHE WAS BROUGHT TO LIMA, DURING INITIAL INTERROGATIONS THE SAME DAY IN HUANCAYO, PADILLA ALSO TOLD POLICE ABOUT AN IMPORTANT MRTA HEADQUARTERS IN LIMA. LATE THE AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 3 DIRCOTE BEGAN PREPARATIONS FOR TWO OPERATIONS; TO CAPTURE "CAMARADA JUANCHO" THAT NIGHT, AND TO RAID THE MRTA HQ THE NEXT MORNING, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

7. NEITHER OPERATION WAS MEANT TO BE. AT 1800 HOURS, THEN VICE MINISTER MANTILLA CALLED A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH HE ANNOUNCED TO THE PRESS THAT POLAY AND PADILLA HAD BEEN CAPTURED WITH DOCUMENTS IN THEIR POSSESSION. THE STORY WAS IMMEDIATELY BROADCAST BY RADIO AND WAS THE LEAD ON THE 10 O'CLOCK EVENING NEWS.

8. DIRCOTE OFFICIALS WERE FURIOUS. "JUANCHO" DID

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ACTION SCT-03

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-01 INR-05 SS-01 CIAE-00 E
DODE-00 NSCE-00 ARA-01 NSAE-00 COME-00 SSO-01 L-02
AMAD-01 CTME-00 NRCE-00 TRSE-00 PM-01 PA-01 FAAE-00
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R 072148Z AUG 90
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0412

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TERREP CHANNEL

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: THE POLAY ESCAPE: AN APRA CONNECTION?

NOT APPEAR AT THE PLANNED MIDNIGHT RENDEZVOUS, AND BY THE TIME THE POLICE RAIDED THE LIMA ADDRESS ON SATURDAY, THE HOUSE WAS EMPTY OF PEOPLE. THE POLICE DID CATCH A GLIMPSE OF WHAT THEY MIGHT HAVE ACCOMPLISHED. IN THEIR HASTE TO FLEE, APPARENTLY NOT KNOWING WHEN THE POLICE WOULD COME, THE TERRORISTS LEFT BOOKS, FLYERS, BANNERS, AND A SMALL WEAPONS CACHE IN THE HOUSE. THE POLICE KNEW THEY HAD BEEN CLOSE, BUT HAD MISSED. THANKS TO MANTILLA.

THE PRIME MINISTER PAYS A VISIT

9. POLAY AND PADILLA WERE TRANSPORTED SATURDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 4, TO LIMA. A DIRCOTE OFFICER WHO
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WORKS IN THE DETENTION WARD RECALLS AND CONFIRMS SEVERAL INTERESTING DETAILS OF THAT DAY WHICH WE

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REPORTED AT THE TIME AS UNCONFIRMED SPECULATION (89 LIMA 2109). FIRST, IT WAS THE PARADE OF VISITORS. POLAY'S PARENTS AND RADICAL LEFT SENATOR JAVIER DIEZ CANSECO WERE PERMITTED IN FOR SEPARATE PRIVATE, UNSUPERVISED VISITS. THIS OFFICIAL SAYS, "WE HAD ORDERS FROM COLONEL PALACIOS (THEN DICOTE CHIEF) THAT POLAY WAS TO BE GIVEN SPECIAL TREATMENT."

10. THE SAME DAY, PRIME/INTERIOR MINISTER VILLANUEVA CAME A'CALLING. HE WAS CAUGHT BY REPORTERS EXITING THE DICOTE OFFICE. FOLLOWING ARMANDO VILLANUEVA'S VISIT, LIMA'S CONSERVATIVE AND ANTI-APRA PRINT AND BROADCAST MEDIA LANDED ON HIM WITH BOTH FEET. SO FURIOUS WAS THE CENSURE, THAT VILLANUEVA WAS FORCED TO ISSUE AN EXPLANATORY STATEMENT, FEBRUARY 5. VILLANUEVA SAID HE HAD VISITED POLAY FOR TWO REASONS, AT THE REQUEST OF POLAY'S PARENTS (PERSONAL FRIENDS OF VILLANUEVA) AND TO INSURE THAT POLAY WAS NOT BEING TORTURED BY POLICE. WHAT THE PRESS NEVER DISCOVERED, BUT OUR DICOTE CONTACT PERSONALLY WITNESSED, WAS THAT VILLANUEVA VISITED POLAY "AT LEAST FIVE OR SIX TIMES" IN THE FIRST FEW DAYS AFTER THE LATTER'S DETENTION. ALL WERE PRIVATE MEETINGS.

