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Case Number: S200200010

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.5(D)

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	INL-01	OASY-00	DOEE-00	DOTE-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EAP-01
	EB-00	EUR-01	FAAE-00	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	INSE-00	IO-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	MMP-00	M-00
	NRCE-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-03	OIC-02	OIS-01	OMB-01
	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	P-00	CIO-00	SP-00
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E. LANDFAIR
 DATE/CASE ID: 13 AUG 2002 S200200010

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JUSTICE FOR TVCS -- J LANCASTER
SOUTHCAM ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/09/07

TAGS: PTER ASEC PGOV PINR PE

SUBJECT: NESTOR CERPA CARTOLINI - MRTA LEADER AND HOSTAGE TAKER

1. CLASSIFIED BY JAMES MACK, DCM, REASON: 1.5 (D).

2. [REDACTED] SUMMARY: NESTOR CERPA CARTOLINI, MRTA'S MOST IMPORTANT LEADER OUTSIDE OF JAIL, WILL DETERMINE MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE THE FATE OF THE 74 HOSTAGES HE IS HOLDING INSIDE THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. THE DE FACTO MRTA LEADER MADE HIS MARK IN MRTA AS A MILITARY STRATEGIST, NOT AS AN IDEOLOGICAL LEADER. CERPA HAS HAD AMPLE EXPERIENCE ATTACKING PERUVIAN GOVERNMENT TARGETS AND EXPLOITING MEDIA ATTENTION, BUT HE APPEARS POORLY PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE A COMPROMISE TO END TO THE HOSTAGE CRISIS HE CREATED. END SUMMARY.

TERRORIST TACTICIAN

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3. (U) NESTOR CERPA CARTOLINI (A.K.A. "EVARISTO" OR MORE RECENTLY "COMANDANTE HUERTA") IS THE HIGHEST RANKING TUPAC AMARU REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MRTA) LEADER OUTSIDE OF PRISON AND THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION'S LEADING MILITARY STRATEGIST. HE LED 15-20 HEAVILY ARMED MRTA TERRORISTS IN THE DECEMBER 17 STORMING OF THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE IN WHICH MRTA TOOK HOSTAGE SEVERAL HUNDRED VIP GUESTS, INCLUDING TWELVE AMERICANS. CERPA MANAGED TO SEIZE THE POORLY GUARDED JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE AND SUBDUE THE GUESTS WITHOUT INCURRING ANY CASUALTIES. HE CONTINUES TO HOLD HOSTAGE 74 PERSONS, INCLUDING THE FOREIGN AND AGRICULTURE MINISTERS, FIVE SUPREME COURT JUSTICES, PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S YOUNGER BROTHER PEDRO, AND THE AMBASSADORS OF JAPAN AND BOLIVIA.

4. (U) CERPA ALSO PLANNED A DECEMBER 1995 ATTACK ON THE PERUVIAN CONGRESS IN WHICH MRTA HAD PREPARED TO EXCHANGE CAPTURED CONGRESSPERSONS FOR OVER 400 IMPRISONED MRTA MILITANTS. PERUVIAN POLICE FRUSTRATED THAT PLAN BY CAPTURING, AFTER A PITCHED SHOOTOUT ON NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 1, 1995, KEY MRTA MEMBERS (BUT

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NOT CERPA) AND THE MRTA SAFE HOUSE FROM WHICH THE TERRORIST GROUP PLANNED TO LAUNCH THE ATTACK. ACCORDING TO LOCAL PRESS REPORTING, PERUVIAN POLICE ALSO ACCUSE CERPA, INTER ALIA, OF:

--- MASTERMINDING THE 1985 ASSASSINATION OF THREE NON-COMMISSIONED NAVAL OFFICERS;

--- PARTICIPATING IN THE DECEMBER 1989 KIDNAPPING OF MEDIA MAGNATE HECTOR DELGADO PARKER, THE MURDER OF DELGADO'S DRIVER, AND THE WOUNDING OF DELGADO'S BODYGUARDS;

--- TAKING PART IN THE JANUARY 1990 ASSASSINATION IN LIMA OF

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RETIRED ARMY GENERAL AND FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER ENRIQUE LOPEZ ALBUJAR.

5. (U) CERPA REPORTEDLY ENGAGED IN MRTA TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN LIMA FROM 1985 TO 1989. DURING THE EARLY 1990'S THE MRTA MILITARY LEADER TOOK CHARGE OF THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION'S NORTHEASTERN FRONT IN THE COCA-GROWING UPPER HUALLAGA VALLEY. THE MRTA LEADER GAINED CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC AND POLICE ATTENTION WHEN HE DIRECTED MRTA'S ASSAULT ON FOUR TOWNS IN SAN MARTIN DEPARTMENT ON MAY 10, 1991. IN A HOSTAGE SITUATION WITH SOME STRIKING SIMILARITIES WITH THE CURRENT HOSTAGE CRISIS, CERPA TOOK NINE POLICE OFFICERS HOSTAGE WITH HIM INTO THE JUNGLE AFTER THAT ATTACK AND LATER SOLICITED THE INTERVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO MEDIATE IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR THEIR RELEASE. AFTER FREEING ALL NINE PRISONERS INTO THE CUSTODY OF MONSIGNOR VENANCIO ORBE ON JUNE 5, 1991, CERPA RETREATED INTO THE SURROUNDING JUNGLE. THE ARRESTS OF MRTA LEADERS IN THE EARLY 1990'S, PARTICULARLY THE 1992 RECAPTURE OF VICTOR POLAY AFTER HIS 1990 PRISON BREAK, PROPELLED CERPA TO THE FOREFRONT OF THE MUCH-WEAKENED TERRORIST GROUP.

