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EXCISE

P 101348Z MAY 91
 FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8951
 INFO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
 AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA
 AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
 AMEMBASSY MANAGUA
 AMEMBASSY MEXICO
 AMEMBASSY MADRID
 DEPTJUSTICE WASHDC
 USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 4436
 USMISSION GENEVA 2123
 AMCONSUL NAPLES
 DIA WASHDC

DEPARTMENT OF STATE INT/SEC/IR *JA* Date: *1/14/98*
 RELEASE DECLASSIFY
 EXCISE DECLASSIFY EO Citations
 DENY IN PART

FOIA Exemptions *B6* TS authority to
 PA Exemptions CLASSIFY as S or C Sec.
 DOWNGRADE TS to S or C

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JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
 CINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PHUM, PINS, PTER, PGOV, MOPS, MARR, GT
 SUBJECT: SELECTIVE VIOLENCE PARALYZES THE LEFT

REF: (A) GUATEMALA 4334 (B) GUATEMALA 3992
 (C) GUATEMALA 3818 (D) GUATEMALA 3628 (E) GUATEMALA 3354
 (ALL NOTAL)

1. ~~SECRET~~ -- ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. WHILE THE TOPIC OF "SELECTIVE VIOLENCE" IS CERTAINLY NOT A NEW ONE HERE. IN RECENT WEEKS WE HAVE BEEN HEARING WITH INCREASING INSISTENCE FROM POLITICIANS, LABOR LEADERS, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, AND EVEN THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN THAT THERE IS A GROWING CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE UNDERWAY CONDUCTED EITHER BY THE GOG OR ELEMENTS WITHIN IT. AS SO OFTEN HAPPENS, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PROVE OR DISPROVE SUCH ASSERTIONS. NEVERTHELESS, THERE HAVE BEEN CERTAIN ACTS OVER THE PAST YEAR OR SO, UNDER BOTH THE CEREZO AND THE SERRANO ADMINISTRATIONS, THAT COULD WELL BE EXAMPLES OF "SELECTIVE VIOLENCE" AIMED AGAINST PERSONS FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THIS MESSAGE TAKES A GENERAL LOOK AT THE TOPIC OF "SELECTIVE VIOLENCE" IN GUATEMALA, AND EXAMINES, IN DETAIL, THE RECENT KILLING OF DINORA PEREZ AND ITS IMPACT ON GUATEMALA'S TINY LEGAL LEFT; WHILE THERE IS NO "PROOF" OF WHO KILLED HER, SHE SEEMS THE STEREOTYPICAL VICTIM OF SELECTIVE VIOLENCE AGAINST THE LEFT.

SELECTIVE VIOLENCE

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3. AS GENERALLY USED HERE, THE TERM REFERS TO THE TARGETING OF INDIVIDUALS WHOSE DEATH, PERMANENT DISAPPEARANCE, OR EXILE WOULD HAVE A "CHILLING" EFFECT ON OTHERS INVOLVED IN SOME POLITICAL ACTIVITY NOT CONDONED BY THE PERPETRATORS OF THE VIOLENCE. AMONG SOME OF THE MORE VISIBLE RECENT EXAMPLES OF SELECTIVE VIOLENCE, WE SEE THE FOLLOWING: THE FEBRUARY 1990 KIDNAPING OF LEFTIST PEDIATRICIAN CARMEN VALENZUELA (EVENTUALLY RELEASED AND FLED GUATEMALA); THE BRUTAL MURDER LAST SEPTEMBER OF LEFTIST ANTHROPOLOGIST MYRNA MACK CHANG; AND THE OCTOBER ASSASSINATION OF JOURNALIST AND LEFTIST POLITICIAN HUMBERTO GONZALEZ GAMARRA AND THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION THE SAME MONTH OF JOURNALIST BYRON BARRERA (HIS WIFE DIED IN THE ATTEMPT; HE WAS BADLY WOUNDED AND LEFT GUATEMALA). IN ADDITION TO THESE VICTIMS, OF COURSE, THERE ARE MANY MEMBERS OF CERJ AND GAM, PARTICULARLY IN RURAL AREAS, WHO HAVE FALLEN VICTIM TO "SELECTIVE VIOLENCE." THE MURDER LAST MONTH OF LEFTIST DINORA PEREZ (REF A) COULD ALSO FORM PART OF THE WAR AGAINST THOSE SUSPECTED OF BEING OUTRIGHT GUERRILLA SYMPATHIZERS OR "USEFUL IDIOTS" WHO COULD IN SOME WAY

FURTHER GUERRILLA AIMS.

