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ACTION SCT-02

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 INR-10 CIAE-00 NSCE-00 ARA-00 NSAE-00
SSO-00 HA-09 PM-10 INM-07 INRE-00 JUSE-00 SP-02
DS-01 DSE-00 /041 W

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O 011731Z JUN 88
FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9004
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
SECDEF WASHDC
DIA WASHDC

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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE
ASUNCION FOR DENNETT
DIA FOR OA-5/OS-1D/DB-6D2/JSI-4B/DB-3C1

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, OTRA, PE
SUBJECT: VISIT OF BRIAN JENKINS

- 1. ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. SUMMARY:

WE REACHED AN AUDIENCE OF OVER 700 POLICE AND
MILITARY OFFICIALS IN THREE DIFFERENT SESSIONS
WITH THE MAY 24-27 VISIT OF THE BRIAN JENKINS-
LED GROUP AND HAD A FOURTH, THREE-HOUR SESSION
THAT BROUGHT TOGETHER THE MINISTERS OF INTERIOR
AND DEFENSE AND THE COMMANDING OFFICERS OR
CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE SIX MILITARY AND POLICE

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INSTITUTIONS. THE JENKINS GROUP DELIVERED

n/a

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n/a

MESSAGE WELL-TAILORED TO THE PERUVIAN AUDIENCE. IT EMPHASIZED IMAGINATIVE USES OF INTELLIGENCE, THE NECESSITY TO UNDERSTAND GUERRILLA ORGANIZATION AND STRATEGY, THE NEED TO DEVELOP A UNIFIED NATIONAL EFFORT, THE POSSIBILITY OF WAGING A SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-INSURGENCY STRUGGLE WITH LIMITED BUT WELL-MOBILIZED RESOURCES, THE SELF-DEFEATING CONSEQUENCES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, THE USES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS, AND THE CENTRALITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT TO BOTH GUERRILLAS AND GOVERNMENTS. THE JENKINS GROUP CAME WELL-PREPARED, WORKED HARD, COMMUNICATED EFFECTIVELY IN SPANISH, AND WAS SENSITIVE TO PERUVIAN ATTITUDES. THE FORMALITY OF THE SETTINGS, HOWEVER, AND A DEGREE OF DEFENSIVENESS ON THE PART OF TOP PERUVIAN OFFICIALS INHIBITED THE KIND OF SUSTAINED AND FREE-FLOWING DIALOGUE THAT WE HAD HOPED TO ACHIEVE. WE NONETHELESS BELIEVE THAT THE VISIT WAS VERY USEFUL AND APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S INITIATIVE TO ARRANGE IT. END SUMMARY.

3. RAND CORPORATION TERRORISM SPECIALIST BRIAN JENKINS PAID THREE-DAY VISIT TO LIMA MAY 24-27. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (IRVINE) PROFESSOR CESAR SERESERES AND ARTURO MUNOZ (AMERICAN EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR). PHIL TAYLOR (DEPUTY DIRECTOR ARA/AND) AND GABRIEL MARCELLA (U.S. SOUTHERN COMMAND, PANAMA) ATTENDED ALL SESSIONS AS OBSERVERS. DEFENSE MINISTER LOPEZ ALBUJAR AND INTERIOR MINISTER SORIA EACH TOOK A PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE JENKINS VISIT AND MADE

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THE KEY DECISIONS ON HOW TO USE IT. SORIA SET UP TWO SESSIONS WITH 235 LOW-LEVEL AND 150 MID- TO SENIOR-LEVEL POLICE OFFICERS FROM THE CIVIL GUARD, REPUBLICAN GUARD, AND INVESTIGATIVE POLICE. LOPEZ ALBUJAR ARRANGED A SINGLE SESSION WITH 350 SENIOR-GRADE OFFICERS (NOTHING BELOW COLONEL) FROM THE THREE MILITARY SERVICES. A FOURTH SESSION BROUGHT TOGETHER THE COMMANDING OFFICERS OF THE SIX MILITARY AND POLICE INSTITUTIONS TOGETHER WITH SORIA AND LOPEZ ALBUJAR. SORIA HAD THOUGHT THAT

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n/a

PRIME MINISTER VILLANUEVA AND POSSIBLY PRESIDENT GARCIA WOULD ALSO PARTICIPATE, BUT A CONFLICT DEVELOPED WITH THE VISIT OF IADB PRESIDENT ENRIQUE IGLESIAS. EACH SESSION LASTED ABOUT THREE HOURS. THE JENKINS GROUP MET WITH THE EMBASSY WORKING GROUP ON TERRORISM PRIOR TO THE FIRST SESSION AND AGAIN BETWEEN THE THIRD AND FOURTH SESSIONS.

