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DRAFTED BY:S/S:WRPEARSON
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FOLLOWING LIMA 00756 DATED 22 JAN 93 SENT ACTION SECSTATE
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PTER, PINS, SNAR, PHUM, PE
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SUBJECT: GENERAL VIDAL COMMENTS ON
FUJIMORI, MONTESINOS, BUT
NOT ON BARRIOS ALTOS

1. ~~SECRET~~ - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: GENERAL ANTONIO VIDAL, THE RECENTLY
REASSIGNED CHIEF OF THE COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE,
ASKED CHARGE TO CONVEY HIS APPRECIATION TO THE
HIGHEST LEVELS OF USG FOR THE ASSISTANCE THAT LED
TO SENDERO LUMINOSO LEADER ABIMAEEL GUZMAN'S
CAPTURE. SPEAKING CAUTIOUSLY, VIDAL CONCURRED
THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI HAS A GOOD THEORETICAL

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: APPEALS REVIEW PANEL
APPEAL ACTION: RELEASED IN FULL
DATE/CASE ID: 22 NOV 2010 200605715

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UNDERSTANDING OF THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS; IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, FUJIMORI IS PREPARED TO SACRIFICE PRINCIPLES TO ACHIEVE A QUICK VICTORY OVER TERRORISM. VIDAL CHARACTERIZED PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS AS CONSUMED BY AMBITION. THE FUJIMORI/MONTESINOS TEAM IS GOVERNED BY AN OBSESSION FOR QUICK RESULTS THAT OFTEN LEADS TO UNWISE POLICY MOVES. BARRIOS ALTOS WAS TOO HOT FOR VIDAL TO TOUCH. CHARGE

BROACHED IDEA OF U.S. COOPERATION WITH VIDAL IN HIS NEW JOB AS CHIEF OF INSPECTION FOR THE POLICE AS A WAY TO ROOT OUT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE AND DRUG CORRUPTION IN THE POLICE. HE SHOWED STRONG INTEREST. END SUMMARY.

3. GENERAL ANTONIO KETIN VIDAL, UNTIL RECENTLY DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL POLICE COUNTER-TERRORISM UNIT (DINCOTE) ASKED CHARGE AT A RECENT EVENT FOR AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET AT THE EMBASSY TO

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"THANK YOU FOR ALL THAT YOU HAVE DONE." VIDAL NEVER CALLED, AS PROMISED, FOR AN APPOINTMENT, BUT QUICKLY ACCEPTED WHEN CHARGE INVITED HIM TO DRINKS AT DCR ON JANUARY 21. VIDAL IS A HIGHLY RESPECTED PROFESSIONAL POLICE OFFICER WHOSE DEDICATION TO DUTY, INTEGRITY, AND SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE WERE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EFFECTIVE DINCOTE ACTION IN TRACKING DOWN AND CAPTURING TOP SENDERO LUMINOSO LEADERS. HE IS A SOFT SPOKEN AND UNASSUMING MAN, BUT HAS QUICKLY GAINED RESPECT AMONG PERUVIANS WHO KNOW HIM.

APPRECIATION TO USG

4. AS HAD BEEN HIS STATED PURPOSE, VIDAL SAID THAT HE WANTED THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO KNOW HOW MUCH HE APPRECIATED THE IMPORTANT ASSISTANCE HE HAD RECEIVED AS DINCOTE CHIEF IN DEVELOPING THE PROGRAM THAT RESULTED IN THE CAPTURE OF SL LEADER GUZMAN AND OTHER TOP FIGURES IN THE TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. CHARGE SAID USG RECOGNIZED THE DANGER THAT MOVEMENTS LIKE SL REPRESENT NOT ONLY FOR PERU BUT FOR THE REGION IN GENERAL. WHILE COMMUNISM AS A WORLD MOVEMENT APPEARS DEAD, THE SOCIAL CRISIS IN MANY LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES REMAINS FERTILE GROUND

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FOR VIOLENT, NIHILIST GROUPS USING MARXIST JARGON: SL COULD, IF SUCCESSFUL, BE A PROTOTYPE FOR SIMILAR GROUPS ELSEWHERE. THEIR ACTIONS IMPEDE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO ADDRESS THE REGION'S

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SOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIUMS. WE WERE HAPPY TO COOPERATE WITH THE SERIOUS EFFORTS OF DINCOTE TO COUNTER SL IN PERU.