MASTER PUBLICIST

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6. (U) THE MRTA LEADER HAS EXPLOITED THE ONGOING HOSTAGE CRISIS FOR AS MUCH MEDIA ATTENTION AS POSSIBLE, PROVIDING THE DEBILITATED TERRORIST ORGANIZATION WITH MORE FREE PUBLICITY THAN MRTA HAS EVER ACHIEVED BEFORE. EARLY IN THE CRISIS, CERPA ENTERTAINED TELEPHONE INTERVIEWS (BEFORE THE GOP CUT CELLULAR COMMUNICATION) WITH THE PRESS, AND HE INVITED THE JAPANESE MEDIA TO COME TO SPEAK WITH HIM INSIDE THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. WHEN THE GOP ALLOWED THE MEDIA ACCESS TO THE FRONT OF THE HOSTAGE SITE ON DECEMBER 31, CERPA DELIVERED AN ANTI-GOP DIATRIBE THROUGH A BULLHORN. WHEN 15 JOURNALISTS BROKE POLICE LINES AND APPROACHED THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, CERPA HAPPILY HOSTED THEM INSIDE FOR AN IMPROMPTU PRESS CONFERENCE. CERPA SIMILARLY PROVIDED ACCESS TO TWO JOURNALISTS WHO ELUDED THE POLICE CORDON ON JANUARY 7. MRTA EVEN RELEASED TO THE PRESS A VIDEO SHOWING CERPA PLANNING THE ATTACK ON THE JAPANESE

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AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE.

7. (U) MAKING CLEAR AND CALCULATED PRESS COMMENTS, CERPA HOLDS HIS OWN AS THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION'S LEADING SPOKESMAN. SENSITIVE TO PRESS CRITICISM, HE HAS USED PRESS OPPORTUNITIES TO "CLARIFY" MRTA POSITIONS, DISTINGUISH MRTA FROM SENDERO LUMINOSO (SHINING PATH - SL) AND TO TRY TO ADVANCE MRTA'S PRIMARY DEMAND THAT THE GOP RELEASE IMPRISONED MRTA MILITANTS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE HOSTAGES. CERPA'S EFFORTS TO DEFEND MRTA'S IMAGE HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT ON LOCAL MEDIA, LONG BATTERED BY THE MRTA AND SL INSURGENCIES, BUT MRTA'S DE FACTO SPOKESMAN HAS HAD SUCCESS IN FOCUSING THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA'S ATTENTION ON MRTA'S PURPORTED POLITICAL AGENDA RATHER THAN ON MRTA'S DEPLORABLE ACT OF TERRORISM, NOT TO MENTION ITS LONG HISTORY OF ASSASSINATIONS, BOMBINGS, KIDNAPPINGS, AND LINKS TO DRUG TRAFFICKING.

8. (U) CERPA HAS A LONG HISTORY OF "APPEALING TO THE MASSES" THROUGH THE MEDIA. IN FEBRUARY 1996, MRTA RELEASED TO THE MEDIA A VIDEO OF CERPA EXPLAINING IN DETAIL, COMPLETE WITH DIAGRAMS AND PHOTOS, HOW MRTA PLANNED TO STORM CONGRESS IN DECEMBER 1995. ALTHOUGH CERPA CONCEDES IN THE VIDEO THAT THE PERUVIAN POLICE FRUSTRATED THAT ATTACK, HE SHOWS OFF THE MRTA'S ADVANCED PLANNING WITH CONSIDERABLE PRIDE, CONCLUDING "WITH THE MASSES AND OUR

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ARMS, OUR COUNTRY OR DEATH." WHILE HOLDING TELEVISION STATION OWNER HECTOR DELGADO PARKER HOSTAGE FOR SEVEN MONTHS IN 1989-1990, CERPA NEGOTIATED TEN MINUTES OF LOCAL TELEVISION AIR TIME TO SPREAD MRTA PROPAGANDA. WHEN CERPA RELEASED THE NINE POLICEMEN HE HELD HOSTAGE IN 1991, HE DID SO IN THE COMPANY OF SPANISH AND PERUVIAN JOURNALISTS.