4. THE THREE PRESENTATIONS WERE IN OUR VIEW WELL-TAILORED TO THE PERUVIAN AUDIENCE AND RICH IN CONTENT. JENKINS COVERED RECENT TRENDS IN TERRORISM INTERNATIONALLY AND THE USES THAT CAN BE MADE OF INTELLIGENCE AND COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE. HIS REMARKS, REINFORCED BY THE OTHERS, DROVE HOME THE POINT THAT PERU IS NOT ALONE. EVEN COUNTRIES WITH INFINITELY GREATER RESOURCES, MODERN POLICE TECHNIQUES AND STRONG, EFFECTIVE JUDICIAL SYSTEMS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO ELIMINATE TERRORISM ALTOGETHER. BUT GOVERNMENTS HAVE DEVELOPED IMAGINATIVE USES OF INTELLIGENCE THAT HAVE WIDE APPLICABILITY. SERESERES DESCRIBED TRENDS IN THE ORGANIZATION AND STRATEGY OF

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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PTER, OTRA, PE
SUBJECT: VISIT OF BRIAN JENKINS

GUERRILLA GROUPS THAT USE TERRORISM AND HOW GOVERNMENTS ELSEWHERE HAVE RESPONDED. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY FORCES MODIFYING THEIR OWN FORCE STRUCTURE AS REQUIRED AND OF THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP PRIORITIZING THE USE OF LIMITED RESOURCES. HE IDENTIFIED FIVE ELEMENTS COMMON TO ANY SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-INSURGENCY: A NATIONAL PLAN DIRECTED BY A SINGLE OFFICIAL; MOBILIZATION OF ALL ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL SOCIETY -- THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND THE CIVILIAN BUREAUCRACY IN ADDITION TO SECURITY

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FORCES; DENIAL OF A SAFEHAVEN TO GUERRILLAS BY MAINTAINING A PERMANENT GOVERNMENT/SECURITY PRESENCE IN CONFLICTIVE ZONES; PSYOPS DIRECTED AT SECURITY FORCES, THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, AND THE TERRORIST FORCES; AND AN ACTIVE INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY.

5. MUNOZ DESCRIBED HOW GUERRILLA GROUPS HAVE RELIED ON LENINIST PRESCRIPTIONS TO MAKE EFFECTIVE USE OF FRONT GROUPS AND HOW PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS CAN BE USED TO UNMASK THESE CONNECTIONS. HE EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF TARGETTING GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES THEMSELVES TO BUILD UNDERSTANDING OF GOVERNMENT STRATEGY AND COMMITMENT TO WINNING THE STRUGGLE. HE PROVIDED EXAMPLES OF EFFORTS THAT HAVE BEEN USED IN EL SALVADOR TO TARGET THE CIVILIAN POPULATION AND GUERRILLA/TERRORIST GROUPS THEMSELVES. BOTH SERESERES AND MUNOZ EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF TAKING THE INITIATIVE AWAY FROM GUERRILLA GROUPS IN THE INTERNATIONAL SECTOR AND TARGETTING THEIR INDIVIDUAL WEAKNESSES, "DEMISTIFYING" THEM. GOVERNMENTS MAKE MISTAKES WHEN THEY WRITE OFF THE PRESS AND

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AS TOO PREJUDICED AGAINST THEM. THROUGHOUT, THE MESSAGE THAT ABUSE OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IS SELF-DEFEATING CAME THROUGH SUBTLY BUT CLEARLY.

6. THE FIRST THREE SESSIONS CLOSED WITH A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD THAT VARIED FROM 30 TO 45 MINUTES. THE FINAL SESSION WAS INTERSPERSED WITH QUESTIONS THROUGHOUT. INTERIOR MINISTER SORIA WAS AGGRESSIVE IN QUESTIONING, PARTICULARLY ON
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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NARCO-TERRORISM CONNECTIONS, AND WHY THE U.S. AND OTHER DRUG-CONSUMING NATIONS ARE NOT PROVIDING A GREATER LEVEL OF RESOURCES. SORIA CRITICIZED THE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL APPROACH OF TENDING TO SANCTIONS INSTEAD OF POSITIVE INCENTIVES AND SAID HE DID NOT YET SEE AN OVERALL STRATEGY FROM THE U.S. IN THIS AREA. AMBASSADOR WATSON INTERJECTED THAT THE U.S. IN FACT IS CONCENTRATING ON REDUCING CONSUMPTION AND CITED ATTORNEY GENERAL MEESE AS INDICATING THAT SOME PROGRESS IN THIS AREA IS NOW DOCUMENTED.

