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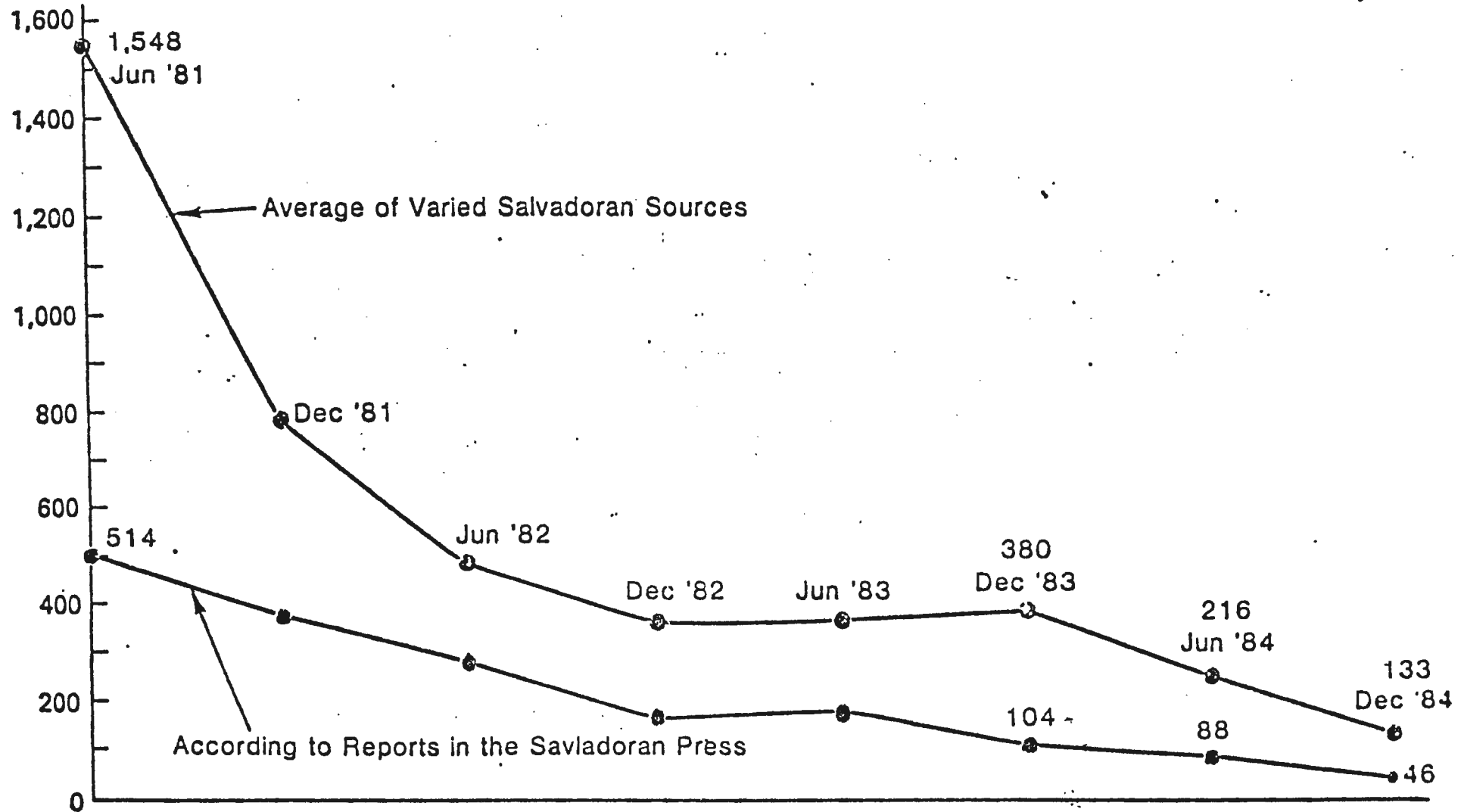
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# El Salvador

## CIVILIAN DEATHS ATTRIBUTABLE TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE (Six Month Averages)

Average Deaths  
per Month



NOTE: UCA, the Jesuit-run Central American University, stopped compiling these statistics after their June 1984 report.

