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1. IN MID-OCTOBER 1989,

SAID THAT THE ARMY VIEWS THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN GUATEMALA WITH CONCERN, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE UPCOMING HUMAN RIGHTS MEETINGS IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND. HE ADDED THAT SENIOR LEVELS OF THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY ARE WELL AWARE OF THE THREAT TO THE MILITARY AS AN INSTITUTION SHOULD ACCUSATIONS OF ITS COMPLICITY IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS MOUNT.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING BY THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS CONDUCTED IN THE OFFICE OF NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE OF THE D-2. IN ADDITION TO AN OFFICER-IN-CHARGE, WHO ALSO HAS OTHER DUTIES, TWO ENLISTED SPECIALISTS WORK FULL-TIME INVESTIGATING ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE D-2 WAS DOING THE MOST PROFESSIONAL AND THOROUGH WORK ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN GUATEMALA, LARGELY BECAUSE THE ARMY SEES THE ISSUE AS VITAL TO ITS PRESTIGE AND POLITICAL POSITION. THE INFORMATION COLLECTED BY THE D-2 ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IS PREPARED TO BE USED IN THE REBUTTAL OF SPECIFIC CHARGES, SUCH AS

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THOSE THAT MAY BE RAISED IN THE GENEVA TALKS. WHENEVER POSSIBLE, THE D-2 LOCATES THE ALLEGED VICTIMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS (WHO ARE OFTEN VERY MUCH ALIVE) AND ENSURES THAT OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS INVESTIGATORS CAN QUICKLY AND EASILY LOCATE THEM TO DISPROVE ALLEGATIONS WHICH INVOLVED THE ALLEGED VICTIMS.

3. [REDACTED]

4. [REDACTED] SAID THAT THE D-2 IS NOW INVESTIGATING ABOUT 550 CASES OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. OF THESE, ALL BUT 100 HAVE BEEN RESOLVED AND PROVEN TO BE UNRELATED TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE. MOST OF THE CASES ARE TEENAGE RUNAWAYS, HUSBANDS WHO HAVE DESERTED THEIR WIVES, VICTIMS OF COMMON CRIME, EMBEZZLERS AND THE LIKE. PERSONS WHO HAVE ILLEGALLY IMMIGRATED TO THE UNITED STATES ARE OFTEN ALLEGED TO HAVE "DISAPPEARED," AS WELL AS THOSE WHO HAVE JOINED GUERRILLA UNITS IN GUATEMALA. IN MOST CASES WHERE THE ALLEGED VICTIM IS STILL ALIVE, HE OR SHE HAS AGREED TO MAKE STATEMENTS REGARDING THE REAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE CASE. OF THE 100 UNRESOLVED CASES, [REDACTED] ESTIMATED THAT 75 OF THEM WOULD PROVE TO BE SIMILAR TO THE ABOVE, VICTIMS OF ORDINARY CRIME OR PERSONS WHO ARE STILL ALIVE AND WHO HAVE NOT "DISAPPEARED." APPROXIMATELY 25 CASES ARE POLITICALLY RELATED, WITH THE SUSPECTED PERPETRATORS DIVIDED BETWEEN LEFT AND RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS. OF THESE, THE ALLEGED VICTIMS ARE ALMOST CERTAINLY DEAD, ALTHOUGH BODIES HAVE NOT BEEN FOUND IN ALL CASES.

5. [REDACTED] SAID THAT LEFTIST HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS ARE ACTIVELY ENCOURAGING POOR RURAL AND URBAN GUATEMALANS TO IMMEDIATELY DENOUNCE THE UNEXPLAINED DISAPPEARANCE OF RELATIVES AS POLITICALLY-RELATED, EVEN WHEN IT IS FAIRLY OBVIOUS THAT THERE IS A LESS SINISTER EXPLANATION FOR THEIR ABSENCE. ONE SUCCESSFUL PLOY IS TO OFFER HELP IN ILLEGALLY IMMIGRATING TO THE U.S. IN EXCHANGE FOR COOPERATING IN MAKING HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLAINTS. PEOPLE HAVE ALSO BEEN OFFERED TRIPS TO PARIS OR GENEVA TO TESTIFY ON HUMAN RIGHTS CASES, AFTER COACHING BY THE HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED.

6. [REDACTED] COMMENT: THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE HAS BECOME A GAME, PLAYED STRICTLY FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. IN THE MIDST OF THIS, THE SERIOUS WORK OF INVESTIGATING ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS HAS TAKEN A BACK SEAT. EVERYONE INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES KNOWS THAT THE NUMBER OF GENUINE CASES IS FAR SMALLER THAN WHAT ONE WOULD THINK FROM READING THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PRESS. REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, THE POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE RULED OUT, BUT THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF OFFICIAL MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN ANY OF THE 25 OR SO CASES ACTIVELY UNDER INVESTIGATION

AS BEING GENUINE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS.) (COMMENT: SOME OF THESE REMARKS

MAY THUS BE SOMEWHAT SELF-SERVING.) (EMBASSY COMMENT: UNDER COVER OF "SIPROCI," THE D-2 SENT A REPORT TO THE CONGRESS LAST AUGUST DEALING WITH 83 OF THE 222 CASES OF DISAPPEARANCE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CLAIMS TOOK PLACE IN THE PERIOD JANUARY 1986 - JUNE 1989. IT FOUND THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE 83 CASES INVESTIGATED WERE EITHER FALSE REPORTS OR HAD BEEN RESOLVED SOME TIME BACK. D-2 INVESTIGATORS PROVIDED DETAILED INFORMATION ON HOW OTHER INVESTIGATORS COULD LOCATE SOME OF THE ALLEGED "DISAPPEARED." THE GOG PROMISED TO INVESTIGATE THE REMAINING CASES.