LOPEZ ALBUJAR SPOKE SEVERAL TIMES. HE COMMENTED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ANY NATIONAL APPROACH HAD TO CONSIST OF FOUR ELEMENTS: AN ACT OF POLITICAL WILL TO FIGHT TERRORISM; A NATIONAL DEFENSE OR SECURITY COUNCIL TO PLAN AND IMPLEMENT A STRATEGY; COMMITMENT OF IMPLEMENTING RESOURCES; AND MOBILIZATION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SUPPORT.

8. IN AN EXCHANGE ON USING THE PRESS TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ADVANTAGE, SORIA EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM THAT THIS IS POSSIBLE IN PERU. HE ALSO COMPLAINED POINTEDLY ABOUT SL SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES. IN HIS ONE INTERVENTION, DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE COMANDO CONJUNTO GENERAL MAURICIO AGREED STRONGLY WITH SERESERES THAT SL FRONT GROUPS ARE WORKING THE INTERNATIONAL FRONT AGGRESSIVELY AND WITH NO COMPUNCTION ABOUT LYING. HE POINTED OUT THAT, LESS THAN 30 HOURS AFTER THE EVENTS NEAR CAYARA, AYACUCHO MAY 13-14 (SEE LIMA 6773 AND 6901), UNITED

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

LEFT CONGRESSMAN GUSTAVO ESPINOZA HAD TRANS-

[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED]
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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE
ASUNCION FOR DENNETT
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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MITTED A LIST OF MORE THAN 50 PERSONS
SUPPOSEDLY MASSACRED TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZA-
TIONS. MAURICIO SAID IT HAD TAKEN THE BETTER
PART OF A WEEK TO FIND OUT THE TRUTH, WHICH WAS
THAT FEWER THAN 30 PEOPLE WERE KILLED --
AND NOT SUMMARILY EXECUTED AS ALLEGED. (COMMENT:
WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ARMY CARRIED OUT
SUMMARY EXECUTIONS AT CAYARA. END COMMENT.)
REYES ROCA COMMENTED THAT SOME OF THE PSYCHOL-
OGICAL OPERATIONS UNDERTAKEN IN EL SALVADOR
(MONEY FOR SURRENDERED WEAPONS, FOR EXAMPLE)
CONFIDENTIAL

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

[REDACTED]
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APPEARED TO REQUIRE MORE FINANCIAL RESOURCES THAN PERU HAS AVAILABLE. WHEN WOULD THE U.S. DO MORE, HE ASKED? AMBASSADOR WATSON RESPONDED THAT, ALTHOUGH RESOURCES ARE LIMITED, WE WANT TO BE HELPFUL AND HAVE DONE A NUMBER OF THINGS ALREADY. MUNOZ POINTED OUT THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PSYOPS TECHNIQUES DO NOT INVOLVE MAJOR EXPENDITURES.

7. INVESTIGATIVE POLICE DIRECTOR FERNANDO REYES ROCA WAS ALSO ACTIVE, INQUIRING ABOUT POLITICAL COMPONENTS OF A COUNTER-INSURGENCY STRATEGY AND COMMENTING THAT SENDERO LUMINOSO HAD MADE EFFECTIVE USE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO LIVE UP TO CAMPAIGN RHETORIC/PROMISES. STRONGLY SECONDED BY SORIA, HE COMPLAINED THAT PERU'S ANTI-TERRORISM LAWS MAKE EFFECTIVE INTERROGATION, INVESTIGATION AND PROSECUTION A NEAR IMPOSSIBILITY. (COMMENT: A VALID POINT IN OUR VIEW; SEPARATE REPORT ON THIS SUBJECT IS IN PREPARATION. SORIA LEFT THE SESSION BEFORE IT ENDED, HOWEVER, TO LOBBY THE CONGRESS TO CHANGE CURRENT LEGISLATION-- WITH SOME SUCCESS, HE TOLD US LATER.) JENKINS RESPONDED THAT ITALY, THE FRG AND OTHER DEMOCRACIES AFFLICTED BY TERRORISM HAD MODIFIED THEIR LAWS TO ACHIEVE A GOOD BALANCE BETWEEN THE RIGHTS OF SOCIETY AND INDIVIDUALS AND SAID THAT IT IS GENERALLY BETTER TO RESPOND IN THIS FASHION THAN BY DECLARING A STATE OF EMERGENCY.