4. IN EACH CASE, THE VICTIM WAS NOT PARTICULARLY WELL-KNOWN OUTSIDE OF HIS OR HER CIRCLE OF IMMEDIATE ASSOCIATES; THE VICTIMS WERE NOT PERSONS GENERALLY CONSIDERED IMPORTANT OR INFLUENTIAL IN SOCIETY AT LARGE. SOME, SUCH AS GONZALEZ AND BARRERA, HAD BEEN FAIRLY ACTIVE POLITICALLY IN THE PAST, BUT WERE NO LONGER MAJOR PLAYERS. IN NONE OF THE CASES LISTED ABOVE

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HAD THE VICTIM RECENTLY RECEIVED THREATS, I.E., THERE WAS NO WARNING OF IMPENDING VIOLENCE.

5. WHY WERE THEY SELECTED? THAT THE VICTIMS ARE GENERALLY UNKNOWN IN WIDER SOCIETY MEANS A MORE MUTED REACTION BOTH LOCALLY AND ABROAD; IT MAKES THE QUESTION "WHY?" MORE DIFFICULT TO ANSWER AND MANY NON-POLITICAL EXPLANATIONS, E.G., COMMON CRIME, CAN PLAUSIBLY BE PUT FORWARD TO EXPLAIN THE VICTIMIZATION OF A RELATIVELY ANONYMOUS PERSON. WHILE THE VICTIMS ARE NOT FIGURES OF WIDE RENOWN, THEY ARE WELL KNOWN WITHIN THE SMALL GROUPS COMPRISING THE LEFT. THE BOLT-FROM-THE-BLUE STRIKE AGAINST ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS CAUSES A RIPPLE OF TERROR

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P 101348Z MAY 91
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 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 4437
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JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
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TO GO THROUGH THOSE GROUPS (*HE WASN'T EVEN THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE IN OUR GROUP; IF THEY ARE WILLING TO GET HIM, NOBODY IS SAFE|*) FORCING MANY MEMBERS INTO HIDING OR EXILE OR AT LEAST INTO ABANDONING WHATEVER IMMEDIATE PROJECT THE GROUP HAD. THIS IS PARTICULARLY SO IN THE CASES OF THOSE GROUPS WITH LITTLE IN THE WAY OF INTERNATIONAL LINKS OR SUPPORT. IN THE CASES OF BOTH GONZALEZ AND PEREZ, FOR EXAMPLE, THEIR DEATHS FORCED THE CANCELLATION OF PLANS TO REGISTER LEFTIST GROUPS (THE URD AND THE GU, RESPECTIVELY) AS POLITICAL PARTIES.

6. WHO GETS TARGETED? IT IS A SIMPLIFICATION TO ARGUE

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GROUPS OR PERSONS ARE SELECTED ONLY BECAUSE THEY ADVOCATE HUMAN RIGHTS, SEEK TO PROMOTE LABOR ORGANIZATION, OR SOME SIMILAR SOCIAL CHANGE. WITHOUT DOUBT, PERSONS GET KILLED FOR SUCH ACTIVITIES. BUT THE SORT OF VIOLENCE WE ARE DISCUSSING HERE, VIOLENCE CARRIED OUT BY ORGANS OF THE STATE OR PERSONS WITHIN THE SECURITY APPARATUS, IS DIRECTED AT GROUPS AND PERSONS THOUGHT SUPPORTING THE INSURGENCY IN SOME WAY, INCLUDING HAVING THEIR ACTIVITIES OR PROPOSED ACTIVITIES, E.G., REGISTERING A POLITICAL PARTY, EXPLOITED BY THE GUERRILLAS. THE CONCERN WITHIN THE SECURITY FORCES OVER "EXPLOITATION" OF THE LEGAL LEFT BY THE URNG WILL RISE AS PEACE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE, PARTICULARLY IF AN ACCORD ALLOWS THE INTEGRATION OF THE GUERRILLAS INTO

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SOCIETY (REF B).

