

ROUTINE

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ARA/NEA REARCS

INCOMING
MASS-1 (E2431)

ACTION

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ACTION: (7:02)

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INFO: LARA (U) DCEM (U) DEC (U) DCO (U) JS (U) SPA (U)
ARA (U) PPC (U) OAS (U) PPA (U) R/W (U) RSC (U)
----- 28/2859Z AZ LN (TOTAL COPIES: 816)

ACTION ARA-88

INFO LOC-88 ACDA-15 AID-88 ASAD-88 CIAE-88 C-88 EG-88
BA-88 H-88 INGE-88 INR-88 IO-15 LAB-88 L-88
AOS-88 NSAC-88 OIC-88 OIS-88 PA-88 PH-88 PIS-88
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----- 281559Z 282812Z /VS 38

R 281559Z FEB 82
FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5545
SECDEF WASHDC//ASD-ISA/DASD-ISA/DSAA//
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC
USCINCSO HARRY REICHTS PW/9CCC/SCJ5/SCJ5-SA//

CONFIDENTIAL GUATEMALA #2145

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MASS, PREL, PERS, EADR, CT
SUBJECT: IHET GUATEMALA

STATE FOR ARA/ARA-CEN/ARA-PPC

WHITE HOUSE PASS TO RSC FOR R. HOLEY

DSM FOR LTC ALLEN

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT. THIS MESSAGE IS AN UPDATE TO GUATEMALA 21525 (032343Z NOV 81) AND INCLUDES AN UPDATE ON THE STATUS OF SEVERAL HUMAN RIGHTS CASES, CHARGES

IN THE GUATEMALAN HIGH COMMAND AND ADDITIONAL JUSTIFICATION FOR MAINTAINING AN ACTIVE IHET PROGRAM.

2. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO GUATEMALA, THE SECDEF SPOKE TO BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS IN GUATEMALA AND RECEIVED ASSURANCES OF THEIR COMMITMENT TOWARD STAMPING OUT ABUSES. SECDEF ALSO MET WITH GUATEMALA'S HIGHLY RESPECTED HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN RAFAEL BELLOM WHO STRESSED THAT DESPITE THE SEVERE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS THAT REMAIN, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE SERRANO ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEW MINISTER OF DEFENSE HAVE A SERIOUS COMMITMENT TO IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN GUATEMALA. HE STATED THAT THE MILITARY HIGH COMMAND HAS A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS. BELLOM BELIEVES THAT THE NEW ATTITUDE BY THE HOC SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED BY INCREASED CONTACT WITH "THE OUTSIDE WORLD", AND THE WORST THING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN GUATEMALA WOULD BE ISOLATION OF THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY. RELEASE OF THE REMAINING FY 82 IHET FUNDS AT THIS TIME WOULD SHOW A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE HOC AND ENCOURAGE THE HOC TOWARD FURTHER ACTION IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS ARENA.

3. ALL U.S. SERVICE OBJECTIONS TO THE CI IHET PROGRAM WERE WITHDRAWN UPON AGREEMENT TO COMMIT ONE THIRD TO ONE HALF OF THE USDOLS 48K IHET PROGRAM TO EXPANDED IHET (IHET) COURSES. THE ENTIRE REMAINING USDOLS 230K WILL BE USED FOR IHET COURSES. OF THE ENTIRE FY 82 IHET PROGRAM OF 489K, 7 CIVILIANS AND 11 MILITARY OFFICERS WOULD ATTEND SCHOOLS IN THE U.S. AND APPROXIMATELY 68 CIVILIANS AND 18 MILITARY OFFICERS WOULD BE TRAINED IN GUATEMALA.

4. IHET IS IN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST. IT IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT THE UNITED STATES HAS TO

INFLUENCE A BASIC CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY, NECESSARY FOR THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN GUATEMALA. IT COUNTERACTS THE EFFECTS OF ISOLATION, WHICH ONLY FEELS THE PARANOIA OF THOSE OFFICERS WHO WISH TO PREVENT CHANGE AND MAINTAIN IMPUNITY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. THE U.S.'S HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERT FOR GUATEMALA, PROFESSOR CHRISTIAN TOMUSCHAT (GERMANY), HAS STRONGLY ENDORSED TRAINING OF GUATEMALAN MILITARY OFFICERS IN DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES AS A MEANS TO PREVENT A POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS SENSE OF ISOLATION FROM DEVELOPING WITHIN THE OFFICER CORPS. THE MATERIAL PORTION OF MILITARY SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO GUATEMALA WAS SUSPENDED IN DECEMBER 1978 BECAUSE OF LACK OF PROGRESS IN SOLVING THE DEVINE BORDER CASE WHICH OCCURRED IN JUNE 1978. ALTHOUGH MILITARY AID WAS SUSPENDED, IHET WAS ALLOWED TO CONTINUE BECAUSE:

-- WE DID NOT WANT TO RETURN TO THE SITUATION WE HAD IN THE LATE 1970S WHEN WE HAD NO COMMUNICATION WITH THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY AND THE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN GUATEMALA DETERIORATED.