THE 550 CASES REFERRED TO IN THIS REPORT ARE PROBABLY THOSE THAT THE OFFICE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN HAS IN ITS COMPUTER AS UNRESOLVED DISAPPEARANCES. THE OMBUDSMAN'S OFFICE IS CURRENTLY "CLEANING UP" THE LIST: E.G., REMOVING THOSE NAMES OF PERSONS KNOWN DEAD OR WIDELY PRESUMED SO, PERSONS WHO HAVE REAPPEARED EITHER HERE OR ABROAD. THE OFFICE HAS PROMISED US A "CLEAN" LIST.

THIS REPORT ACCURATELY STATES THAT SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS VIEW GUATEMALA'S HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE WITH CONCERN. THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND THOSE AROUND HIM REALIZE THAT A BAD HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE INCREASES CHANCES THAT THE GOG, AND IN PARTICULAR THE MILITARY, WILL AGAIN FACE INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION, A DISRUPTION OF ASSISTANCE FLOWS, AND POSSIBLY EVEN A SUSPENSION OF MILITARY-RELATED SALES AND TRAINING FROM THE U.S. THESE ACTIONS WOULD, AGAIN, FORCE THE ARMY TO SEEK NON-TRADITIONAL SOURCES OF SUPPLIES AND TRAINING, PAY INFLATED PRICES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS MARKET, AND INCREASE THE RESPECTABILITY OF AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE ARMED GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS. ON A MORE IMMEDIATE AND PERSONAL LEVEL, THERE WOULD BE A GROWTH IN ALREADY SIGNIFICANT RIGHT-WING PRESSURE ON OFFICIALS, INCLUDING THE DEFENSE MINISTER, WHO HAVE INVESTED CONSIDERABLE TIME, EFFORT, AND PRESTIGE IN REESTABLISHING THE MILITARY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. AND IN REFURBISHING GUATEMALA'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE.

ACCORDING TO CONGRESSIONAL DEPUTY GARCIA RODAS, THE MILITARY, UNDER GRAMAJO, IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPROVED INSTITUTION IN GUATEMALA IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS. GRAMAJO HAS, ACCORDING TO GARCIA, GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION. WE ARE PUZZLED BY THE NEGATIVE COMMENTS ABOUT MAYORA DAWE; HE IS POLITICALLY CONSERVATIVE AND DESPITE BELONGING TO AN OPPOSITION PARTY (CAN), HAS IN INTERNATIONAL FORA DEFENDED THE GOG'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND CRITICIZED THE GUERRILLAS IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HE IS, HOWEVER, CRITICAL OF THE ARMY'S HISTORICAL ROLE IN GUATEMALA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL REPRESSION IN THE PAST. AGAIN, THE REPORT IS ACCURATE IN DEPICTING THE HIGHLY POLITICIZED NATURE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS GAME IN GUATEMALA. LOCAL AND FOREIGN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS DO ENGAGE IN LIES AND DISTORTIONS; SOME LOCAL GROUPS PROBABLY DO HAVE RELATIONS WITH GUERRILLA GROUPS.

WE HAVE HEARD THAT GAM HELPS PERSONS EMIGRATE, PARTICULARLY TO CANADA, IN EXCHANGE FOR TESTIMONY BLASTING THE MILITARY AND GOG. A RECENT EXAMPLE WAS THE EMIGRATION OF TEN MEMBERS OF THE CAMEY FAMILY TO SPAIN (APPARENTLY, THEY HAD WANTED TO GO TO CANADA, BUT WHEN THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR JUMPED IN AND OFFERED SPAIN, THE CANADIANS BACKED OFF).

WE DO NOT AGREE WITH THE CLAIM THAT THE MILITARY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN GUATEMALA. WHILE SENIOR OFFICIALS REALIZE THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL (AND PERSONAL) IMPLICATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, THOSE CONCERNS MAY NOT TRAVEL ALL THE WAY DOWN THE CHAIN OF COMMAND. IT SEEMS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT OFFICIALS IN THE D-2 AND MILITARY ZONE COMMANDS, PARTICULARLY IN SAN MARCOS, ARE INVOLVED IN DISAPPEARANCES AND EXTRAJUDICIAL KILLINGS AIMED AT REPEAT CRIMINAL OFFENDERS AND THOSE SUSPECTED, WITH OR WITHOUT REASON, OF INVOLVEMENT IN GUERRILLA

MOVEMENTS.)

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