7. WHO ORDERS AND CARRIES OUT THE HITS? IT IS VERY TOUGH TO ANSWER THIS WITH CERTAINTY. BASED ON OBSERVATIONS AND NUMEROUS CONTACTS WE HAVE MADE OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, INCLUDING WITH MEMBERS OF A "DEATH SQUAD," WE CONCLUDE THAT THE SORT OF HIT DISCUSSED HERE IS CARRIED OUT OR DIRECTED BY INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES, OFTEN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE (D-2) BUT ALSO OTHERS FROM PRESIDENTIAL SECURITY, ZONE COMMANDS, AND OCCASIONALLY THE CIVILIAN POLICE FORCES. HOW HIGH UP THE ORDERS COME FROM PROBABLY DEPENDS ON THE PARTICULAR CASE AND THE PEOPLE IN SENIOR POSITIONS IN THE SECURITY FORCES. MANY OF THE RURAL HITS ON CERJ ACTIVISTS FOR EXAMPLE ARE PROBABLY DECIDED AT A LOW LEVEL--EVEN AT THE CIVIL PATROL OR MILITARY COMMISSIONER RANK. IN SOME CASES, HOWEVER, RURAL ACTIVISTS SUSPECTED OF INVOLVEMENT IN GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES HAVE BEEN PICKED UP AND "DISAPPEARED" BY REGULAR ARMY UNITS (E.G., THE SAMUEL DE LA CRUZ DISAPPEARANCE OF 1990) RESPONDING TO ORDERS FROM THE ZONE COMMAND OR A DETACHMENT COMMANDER.

8. RURAL AREAS ARE ALSO SUBJECT TO "SELECTIVE VIOLENCE" BY GUERRILLAS: CIVIL PATROLLERS, MILITARY COMMISSIONERS, AND ORDINARY CAMPESINOS SUSPECTED OF PROVIDING INFORMATION TO THE ARMY HAVE SUFFERED DISAPPEARANCE, TORTURE, AND MURDER AT THE HANDS OF GUERRILLAS. THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN, IN FACT, HAS

ACCUSED THE LEFTIST GUERRILLAS OF ENGAGING IN DEATH SQUAD ACTIVITY.

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9. THE MORE NOTICED HITS IN THE CITY, DEMANDING FAIRLY SOPHISTICATED SURVEILLANCE, CARS, MOTORCYCLES, RADIOS, AND SAFE HOUSES (SUCH AS IN THE VALENZUELA KIDNAPING), ARE PROBABLY DECIDED AND ORGANIZED AT A MORE SENIOR LEVEL. THESE DEATH SQUADS SEEM MADE OF SECURITY PERSONNEL WHO OFTEN DO NOT KNOW THE REASON FOR THE KILLING/KIDNAPING THEY ARE TO UNDERTAKE OR FROM EXACTLY WHERE THEIR ORDERS CAME. "DEATH SQUAD" PERSONNEL MIGHT OFTEN NOT APPEAR ON THE OFFICIAL ROSTERS OF THE SECURITY SERVICES AND DO NOT REPORT FOR DUTY TO OFFICIAL INSTALLATIONS; THEY WAIT AT HOME FOR ORDERS, USUALLY VIA THE PHONE, OR AT TIMES ARE PICKED UP WITHOUT PRIOR NOTICE TO PERFORM A JOB. THEY OPERATE IN CELLS SO IT IS DIFFICULT TO TRACE ORDERS UP THE HIERARCHY. OFTEN, AS

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JUSTICE FOR ICITAP
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WAS PROBABLY DONE IN THE MYRNA MACK STABBING, STREET
THUGS ARE HIRED TO DO THE ACTUAL DEED. THERE IS NO
EVIDENCE THAT THE GUERRILLAS TODAY HAVE THE CAPABILITY
TO ACT SO OPENLY IN URBAN AREAS.