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[REDACTED]

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A WEAK POLITICIAN

9. [REDACTED] UNLIKE SENDERO LUMINOSO CADRES, MRTA LEADERS OFTEN WORK IN BOTH THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY SPHERES. CERPA'S STRENGTHS, HOWEVER, LIE IN MILITARY PLANNING AND NOT POLITICAL THEORIZING. IN HIS SPEECHES AND LETTERS, THE MRTA LEADER TENDS TO REITERATE STALE, ROPE "REVOLUTIONARY" RHETORIC FULL OF INTERNAL INCONSISTENCIES. HE IS PARTICULARLY FOND, FOR EXAMPLE, OF CITING MRTA'S RESPECT FOR THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS COVERING INTERNAL CONFLICTS, IGNORING THE FACT THAT TAKING HOSTAGES IS IN DIRECT CONTRAVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW HE CITES. HE BEMOANS PERU'S PRISON CONDITIONS EVEN THOUGH MRTA HAS A LONG TRADITION OF HOLDING ITS KIDNAPPING VICTIMS IN CRAMPED, UNDERGROUND "PEOPLE'S PRISONS." LIKewise, CERPA'S UNDERSTANDING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IS REDUCED TO A WORLD VIEW SEEN ENTIRELY THROUGH AN MRTA FILTER.

10. [REDACTED] CERPA, HOWEVER, IS NOT "DUMB," [REDACTED]

B1

[REDACTED] CERPA IMPRESSED A WIDE RANGE OF RELEASED HOSTAGES WHO HARBOR NO SYMPATHY FOR CERPA OR THE MRTA WITH HIS INTELLIGENCE AND SAVVY. CERPA FREQUENTLY QUESTIONED HIS VIP HOSTAGES IN ORDER TO ASSESS THE GOP'S POTENTIAL REACTIONS AND STRATEGY. HE HAS USED HOSTAGE RELEASES TO MRTA'S ADVANTAGE, AT ONCE PROMOTING MRTA'S IMAGE AND REDUCING

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THE NUMBER OF HOSTAGES TO A MORE MANAGEABLE NUMBER. HE HAS SUCCESSFULLY REDUCED HIS NEGOTIATING FRONTS TO THE GOP AND THE GOVERNMENTS OF JAPAN AND BOLIVIA BY RELEASING HOSTAGES FROM OVER THIRTY COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES.

11. [REDACTED] NEVERTHELESS, UNACCUSTOMED TO DEVELOPING POLITICAL STRATEGIES, CERPA PROBABLY DEMANDED TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH JAILED MRTA LEADERS EARLY IN THE HOSTAGE CRISIS TO GET THE NEGOTIATING GUIDANCE ON WHICH HE USED TO RELY. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CERPA STILL CLINGS TO THE UNREALISTIC DEMAND THAT THE GOP RELEASE IMPRISONED MRTA MILITANTS AND HAS NOT FOCUSED AT ALL ON NEGOTIATING HIS AND HIS COMRADES' SAFE PASSAGE OUT OF THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. SO FAR, CERPA'S NEGOTIATING STRATEGY, IF HE HAS ONE, HAS LED TO A SERIOUS, AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS, IMPASSE WITH THE GOP.

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LABOR UNION ROOTS

12. (U) CERPA FIRST GAINED NOTORIETY AS THE LABOR UNION LEADER WHO LED A WORKER TAKEOVER OF A LIMA TEXTILE FACTORY IN DECEMBER 1978. THIRTY-SEVEN DAYS LATER CERPA'S UNION WORKERS SHOWERED STONES AND BRICKS ON THE POLICE SENT TO EXTRACT THEM FROM THE FACTORY, KILLING ONE POLICEMAN. THE PERUVIAN POLICE STORMED THE FACTORY, KILLING FOUR WORKERS, INCLUDING UNION LEADER HEMIGIDIO HUERTA. ONE PROMINENT PERUVIAN TERRORISM ANALYST SPECULATES THAT CERPA SHIFTED HIS NOM DE GUERRE FROM "EVARISTO" TO "HUERTA" FOR THE ATTACK ON THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE TO UNDERSCORE HIS ROOTS, BRINGING HIS VIOLENT HISTORY FULL CIRCLE. CERPA WAS IMPRISONED FOR SEVERAL MONTHS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FACTORY TAKEOVER AND SUBSEQUENTLY BECAME ACTIVE IN A RADICAL POLITICAL MOVEMENT THAT LATER FORMED PART OF MRTA.

13. (U) THE MRTA LEADER GREW UP IN LA VICTORIA, A MIDDLE CLASS NEIGHBORHOOD IN LIMA, AND OBTAINED A HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION BEFORE HE ENTERED THE CROMOTEX TEXTILE FACTORY. LIMA'S AMERICA TELEVISION NETWORK REPORTS THAT CERPA WAS BORN ON AUGUST 14, 1953. THE MRTA LEADER RECENTLY TOLD REPORTERS THAT HIS "WIFE" IS IN JAIL AND THAT HE HAS TWO CHILDREN. NANCY GILVONIO CONDE, WHO WAS ARRESTED TOGETHER WITH AMCIT LORI BERENSON IN CONNECTION WITH MRTA'S 1995 CONSPIRACY TO CAPTURE

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PERU'S CONGRESS AND WAS FOR A TIME BERENSON'S CELLMATE IN YANAMAYO PRISON IN PUNO, IS WIDELY REPORTED TO BE CERPA'S COMPANION. THE COUPLE'S TWO CHILDREN LIVE IN FRANCE, CARED FOR BY CERPA'S MOTHER.

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