11. ONLY POLAY AND VILLANUEVA KNOW WHAT WAS SAID DURING THOSE MEETINGS. VILLANUEVA INSISTED THAT HE SPEAK TO POLAY ALONE. THE ACCEPTED THEORY AT THE TIME WAS THAT VILLANUEVA HAD RUSHED TO GET TO POLAY BEFORE THE POLICE COULD QUESTION HIM, AND BEFORE POLAY WAS PRESENTED TO THE MEDIA. WHY? SINCE 1987 THE APRA GOVERNMENT HAD MADE SEVERAL OVERTURES TO THE

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MRTA, APPARENTLY SEEKING DIALOGUE. IN DECEMBER, 1987 PRESIDENT GARCIA HAD DISPATCHED PRISON DIRECTOR JAVIER TANTALEON TO SATIPO, JUNIN DEPARTMENT, SEEKING A MEETING WITH THE MRTA LEADERSHIP FOLLOWING THE MRTA'S NOVEMBER, 1987 OCCUPATION OF JUANJUI. A YEAR LATER PRESIDENT GARCIA ADMITTED THAT HE MET WITH M-19 LEADERSHIP DURING HIS 1988 VISIT TO COLOMBIA, IN THE HOPE OF OPENING A DIALOGUE WITH THE MRTA.

12. ARMANDO VILLANUEVA WAS ON HIS WAY TO HUANCAYO ON FEBRUARY 3. HE WAS DELAYED IN ROUTE IN JAUJA. A

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RETIRED NAVAL INTELLIGENCE ADMIRAL TOLD US WHEN THE NEWS OF THE POLAY ARREST REACHED VILLANUEVA IN JAUJA HE TURNED AROUND AND HEADED BACK TO LIMA. THIS SOURCE THEORIZES THAT POLAY WAS WAITING IN HUANCAYO TO MEET WITH VILLANUEVA AND THAT HIS ACCIDENTAL ARREST MIGHT LEAD POLAY TO BELIEVE HE HAD BEEN SET UP. IN THIS VEIN, VILLANUEVA'S VISITS WERE TO ASSURE THE MRTA LEADER THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN BETRAYED. OR TO CONVINCING THE MRTA TO KEEP QUIET ABOUT ITS PRESENT OR PAST TIES TO APRA.

POLAY'S HOUSE IN LIMA

13. THERE IS ONE OTHER DETAIL WE DID NOT REPORT AT THE TIME. CONSERVATIVE, ANTI-APRA WEEKLY MAGAZINE "DIGA" SET TWO INVESTIGATIVE REPORTERS ON THE STORY. ONE OF THE ITEMS THEY DISCOVERED WAS THAT POLAY HAD APPARENTLY VISITED HIS CHILDREN, LIVING WITH POLAY'S ESTRANGED WIFE IN LIMA, SEVERAL TIMES DURING THE PREVIOUS YEAR. THESE REPORTERS SPOKE TO NEIGHBORS, WHOSE NAMES APPEARED IN THE ARTICLE, AND WHO CLAIMED TO HAVE SEEN POLAY ("EL MORENO") OCCASIONALLY ENTERING AND LEAVING THE HOUSE. POLAY WAS ONE OF THE

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ACTION SCT-03

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0413

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TERREP CHANNEL

E.D. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: THE POLAY ESCAPE: AN APRA CONNECTION?

THREE OR FOUR MOST RECOGNIZABLE TERRORISTS IN PERU. AFTER LEADING THE 1987 ASSAULT ON JUANJUI HIS NAME AND PHOTO HAD OFTEN APPEARED IN PRINT, AND HE TWICE GRANTED CLANDESTINE INTERVIEWS, WITH COLOR PHOTOS, TO LIMA WEEKLIES.

14. OIGA ALSO LEARNED THAT NEITHER THE HOUSE OF POLAY'S WIFE, NOR THAT OF HIS PARENTS, HAD EVER RECEIVED POLICE SURVEILLANCE.

THE TRIAL

15. POLAY'S TRIAL, FROM THE BEGINNING, HAD A SENSE OF THE UNREAL ABOUT IT. HE WAS TREATED TOO WELL AT

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CANTO GRANDE (CASTRO CASTRO PRISON). HE REQUESTED AND RECEIVED A PRIVATE ROOM. HE REGULARLY RECEIVED

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THE PRESS AND GRANTED PRIVATE INTERVIEWS THERE. PHOTOS OF HIS CELL SHOWED BOOKS, A TV, A RADIO, A TABLE SERVING AS A DESK.

16. UNLIKE OTHER ACCUSED MRTA AND SL PRISONERS, POLAY OPENLY ADMITTED HIS MEMBERSHIP IN THE MRTA. HE ADMITTED HE LED THE MRTA TAKE-OVER OF JUANJUI. THERE THE MRTA OCCUPIED THE TOWN FOR SEVERAL DAYLIGHT HOURS, KILLING A POLICE OFFICER IN THE PROCESS. ONE OF THE LAST TRIAL IMAGES APPEARING IN THE PRESS WAS A SERIES OF PHOTOS OF POLAY PICKING UP THE HAND-GUN HE HAD WHEN HE WAS ARRESTED, AND SHOWING THE COURT HOW TO LOAD AND COCK IT.