"IT WAS LIKE A SLUM"

5. VIDAL DESCRIBED CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICE BEFORE HE TOOK CHARGE OVER ONE YEAR AGO. IT WAS LIKE A SLUM, HE SAID. ASIDE FROM THE TERRIBLE PHYSICAL CONDITIONS, IT WAS ALSO SUNK IN WHOLLY UNPROFESSIONAL PRACTICES. ABUSE OF PRISONERS TO EXTRACT INFORMATION WAS COMMON, BUT POLICE OFFICERS ALSO USED THEIR POSITIONS FOR PERSONAL ENRICHMENT. THE MOST COMMON SCAM WAS TO EXTRACT BRIBES FOR THE RELEASE OF INNOCENT PEOPLE PICKED UP IN RANDOM POLICE/MILITARY SWEEPS. VIDAL SAID HE CONVINCED PRESIDENT FUJIMORI OF THE NEED TO CREATE A PROFESSIONAL ATMOSPHERE AND GOT A COMMITMENT FOR MORE RESOURCES. TOGETHER WITH U.S. ASSISTANCE, THIS PROVED TO BE THE KEY TO CREATING AN EFFECTIVE DINCOTE.

6. VIDAL SAID THAT HE QUICKLY PUT A STOP TO THE ABUSIVE CONDUCT OF DINCOTE OFFICERS SINCE HE VIEWED THIS AS THE BEST RECRUITING MECHANISM SENDERO LUMINOSO HAD. EVERY ABUSED PERSON, HE SAID, RESULTS IN TEN NEW RECRUITS FOR SL.

FUJIMORI AND HUMAN RIGHTS

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7. CHARGE SAID HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT FUJIMORI UNDERSTOOD THIS TRUTH AND WAS APPLYING IT IN PRACTICE. CERTAINLY, FUJIMORI'S DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE WITH US AND HIS PUBLIC SPEECHES REFLECT A CONPREHENSION OF THE DAMAGE

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HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS DO TO A GOVERNMENT'S OVERALL STRATEGY, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN CONTINUING PRACTICES INDICATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH TO ROOT OUT THE BAD PRACTICES OF THE PAST. CHARGE ASKED VIDAL IF HE AGREED WITH THIS.

8. VIDAL SAID HE AGREED THAT FUJIMORI SHOWS A GOOD UNDERSTANDING OF THE THEORY. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, HE IS GOVERNED BY OTHER CONSIDERATIONS. VIDAL SAID THAT FUJIMORI IS ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO DESTROYING SENDERO LUMINOSO AND THE MRTA WITHIN HIS FIVE YEAR TERM AND IS PREPARED TO COUNTENANCE ANY METHODS THAT ACHIEVE THAT GOAL. THE PRESIDENT, HE SAID, IS CONVINCED THAT THE ONLY WAY TO ERADICATE SL IS BY PHYSICALLY ELIMINATING THE MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATION; OVERALL GOVERNMENT COUNTER-TERRORISM POLICY REFLECTS THIS. VIDAL CALLED THIS VIEW MISGUIDED. SENDERO LUMINOSO IS A DEEPLY ROOTED MOVEMENT AND CANNOT BE QUICKLY DEFEATED. IT HAS BEEN BADLY HURT BY THE REVERSES OF THE PAST YEAR, BUT COULD EASILY EVOLVE INTO SOMETHING EQUALLY DANGEROUS, SUCH AS A PURELY TERRORIST ORGANIZATION BASED ON SMALL,

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HARD TO DETECT CELLS. CONSISTENT, LONG TERM
POLICY APPROACHES ARE NEEDED TO ATTACK IT, NOT
QUICK FIXES.