A CLASSIC HIT: DINORA PEREZ

10. AS PER REF A, PEREZ (29) WAS SHOT TO DEATH IN THE
DRIVEWAY OF HER HOME IN GUATEMALA CITY IN THE EVENING OF
APRIL 29. SHE WAS SHOT THREE TIMES AT POINT-BLANK
RANGE: STOMACH, THORAX, HEAD. DESPITE AN INITIAL
POLICE REPORT WHICH SOUGHT TO ATTRIBUTE THE CRIME TO
COMMON CRIME, WITNESSES REPORT NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO
STEAL HER CAR OR ANY OTHER ITEM. HER TWO ASSAILANTS
CALMLY RODE OFF ON A SMALL MOTORCYCLE. FRIENDS AND
ASSOCIATES, INCLUDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN

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HIMSELF. TELL US THAT TO THEIR KNOWLEDGE SHE HAD NEVER RECEIVED ANY THREATS PRIOR TO HER DEATH.

11. PEREZ WAS ACTIVE IN STUDENT POLITICS AT SAN CARLOS UNIVERSITY (USAC). AFTER LEAVING USAC SOME EIGHT YEARS AGO, SHE WORKED AT THE BANCO DE OCCIDENTE WHERE SHE BECAME A LEADER IN ITS UNION. SHE WAS INVITED TO SAN JOSE FOR A MEETING WHICH LED TO THE FOUNDING OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC CGTG, BUT TURNED DOWN THE INVITATION BECAUSE HER FATHER WARNED HER ACTIVITY *WOULD

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GET THE WHOLE FAMILY KILLED." ACCORDING TO THOSE WHO KNEW HER DURING THIS TIME, SHE ADOPTED *EMOTIONAL AND EXTREME* RHETORIC AND POSITIONS. SHE LEFT THE UNION AND RESIGNED FROM THE BANK TO ORGANIZE A LABOR MOVEMENT FOR MARIO SOLORZANO WHO WAS THEN DIRECTING THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FROM EXILE IN COSTA RICA. SHE ATTEMPTED TO HOOK UP WITH MODERATE LABOR LEADERS IN CUSG FOR THE 1985 ELECTIONS, BUT THEY, TOO, SIDELINED HER AS TOO EMOTIONAL.

12. WHEN SOLORZANO RETURNED TO GUATEMALA, SHE JOINED LUIS ZURITA, A LEFTIST CHEMISTRY PROFESSOR AT USAC, IN A SPLIT WITH THE PARTY AS SOLORZANO WAS "TOO CAUTIOUS." ZURITA, SLIGHTLY OLDER THAN PEREZ HAD BEEN A MEMBER OF THE FUR PARTY (WHICH VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED IN THE LATE 1970'S AFTER THE MURDER OF ITS FOUNDER COLOM ARGUETA), SET UP A COMBINATION THINK TANK AND SOCIAL ACTIVIST FOUNDATION, FUNDAGUA, WITH SWEDISH MONEY. PEREZ WENT TO WORK AT FUNDAGUA, WHICH, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE GUATEMALA PRESS ASSOCIATION (APG), HAD SPONSORED A SERIES OF PANEL DISCUSSIONS ON THE PEACE PROCESS IN GUATEMALA TO WHICH LABOR LEADERS, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, ECONOMISTS, AND CONGRESSMEN WERE INVITED (PEREZ MODERATED SUCH A SEMINAR, WHICH EMBOFF ATTENDED, THE WEEK BEFORE HER DEATH). PEREZ ALSO WORKED AS A DIRECTOR OF THE FUNDAGUA-BACKED "MARIA CHINCHILLA" INSTITUTE (THE SAME ONE FOR WHICH DR. VALENZUELA WORKED) WHICH ENGAGES IN EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING ACTIVITIES OF VARIOUS SORTS IN INDIGENOUS AREAS, INCLUDING IN SOME CONFLICTIVE AREAS. AT THE TIME OF HER DEATH, SHE WAS TEACHING INDIAN WOMEN BASICS OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