-- IT WAS CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN AN OPEN CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY.

-- ALTHOUGH SOME SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS HAVE BEEN OBSTRUCTING JUSTICE IN THE DEVINE CASE, IT IS STILL CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THE NEXT GENERATION OF MILITARY LEADERS IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF INFLUENCING THEIR VIEW OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

5. FY 82 IHET FUNDS WERE NOT RELEASED UNTIL USDOLS 177K WAS RELEASED IN JAN 82 TO FUND SEVEN COMMAND AND STAFF COURSES AT SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS. TO DATE THE REMAINING USDOLS 230K HAS NOT BEEN RELEASED. THE PLAN FOR THE REMAINING 230K WILL SEND CIVILIANS (138K) AND MILITARY OFFICERS (92K) TO EXPANDED IHET COURSES

6. ALTHOUGH PROGRESS HAS BEEN VERY SLOW IN THE DEVINE CASE, SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE MILITARY'S HUMAN

RIGHTS PERFORMANCE HAVE OCCURRED IN OTHER MATTERS. WE ATTRIBUTE THE IMPROVEMENTS, AT LEAST IN PART, TO THE LONG TERM EFFECTS OF EDUCATING MILITARY OFFICERS THROUGH IHET. FOR EXAMPLE:

-- THE SANTIAGO DE ATITLAN MASSACRE CASE HAS BEEN PROSECUTED AND THE MILITARY PARTIES, INCLUDING AN OFFICER, CONVICTED AND IMPRISONED.

-- SEVERAL NAVAL OFFICERS, INCLUDING THE COMMANDER OF THE PACIFIC NAVAL BASE WERE ARRESTED, BELIEVED OF THEIR DUTIES AND INCARCERATED WHILE THEY ARE BEING PROSECUTED FOR ELEVEN MURDERS NEAR THE TOWN OF ESQUIZELA.

-- THE COMMANDER OF THE AIR FORCE WAS FIRED AND REPLACED BY AN IHET GRADUATE BY THE PRESIDENT FOR AN INCIDENT IN WHICH THE AIR FORCE DISOBEYED AN ORDER TO GROUND MILITARY AIRCRAFT DURING THE VISIT TO THE CONFLICTIVE AREA BY U.N.

HUMAN RIGHTS EXPERT CHRISTIAN TOMUSCHAT. GUATEMALAN MILITARY OFFICERS SUPPORTED THEIR CIVILIAN PRESIDENT ON THIS FIRING.

-- THE ARMY HIGH COMMAND IS ACTIVELY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY INVOLVED IN PEACE TALKS WITH THE GUERRILLAS. TWO OF THE MILITARY NEGOTIATORS WERE RECENTLY APPOINTED TO THE POSTS OF MAJ AND VICE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY.

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United States Department of State
Office of FOI, Privacy, & Classification Review
Review Authority: MOSKOWITZ, SAM
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-- WE HAVE MAINTAINED THE PRESSURE. THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE DEVINE CASE IS A TOPIC IN ALMOST EVERY MEETING WITH GUATEMALAN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS. MORE THAN 85000 \$11 MILLION WORTH OF UNDELIVERED FMS ARTICLES ARE BEING HELD IN THE UNITED STATES PENDING RESOLUTION OF THAT CASE.

-- IN DECEMBER 1991 THE PRESIDENT FIRED BOTH THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY. HE REPLACED BOTH OFFICERS WITH PROGRESSIVE, INET TRAINED OFFICERS. HE ALSO REPLACED THE VICE MINISTER OF DEFENSE SHORTLY THEREAFTER. WE CONSIDER IT TO BE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL THAT WE MAINTAIN CONTACT AND ENCOURAGE PROGRESSIVE OFFICERS SUCH AS THESE THROUGH THE INET PROGRAM.

-- THE NEW MAN HAS REACTED QUICKLY TO REPORTS OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY HIS TROOPS. TWO SOLDIERS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE CURRENTLY UNDER ARREST FOR THEIR PARTS IN THE KILLING OF FOUR PERSONS IN A GUATEMALA CITY SUBURB KNOWN AS "PERONIA"

-- UNLIKE THE PAST, THE MILITARY HAVE GIVEN PUBLICITY TO THEIR CAPTURE OF GUERRILLA COMBATANTS AND HAVE TURNED OVER SEVERAL TO THE OFFICE OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OMBUDSMAN.

-- IN ORDER TO PROCEED WITH PEACE AND DEMOBILIZATION, WE NEED TO CONTINUE TO EDUCATE MID- AND SENIOR LEVEL OFFICERS. WAR COLLEGES, COMMAND AND STAFF AND ADVANCED COURSES (PHD) ARE THE PRIMARY MEANS OF TEACHING CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS. THESE COURSES CONTRIBUTE TO THE TRANSITION PROCESS AND SUPPORT FOR CIVILIAN LED DEMOCRACY.