CHANGES IN STATISTICS

9. CHARGE ASKED VIDAL FOR HIS EXPLANATION OF WHY HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES DECLINED NUMERICALLY FROM MID-1991, NOTING THAT MANY BELIEVE THAT THIS CHANGE REFLECTS A CONSCIOUS DECISION ON THE PART OF FUJIMORI. VIDAL SAID THE MAIN REASON IS THAT TERRORIST ACTIVITY BEGAN TO DECLINE IN THIS PERIOD. IN HIS VIEW, SL, THE MAIN SOURCE OF VIOLENCE, SUFFERED THE EFFECTS OF TOO RAPID A GROWTH IN THE LATE 1980'S. FROM A FEW HUNDRED ACTIVISTS IT BALLOONED TO THOUSANDS. COMMAND AND CONTROL CONSEQUENTLY SUFFERED AND THE GROUP LOST A GOOD PART OF ITS STRATEGIC THRUST. ALSO, INTERNAL EVENTS IN SL, SUCH AS THE MYSTERIOUS DEATH OF ABIMAEEL GUZMAN'S WIFE (COMRADE NORAH, THOUGHT BY MANY TO HAVE BEEN KILLED BY GUZMAN).

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AND THE FAMOUS "ZORBA THE GREEK" VIDEO WHICH SHOWED GUZMAN TO BE A LIBERTINE, CREATED DISSENTION THAT UNDERMINED SL'S COHESION AND EFFECTIVENESS. VIDAL CONCEDED THAT INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON HUMAN RIGHTS ALSO LED THE SECURITY FORCES TO EXERCISE GREATER CONTROL TO LIMIT INDESCRIMINATE ABUSES.

MONTESINOS: BLIND AMBITION

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10. VIDAL SEEMED TO THINK HE HAD SAID ENOUGH AND WAS PREPARING TO LEAVE WHEN CHARGE ASKED HIM HOW HE SAW THE ROLE OF VLADIMIRO MONTESINOS, PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S ADVISOR, IN THE COUNTER-TERRORISM PROGRAMS OF THE GOVERNMENT. MONTESINOS IS FUJIMORI'S INTELLIGENCE COORDINATOR.

11. VIDAL SAID HE HAS KNOWN MONTESINOS SINCE ADOLESCENCE. THEY REMAINED IN DISTANT TOUCH OVER THE YEARS THAT MONTESINOS WAS RISING IN THE MILITARY. HE ALWAYS SHOWED A DESIRE TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH POWER, VIDAL SAID, AND IN THE 1970'S WAS CLOSE TO THE TOP MILITARY FIGURES OF THE VELASCO REGIME. "HE WAS CASHIERED FROM THE ARMY FOR REASONS THAT ARE OBSCURE TO ME," VIDAL SAID. MONTESINOS THEN DROPPED OUT OF SIGHT.

12. THE TWO CAME BACK INTO CONTACT IN THE 1980'S AT THE SAN MARCOS UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL. FROM THEN, VIDAL SAID, MONTESINOS WAS FOCUSED ON ONE THING: POWER, BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC. HE WAS INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE, AND ABLE AND BEGAN HIS SUCCESSFUL LAW CAREER TAKING CLIENTS WHO COULD PAY THE MOST. THIS LED HIM TO DRUG TRAFFICKERS WHO ALWAYS PAID WELL. MONTESINOS ALSO CULTIVATED USEFUL POLITICAL CONNECTIONS, WHICH IN THIS PERIOD MEANT AMONG THE APRISTAS

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WHO WERE THEN IN POWER. ONE OF HIS KEY ALLIES WAS A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, HUGO DENEGRI, WHO WAS