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13. ALONG WITH ZURITA, PEREZ AND OTHERS (INCLUDING THE ALSO MURDERED GONZALEZ GAMARRA AND THE ALMOST MURDERED BYRON BARRERA), HELPED FORM "CONVERGENCIA DEMOCRATICA." THE CD WAS A LOOSE ALLIANCE OF GUATEMALA'S DEMOCRATIC LEFT WHICH DECIDED, RELUCTANTLY, TO BACK THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT (DCG) ALFONSO CABRERA. PEREZ WAS A DCG CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE ON THE NATIONAL LIST, BUT DID NOT GET ELECTED.

14. ZURITA, PEREZ, AND OTHER LEFTISTS, INCLUDING FORMER DCG VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE MARCO VILLAMAR CONTRERAS AND DCG CONGRESSMAN AND CONTROVERSIAL PRIEST ANDRES GIRON, HAD RECENTLY DECIDED TO CREATE A NEW LEFT-OF-CENTER POLITICAL PARTY ("GUATEMALA UNIDA") TO

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INCLUDE ELDERLY "HISTORIC" RADICALS FROM THE OCTOBER 1944 REVOLUTION AND MIDDLE AGE LEFTISTS FROM THE OLD FUR, THE DCG, AND THE NEARLY DEFUNCT PSD. GU HOPED TO DRAW ON A NEW GENERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, LABOR AND RURAL ACTIVISTS. ZURITA WAS TO BEGIN THE REGISTRATION PROCESS FOR THE PARTY ON MAY 15.

15. AS MENTIONED (PARA 5), THE DEATH OF PEREZ ENDED PLANS TO REGISTER GU AS A PARTY. FURTHER GENERATING FEAR AMONG THE LEFT WAS THE STILL UNEXPLAINED MURDER OF ACTIVE DUTY GENERAL ANACLETO MAZA ON MAY 2. FOR THESE LEFTISTS, THE DEATH SO SOON AFTER PEREZ'S COULD MEAN ONLY ONE THING: A RETURN TO THE TIT-FOR-TAT TERROR OF PREVIOUS YEARS (COMMENT: IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT GUERRILLAS CARRIED OUT MAZA'S MURDER). ZURITA AND HIS FAMILY OPTED FOR ASYLUM IN CANADA. SIX OF HIS CLOSE ASSOCIATES CAME TO US IN PANIC SEEKING NIVS (WHICH WE ISSUED GIVEN THE IMMEDIATE DANGER THEY FACE) AND NOW ALSO SEEK ASYLUM IN CANADA. OTHERS, SUCH AS FATHER GIRON AND VILLAMAR CONTRERAS, HAVE DISTANCED THEMSELVES FROM THE GU PROJECT. FUNDAGUA, FACING AN

UNCERTAIN FUTURE. CANCELED ITS FORUMS AND SEMINARS. PEREZ'S DEATH HAS EFFECTIVELY SHUT DOWN AN EFFORT BY THE LEFT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. HERS WAS A CLASSIC HIT.

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THE SERRANO ADMINISTRATION'S REACTION

16. [] TOLD US THAT AT THE FUNERAL OF PEREZ, ALFONSO CABRERA APPROACHED ZURITA AND TOLD HIM, "I AM SORRY BUT I HAVE A MESSAGE FOR YOU FROM MINISTER OF DEFENSE MENDOZA. HE SEES YOU AND YOUR GROUP AS THE BEACHHEAD FOR THE URNG." ZURITA, WORKING THROUGH HIS OLD FRIEND MINISTER OF LABOR SOLORZANO, URGENTLY SOUGHT AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT OR MENDOZA BUT FAILED TO GET ONE. CLEARLY TERRIFIED BY THE GOG'S APPARENT INDIFFERENCE, ZURITA AND HIS ASSOCIATES DECIDED AGAINST GIVING THE PEREZ KILLING EXCESSIVE PUBLICITY AND DECIDED TO FLEE ABROAD, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY.