-- THERE ARE A NUMBER OF JOINT CIVILIAN/MILITARY BONDING PROJECTS UNDERWAY IN GUATEMALA. THIS REPRESENTS A NEW LEVEL OF CIVIL-MILITARY RESPECT AND COOPERATION IN GUATEMALA.

-- THE MILITARY IS A CRITICAL COMPONENT IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE REBEL GUERRILLAS. THIS IS ANOTHER REASON WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR CONTACT AND INFLUENCE.

-- TO CONTINUE TO WITHHOLD INET AT THIS POINT WOULD BE A NEW SANCTION, IMPOSED WHEN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN GUATEMALA IS MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

-- WITHDRAWAL OF INET, AS A NEW SANCTION, COULD WELL UNDERMINE THE CURRENT UNWARRANTED GUATEMALAN MILITARY SUPPORT AND COOPERATION FOR OUR ANTI-NARCOTICS EFFORTS.

7. INET IS A MODEST BUT HIGHLY IMPORTANT PROGRAM. ITS MAIN IMPACT IS LONG TERM, WORKING ON THE NEXT SEVERAL GENERATIONS OF MILITARY LEADERS.

-- THE COURSES ARE FOR THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE MILITARY AND PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

-- THE GUATEMALAN AIR FORCE AND NAVY ALSO USE INET TECHNICAL COURSES. TECHNICAL COURSES FOR THE AIR FORCE PROVIDE TECHNICAL SKILLS FOR MAINTAINING AIRCRAFT WITH THE PRIMARY MISSION OF MEDICAL EVACUATION. TECHNICAL COURSES FOR THE NAVY PROVIDE TECHNICAL SKILLS FOR MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION OF PATROL CRAFT USED IN CONTERRACOTICS OPERATIONS.

8. THE ENTIRE COUNTRY TEAM STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THE

IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF FY-92 INET FUNDS FOR GUATEMALA. HOLDING INET NOW GIVES US NO APPRECIABLE LEVERAGE OR IMPACT. THERE IS NOTHING TO BE GAINED BY THE INET SUSPENSION; THE GUATEMALAN ARMY CAN FIND MILITARY TRAINING IN THIRD COUNTRIES SUCH AS THAI, ISRAEL, MEXICO OR VENEZUELA. THERE IS A LOT TO LOSE, HOWEVER, FROM OUR OWN STANDPOINT -- THE OPPORTUNITY TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF PROGRESSIVE OFFICERS IN THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY AND TO INCREASE U.S. INFLUENCE WITH THEM.

9. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, REQUEST PURSUE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF REMAINING USDOA'S 2300 FYS2 INET FUNDS TO COVER BELOW LISTED EXPANDED INET COURSES. INVITATIONS TO THE MILITARY COURSES WERE EXTENDED TO GOC BY THE RESPECTIVE U.S. CHIEFS OF STAFF PRIOR TO THE CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL INET BOLD AND ALL WERE ACCEPTED BY THE GOC. WAR COLLEGE AND COMMAND AND STAFF COURSES ARE THE PRIMARY TOOL THE U.S. HAS FOR

EDUCATING THE FUTURE HIGH COMMAND OF THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY IN CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THESE FOUR COURSES START IN JUNE AND JULY 92 AND REQUIRE SUBSTANTIAL LEAD TIME FOR ADMIN AND LOGISTIC PREPARATION. IN ADDITION, IF THE CANDIDATES WILL NOT BE ATTENDING U.S. SCHOOLS, GOC MUST SCHEDULE THEM FOR COURSES IN THIRD COUNTRIES. AS LEAD TIME IS ALSO REQUIRED FOR THESE COURSES, GOC WILL NOT BE ABLE TO WAIT UNTIL A WEEK AFTER THE COURSE START DATES TO FIND OUT IF THE COURSES WILL BE FUNDED OR IN THE CASE OF THE SEVEN SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COURSES, AND WE WILL LOSE OUR OPPORTUNITY TO SHAPE THE ATTITUDES OF FOUR FUTURE MILITARY LEADERS. THE COURSES:

COURSE	STUDENT	DATE
A. DEFENSE RESOURCE MGMT	3 CIVILIANS	TBD
B. INT'L DEFENSE RES. MGMT	2 CIVILIANS	TBD
C. HURPOER MGMT CRS	1 CIVILIAN	TBD
D. JOINT MID-LEVEL MGMT	1 CIVILIAN	TBD
E. DEFENSE RESOURCE MGMT	40 CIVILIANS & 100 MILITARY	TBD
F. MILITARY JUSTICE	20 CIVILIANS & 100 MILITARY	TBD
G. ARMY WAR COLLEGE FELLOW	1 MILITARY	10 JUL 92
H. ARMY COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COURSE	1 MILITARY	17 JUL 92
I. NAVY STAFF COLLEGE	1 MILITARY	16 JUL 92
J. AIR COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE	1 MILITARY	15 JUL 92
K. MILITARY JUSTICE COURSE FOR THE 4 MILITARY STUDENTS.		

10. REQUEST ADVISE STATUS/PROGNOSIS ASAP. TAYLOR.