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PARTICULARLY USEFUL TO MONTESINOS IN FIXING DRUG CASES IN THE COURTS. (AFTER APRIL 5, FUJIMORI TRIED TO MAKE DENEGRI ATTORNEY GENERAL, BUT WAS FORCED TO BACK OFF DUE TO THE MAN'S POOR REPUTATION.) IN THIS PERIOD, MONTESINOS ALSO REBUILT HIS TIES TO THE MILITARY. ONE OF HIS KEY POINTS OF ENTRY WAS VIA THE DEFENSE OF GENERAL JOSE VALDIVIA DUENAS, THE OFFICER RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CAYARA MASSACRE AND COVER-UP.

13. IN 1990, AS THE GARCIA GOVERNMENT DREW TO A CLOSE, MONTESINOS LOOKED FOR NEW CONNECTIONS. HIS APPROACH TO THE MARIO VARGAS LLOSA CAMP WAS REBUFFED. VARGAS THOUGHT HE WAS A SHOE-IN AND HAD NO NEED FOR MONTESINOS. MONTESINOS THEN HIT ON ALBERTO FUJIMORI, VIA A MUTUAL FRIEND, FRANCISCO LOAYZA. ONCE LOAYZA WAS USED, MONTESINOS GOT RID OF HIM, "IN TYPICAL FASHION," VIDAL SAID, MAKING A GESTURE LIKE FLICKING AWAY A CIGARETTE BUTT.

14. FUJIMORI NEVER IMAGINED -- OR PLANNED FOR -- THE HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY THAT FELL TO HIM IN 1990, VIDAL SAID. HE WAS TOTALLY UNPREPARED IN TERMS OF A NATIONAL POLICY OR POLITICAL BASE TO CARRY ONE OUT. CAMBIO-90, HIS PARTY, WAS THROWN TOGETHER OVERNIGHT AND HAD NO CONSISTENCY. ENTER MONTESINOS. ACCORDING TO VIDAL,

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MONTESINOS OFFERED FUJIMORI THE ARMY AS HIS POLITICAL BASE. THAT, HE SAID, HAS BEEN THE STORY OF THE FUJIMORI GOVERNMENT.

15. VIDAL DESCRIBED MONTESINOS AS A CLEVER AND ABLE MAN WITH MANY IDEAS, BUT NO STRATEGIC CONCEPTION. HE IS ACTION ORIENTED, WANTS TO GET THINGS DONE QUICKLY. IN THIS, HE AND FUJIMORI ARE NEARLY IDENTICAL. IN ADDRESSING THE SENDERO PROBLEM, THE THROW IDEAS AT IT WITHOUT THINKING THROUGH THE CONSEQUENCES OR A STRATEGIC SCOPE. AS AN INTELLIGENCE PROFESSIONAL, VIDAL CLEARLY DID NOT HAVE A HIGH OPINION OF THE MORE POLITICALLY GEARED FUJIMORI/MONTESINOS TEAM.

16. ANOTHER KEY ELEMENT OF MONTESINOS, VIDAL SAID, IS HIS EXTREME JEALOUSLY OF HIS

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RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESIDENT. HE WANTS NO OTHER PERSON TO ENJOY THE ACCESS HE HAS AND SYSTEMATICALLY BARS CONTENDERS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S THINKING PROCESSES FROM CONTACT WITH HIM. VIDAL SAW THIS AS HIGHLY DANGEROUS, MAINLY BECAUSE FUJIMORI HAS ALLOWED MONTESINOS TO DO IT. THE REGIME, IN VIDAL'S VIEW, IS THUS LOCKED INTO THE VERY SHORT TERM POLITICAL CALCULATIONS AND MAKE-SHIFT POLICY IDEAS THAT THE TWO OF THEM DEVELOP. VIDAL MADE NO MENTION OF THE ROLE OF SANTIAGO FUJIMORI, THE PRESIDENT'S BROTHER AND OTHER INTIMATE ADVISOR.