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17. IN A LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS ON MAY 6, [] SAID HE IS NOT SURPRISED. HE RECENTLY RECEIVED A CALL FROM PRESIDENTIAL SPOKESMAN AND RIOS MONT BACKER GONZALO ASTURIAS (IRONICALLY, A FIRST COUSIN OF ORPA GUERRILLA LEADER RODRIGO "GASPAR ILOM" ASTURIAS) SAYING THE PRESIDENT THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT [] TO MEET THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE TO CONVINCHE HIM THE OFFICE [] IS NOT "PLAYING THE GUERRILLAS' GAME." [] SAID TO EMBOFFS, "IF THEY CAN THINK I AM A GUERRILLA, IMAGINE WHAT THEY MUST THINK ABOUT ZURITA." [] HAS NO DOUBTS PEREZ'S KILLING WAS CARRIED OUT BY PERSONS WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES AS PART OF PLAN TO DISASSEMBLE THE LEGAL LEFT. [] HOPES THAT WITH THE ENTRANCE ON DUTY OF NEW MINISTER OF INTERIOR HURTADO PREM, THERE WILL BE SOME PROGRESS ON THE PEREZ KILLING AND OTHERS, BUT WONDERS HOW MUCH SUPPORT HURTADO WILL HAVE FROM THE PRESIDENT.

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COMMENT:

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18. WITHOUT DOUBT, HUMAN RIGHTS IS THE MAJOR ISSUE WITH THIS GOVERNMENT. THUS FAR, ITS PERFORMANCE IS MIXED. ON ONE HAND, SERRANO HAS GIVEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ASSURANCES THAT THE IMPUNITY ENJOYED IN PREVIOUS YEARS BY HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS IS OVER. HE HAS BEGUN TO ASSERT CONTROL OVER THE ARMY. HIS GOVERNMENT HAS PROSECUTED POLICEMEN FOR KILLING STREET CHILDREN. HE HAS UNDERTAKEN AN AGGRESSIVE APPROACH TO THE PEACE PROCESS IN HOPES OF ENDING THE 30 YEAR WAR THAT SERVES AS THE EXCUSE FOR THE MAJORITY OF THE SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HE HAS PUSHED THE MILITARY ON THE CASE OF THE MU
RDER OF AMCIT MICHAEL DEVINE. HE HAS

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NAMED A RESPECTED CIVILIAN HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERT AS HIS
NEW INTERIOR MINISTER--ALL STEPS TO BE APPLAUDED.

19. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE HAS FAILED TO END "SELECTIVE VIOLENCE" AND TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE SECURITY FORCES THAT HE WILL NOT TOLERATE SUCH ACTIVITY. IN FACT, IT IS NOT CLEAR THE PRESIDENT OPENLY OPPOSES ACTIONS AGAINST THE LEFT, PARTICULARLY WHILE THERE IS A WAR ON. HE SEEMS AMBIGUOUS ON THIS TOPIC, AN AMBIGUITY THAT FUELS SUCH VIOLENCE. HE CLEARLY HAS DONE REMARKABLY WELL IN GETTING THE MILITARY TO ABANDON ITS LONG-STANDING OPPOSITION TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH ARMED GUERRILLAS. THERE IS MORE OF A CHANCE FOR A PEACE ACCORD TODAY THAN AT ANY OTHER TIME IN THE PAST THIRTY YEARS. HOWEVER, PART OF THE COST FOR SUCH ACTION MIGHT BE THE TOLERANCE OF A COVERT WAR AIMED AT DENYING THE LEFT A CHANCE FOR POWER IN PEACE THAT IT NEVER COULD GET IN WAR.

20. WE CONCLUDE, GIVEN THE IDEOLOGICAL BENT OF THE PRESIDENT AND MOST OF THOSE CLOSEST TO HIM, THAT THE CURRENT GOG MAY LOOK WITH BENIGN UPON EFFORTS PHYSICALLY TO ELIMINATE THE LEFT AS A REMOTELY POTENTIAL RIVAL TO POWER. AS PER REF B, THEREFORE, WE WONDER HOW GENUINE A PEACE WILL FOLLOW THE SIGNING OF ANY PEACE ACCORD.
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