THE POST-ESCAPE INVESTIGATION

17. MANY ANTI-TERRORISM POLICE WERE UNDERSTANDABLY OUTRAGED BY THE BREAK-OUT; THESE ARE BAD-GUYS WHOM THE POLICE HAVE EXPENDED A GREAT DEAL OF EFFORT, AT THE COST OF SEVERAL LIVES, TO APPREHEND. BUT ANGER MOUNTED AT DIRCOTE FOR A SEPARATE REASON.

18. ON JULY 10 INTERIOR MINISTER MANTILLA ASSIGNED DIRCOTE TO CONDUCT THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE ESCAPE. DIRCOTE COLONEL VICTORIANO BLANCO PRESENTED HIMSELF AT THE ESCAPE SITE ON JULY 11 AND WAS DENIED ENTRANCE, "ON OFFICIAL ORDERS." AND AGAIN JULY 12. AND AGAIN ON JULY 13. BY THE TIME DIRCOTE GOT IN, THE TUNNEL HAD BEEN TRAMPLED BY COUNTLESS VISITORS,

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INCLUDING NEWSPAPER AND TV REPORTERS, AND TV CREWS WITH FULL EQUIPMENT. BLANCO TOLD US THAT SOMEONE IN THE MINISTRY OR IN ANOTHER POLICE SERVICE, WAS DELIBERATELY IMPEDING HIS INVESTIGATION.

19. THE INVESTIGATION CONTINUES. SEVERAL POLICE OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN CHARGED. TO DATE THERE IS NO SOLID EVIDENCE LINKING THE INTERIOR MINISTRY OR THE APRA PARTY TO THE BREAK-OUT. THE JUDGE HEARING THE CASE COMPLAINED TO THE PRESS AUGUST 6 THAT NONE OF THE WITNESSES HE HAS CALLED HAVE YET BEEN PRODUCED BY

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THE POLICE. HE SAYS THE CASE IS AT A STANDSTILL.

ONE EXTRANEOUS, BUT FATAL, DETAIL

20. THERE IS AN INTERESTING ASIDE TO THE POLAY STORY. IN THE SIX YEARS OF MRTA VIOLENCE, THE MRTA HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED TARGETING GOP POLITICAL FIGURES. THE MRTA KILLS RURAL RESIDENTS WHO REFUSE TO PAY EXTORTION MONEY AND IT KILLS POLICE OR ARMY IN MILITARY OPERATIONS. BUT IT HAS NEVER TARGETED POLITICAL FIGURES FOR ASSASSINATION. UNTIL JANUARY 9, 1990. THAT IS THE DAY AN MRTA HIT SQUAD GUNNED DOWN FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER LOPEZ ALBUJAR IN LIMA. REMEMBER, IT WAS LOPEZ ALBUJAR, THEN DEFENSE MINISTER, WHO VISITED HUANCAYO CITY, FEBRUARY 3, 1989.

21. WE INITIALLY BELIEVED SENDERO LUMINOSO KILLED GENERAL LOPEZ. WHEN THE MRTA CLAIMED CREDIT, POLICE AND MILITARY (AND WE) SCRAMBLED TO EXPLAIN WHY. IT WAS INTERIOR MINISTER MANTILLA WHO PROPOUNDED THE THEORY THAT THERE WAS A SPLIT IN THE MRTA, WITH ONE FACTION ADVOCATING INCREASED VIOLENCE AND SELECTING LOPEZ ALBUJAR AS ITS FIRST TARGET. WE NOW DOUBT THAT

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ACTION SCT-03

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-01 INR-05 SS-01 CIAE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0414

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 LIMA 11648

TERREP CHANNEL

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, ASEC, PGOV, PE
SUBJECT: THE POLAY ESCAPE: AN APRA CONNECTION?

NOTION. IF SUCH A DIVISION EXISTS, WE HAVE SEEN NO
ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE OF IT SINCE THE LOPEZ KILLING.
IN RETROSPECT, PERHAPS THERE WAS A MORE OBVIOUS
EXPLANATION: PAYBACK. THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S
SECURITY DETAIL WAS INSISTENT AND PROFESSIONAL IN
HOLDING POLAY AND TURNING HIM OVER TO THE
ANTI-TERRORISM POLICE. THE MRTA MAY HAVE BEEN PAYING
BACK THE MAN WHOSE VISIT TO HUANCAYO LANDED THE
MRTA'S NORTHERN MILITARY LEADER IN JAIL.

WOULD YOU BELIEVE . . .

22. THERE IS ONE LAST, PROBABLY UNRELATED,
COINCIDENCE. SEVERAL HOURS BEFORE HIS ESCAPE, VICTOR

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POLAY GAVE A FINAL, EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW IN HIS CELL
TO A LIMA DAILY. CONSPIRACY THEORISTS HERE BELIEVE

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THAT IT IS JUST TOO IMPROBABLE THAT AMONG THE LAST
PEOPLE TO SEE POLAY WERE TWO REPORTERS FROM "PAGINA
LIBRE", ALAN GARCIA'S "PERSONAL" NEWSPAPER.
QUINTON

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