17. CHARGE ASKED VIDAL IF HE THOUGHT MONTESINOS
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STILL MAINTAINED HIS CONTACTS WITH DRUG FIGURES.
VIDAL DOUBTED IT. MONTESINOS NO LONGER NEEDED THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES THAT HIS DRUG CONNECTIONS BROUGHT HIM IN HIS LAW PRACTICE.

BARRIOS ALTOS

18. CHARGE SAID THAT MANY PEOPLE HAVE LINKED MONTESINOS TO THE BARRIOS ALTOS MASSACRE IN NOVEMBER 1991. RECALLING THE EARLIER DISCUSSION OF PRESIDENT FUJIMORI'S REAL VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, CHARGE ASKED VIDAL WHAT WAS THE MEANING OF BARRIOS ALTOS AND WHETHER MONTESINOS HAD A CONNECTION TO IT. "THAT IS A VERY SENSITIVE ISSUE," VIDAL SAID SEVERAL TIMES. "I WON'T CONFIRM OR DENY ANYTHING ABOUT IT. PERHAPS IT CAN BE DISCUSSED AT SOME OTHER TIME."

FUTURE COOPERATION

19. CHARGE ASKED VIDAL HOW HE VIEWED HIS NEW JOB AS INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL POLICE. HE SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOMETHING OF IT, BUT HE IS VIRTUALLY WITHOUT RESOURCES. THERE IS MUCH TO BE DONE. CHARGE ASKED IF THIS POSITION COULD BE USED TO INVESTIGATE CASES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE OR DRUG CORRUPTION. VIDAL SAID THAT HIS LEGAL MANDATE COVERED ANYTHING DONE BY THE POLICE; HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO DEAL WITH THESE

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ISSUES IF HE HAD THE WHEREWITHALL. NO ONE IS ADDRESSING THEM SERIOUSLY. THERE IS AN PNP OFFICE THAT IS SUPPOSED TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE, BUT IT DOES NOTHING. CHARGE SAID THAT THESE WERE ISSUES OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH PERU; WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING POSSIBLE WAYS TO USE THE INSPECTORATE. VIDAL WELCOMED THIS. CHARGE SUGGESTED WE ARRANGE AN ORIENTATION TRIP TO THE U.S. FOR VIDAL TO CALL ON INSPECTORS IN U.S. GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS AND IN VARIOUS POLICE ORGANIZATIONS AROUND THE COUNTRY. CHARGE ALSO MENTIONED CITIZEN REVIEW BOARDS FOR POLICE FORCES AS A POSSIBLE POINT OF CONTACT. VIDAL WAS INTRIGUED BY THIS IDEA AS A WAY TO MAKE POLICE FORCES MORE EFFECTIVE SERVANTS OF THE PUBLIC.

20. COMMENT: VIDAL, A SERIOUS PROFESSIONAL WHOSE LEADERSHIP QUALITIES LED TO THE GOVERNMENT'S SPECTACULAR CAPTURE OF SENDERO LUMINOSO LEADERSHIP, ALSO SEEMS TO BE A PATRIOT. HE COMES ACROSS AS SINCERE AND LACKING IN PERSONAL AMBITION, RARE AS THESE QUALITIES ARE IN PERU. HIS VIEWS ON FUJIMORI AND MONTESINOS MAY REFLECT HIS UNHAPPINESS AT HAVING BEEN, IN ESSENCE, DISMISSED FROM DINCOTE. MANY PERUVIANS ATTRIBUTE HIS MOVE TO THE NON-JOB AS PNP INSPECTOR TO HIGH LEVEL JEALOUSY OF HIS POPULARITY AND UNHAPPINESS AT HIS INSISTENCE ON HIGH PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS. HE HAS BEEN USEFUL

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TO US IN THE PAST BECAUSE OF HIS QUALITIES. A FUTURE ROLE, WORKING ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND NARCOTICS AGENDAS, COULD BE EQUALLY USEFUL.

BRAYSHAW## UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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