Source: SOCORRO JURIDICO, CDHES, UCA and TUTELA LEGAL.

CIVILIAN DEATHS FROM JANUARY 1 THROUGH MAY 31, 1986  
 ATTRIBUTABLE TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE ACCORDING TO THE PRESS  
 AS REPORTED BY EMBASSY, BY CATEGORY.

	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Apr</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Jun</u>	<u>Jul</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Sep</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>%age</u>
Political deaths														
(by guerrillas)	9	18	6	5	5								43	37.7
(possibly by guerrillas)	1	2	5	8	12								28	24.6
(by extreme right)	0	0	0	0	0								0	0
(possibly by extreme right)	0	0	0	2	3								5	4.4
(by unknown assailant)	7	4	2	9	2								24	21.1
(by Civil Defense)	3	0	0	0	0								3	2.6
(by Security Forces/Army)	2	0	0	0	2								4	3.6
(Civilians KIA)	0	2	2	2	1								7	6.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>								<b>114</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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 2/09/86

AVERAGES PER MONTH SINCE 1980

CIVILIAN DEATHS ATTRIBUTABLE  
TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE ACCORDING  
TO THE PRESS, AS REPORTED BY  
EMBASSY

1980.....	750
1981.....	444
1982.....	219
1983.....	140
1984.....	64
	(Jan-Jun.....88)
	(Jul-Dec.....46)
1985.....	28
1986.....	22
(through April 30)	

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6/30/86

ARMED FORCES AND GUERRILLA DEATHS  
ACCORDING TO THE PRESS, AS  
REPORTED BY EMBASSY

	EL SALVADOR ARMED FORCES	GUERRILLAS
1983	1693	4316
1984	1127	2431
1985	397	1223
1986 (through April 30)	106	454

doc 0045L  
6/30/86

SUBJECT: TUTELA LEGAL APRIL VIOLENCE REPORT GETS IT  
WRONG

REF: SAN SALVADOR 5586

1. THE APRIL 1985 TUTELA LEGAL REPORT CARRIES A TOTAL OF 75 VICTIMS OF "POLITICAL VIOLENCE" IN MILITARY ACTIONS. WE HAVE DISCOVERED AFTER A CURSORY REVIEW OF THE DOCUMENT THAT IN ONE OF TUTELA'S INCIDENTS THEY CITE "12 UNKNOWN VICTIMS OF AN INDISCRIMINATE ATTACK BY THE ARMY AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF SAN IGNACIO, CHALATENANGO, ON APRIL 30 OF THIS YEAR BY THE FOURTH INFANTRY BRIGADE." THE REAL EVENTS AT SAN IGNACIO ARE SOMEWHAT AT VARIANCE WITH TUTELA'S VERSION.

2. AS REPORTED RETTEL, DATT AND POLOFF VISITED SAN IGNACIO ON MAY 2 AND SPOKE WITH VILLAGERS AFTER PRESS REPORTS INDICATED 3 SOLDIERS HAD BEEN EXECUTED THERE. THE FOLLOWING WAS REVEALED DURING OUR DISCUSSIONS:

— SAN IGNACIO WAS ATTACKED ON MAY 1 NOT APRIL 30 AS CLAIMED BY TUTELA;

— IT WAS ATTACKED BY THE GUERRILLAS—NOT THE ARMY—AS ANYONE LIVING ALONG THE LA PALMA-SAN IGNACIO-CITALA AXIS WOULD HAVE TOLD TUTELA INVESTIGATORS;

— EMBOFFS WERE GIVEN NAMES OF THREE CAPTURED SOLDIERS WHO WERE DRIVEN BY THE GUERRILLAS SOME MILES FROM TOWN, STRIPPED AND EXECUTED. THEIR NAMES ARE: (1) NOE MARTINEZ AVELAR (2) JOSE GOMEZ FLORES (3) JULIO CESAR