9. COMMENT:

CONTEMPLATED SINCE LAST AUGUST, THE JENKINS VISIT
[REDACTED]
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WAS AFFECTED BY TWO LAST-MINUTE FACTORS. ONE WAS THE MAY 16 CABINET SHUFFLE; THIS GAVE US A SHOT AT THE NEW TEAM BUT GROUNDWORK WITH FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER BARSALLO HAD TO BEGIN AGAIN WITH HIS REPLACEMENT, ADMIRAL SORIA.

n/a
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
n/a

BOTH DEFENSE LOPEZ ALBUJAR AND SORIA WERE DISTRACTED BY THE DEMANDS BEING MADE OF THE NEW CABINET IN ITS FIRST DAYS IN OFFICE. SECONDLY, THE MAY 13 - 14 CAYARA INCIDENTS THREW THE CABINET INTO CRISIS, ACCENTUATING THE DISTRACTIONS AND CONTRIBUTING TO WHAT WE PERCEIVED IN THE SESSION WITH SORIA AND LOPEZ ALBUJAR IN PARTICULAR AS A DEFENSIVENESS (MANIFESTED IN AGGRESSIVE, SOMETIMES MISDIRECTED QUESTIONING) AND LACK OF RECEPTIVITY. WE HAD HOPED THAT THE PERUVIANS WOULD SEEK TO PICK THE BRAINS OF OUR VISITORS; THE PREVAILING ATTITUDE TENDED INSTEAD TOWARD COMPLAINT AND SELF-PITY. FORMAT WAS PART OF THE PROBLEM. THE PERUVIANS SET UP A STRUCTURE THAT MAXIMIZED EXPOSURE TO THE GREATEST NUMBER OF THEIR PEOPLE WHILE INHIBITING CANDID EXCHANGE.

10. WITHIN THESE CONSTRAINTS BRIAN JENKINS AND HIS COLLEAGUES NONETHELESS DID AN EXCELLENT JOB OF MAKING A LOT OF INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN A LIMITED AMOUNT OF TIME. WE MAY ALSO BE UNDERESTIMATING WHAT WAS ACHIEVED. WE REACHED A VERY LARGE AUDIENCE; WE MANAGED TO GET THE MILITARY AND POLICE TOGETHER; THERE WAS EXTENSIVE NOTE-TAKING IN ALL FOUR SESSIONS; AND WE GOT WHAT WE JUDGED TO BE MORE THAN PERFUNCTORY PRAISE AND EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST AFTER ALL SESSIONS. WE ARE GRATEFUL TO ALL

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DS-01 DSE-00 /041 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LIMA
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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
USAFSO HOWARD AFB PM
USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM

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AMEMBASSY BOGOTA
 SECDEF WASHDC
 DIA WASHDC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SECTION 04 OF 04 LIMA 07160

USCINCSO ALSO FOR POLAD JOHN YOULE
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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THREE FOR COMING TO LIMA AND TO THE DEPARTMENT
 FOR TAKING THE INITIATIVE TO MAKE IT HAPPEN.

11. FOR THE RECORD, AND TO BE PASSED TO BRIAN
 JENKINS (HIS REQUEST), FOLLOWING IS A LIST OF
 THE OFFICIALS ATTENDING THE MAY 27 SESSION:

MINISTER OF DEFENSE, GENERAL (RET.) ENRIQUE
 LOPEZ ALBUJAR

MINISTER OF INTERIOR, ADMIRAL (RET.) JUAN SORIA
 CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
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DIAZ

CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF AND
 COMMANDING GENERAL OF THE AIRFORCE, GENERAL
 PABLO VARELA NOVELLA

CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF,
 GENERAL CARLOS MAURICIO AGURTO

CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMY, GENERAL ALEJANDRO
 ANTUNEZ DE MAYOLO

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE,
 GENERAL ARTURO LOPEZ PARDO

CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE NAVY, REAR ADMIRAL
 AUGUSTO FERNANDEZ HIDALGO

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 n/a

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[REDACTED]

n/a

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GENERAL DIRECTOR OF THE PERUVIAN POLICE FORCES,
GENERAL OCTAVIO HERRERA POLO

DIRECTOR OF THE PERUVIAN INVESTIGATIVE POLICE,
GENERAL FERNANDO REYES ROCA

DIRECTOR OF THE CIVIL GUARD, GENERAL RUBEN ROMERO
SANCHEZ

DIRECTOR OF THE REPUBLICAN GUARD, LT. GENERAL
RAUL JARES GAGO

DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION, DEFENSE MINISTRY,
REAR ADMIRAL JOSE GARCIA CASTANOS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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WATSON

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

n/a

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