PONCE. TWO OF THESE, MARTINEZ AND CESAR PONCE WERE LISTED BY TUTELA AS "KILLED IN COMBAT;"

-- IN ADDITION, VILLAGERS TOLD POLOFF THAT ANOTHER MALE CIVILIAN, ISABEL GARCIA MARTINEZ, WAS DRAGGED FROM HIS HOUSE BY THE GUERRILLAS AND SHOT. THIS MAN WAS LISTED BY TUTELA AS KILLED IN ACTION AS A MEMBER OF CIVIL DEFENSE, WHEN IN FACT VILLAGERS TOLD US HE WAS A VISITOR FROM LA PAZ DEPARTMENT AND LIVING IN A BOARDING HOUSE;

-- THE GUERRILLAS ALSO ROBBED A BANK AND DRY GOODS STORE AND BLEW UP A PRIVATE DWELLING;

-- THERE ARE UNLIKELY TO BE 12 "UNKNOWN" VICTIMS KILLED IN A SMALL TOWN LIKE SAN IGNACIO, WITH ITS TOTAL OF ONLY ABOUT 2000 INHABITANTS. MORE LIKELY THE BODIES--IF THEY EXISTED AT ALL--WERE THOSE OF GUERRILLAS.

3. DEPT MAY WISH TO REPEAT TO OTHER INTERESTED POSTS.

PASSAGE

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2. (U) 81 DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS: SOURCE IS TL:

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AN ARTICLE BY DAVID OTTAWAY IN THE NOVEMBER 20, 1985, "WASHINGTON POST" REPORTS THE TESTIMONY OF AN AMERICAS WATCH OFFICIAL BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE THAT 81 DEATH SQUAD MURDERS HAD OCCURRED IN EL SALVADOR DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1985. EMBASSY NOTES FOR THE RECORD THAT THIS FIGURE WAS NOT COMPILED BY AMERICAS WATCH, BUT WAS EXTRACTED DIRECTLY FROM THE MONTHLY REPORTS OF THE CATHOLIC LEGAL AID OFFICE (TUTELA LEGAL) OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF SAN SALVADOR, WHICH

2  
COUNTS 82 "DEATH SQUAD" KILLINGS FOR THIS PERIOD. A COMPARISON OF TL'S CASES WITH THE BI-WEEKLY VIOLENCE REPORTS COMPILED BY THE EMBASSY FROM PRESS REPORTS SHOWS THAT OF TUTELA'S 82 CASES, THE EMBASSY CLASSIFIED 55 OF THEM AS FOLLOWS:

- 23 AS CRIMINAL MURDERS, FOR WHICH THERE WAS NO APPARENT POLITICAL MOTIVE.
- 11 AS BY GUERRILLAS OR POSSIBLY BY GUERRILLAS.
- 14 AS "BY UNKNOWN ASSAILANT."
- 7 AS POSSIBLY BY THE EXTREME RIGHT.
- 1 AS A CIVILIAN KILLED DURING A MILITARY ACTION.

THE OTHER 26 DEATHS CITED BY TL DID NOT APPEAR IN THE SALVADORAN PRESS (THE EMBASSY'S MAIN SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR THE VIOLENCE REPORTS) NOR IN ANY OTHER CREDIBLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION. IN OUR VIEW, THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DEATHS CANNOT BE VERIFIED, IF IN FACT THE DEATHS OCCURRED.

3. (U) TL'S METHODOLOGY:

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TUTELA LEGAL'S MONTHLY "POLITICAL VIOLENCE" REPORTS COMBINE RIGHT WING "DEATH SQUAD" KILLINGS WITH THOSE KILLINGS ATTRIBUTED TO THE GOES ARMED FORCES, THE SECURITY FORCES (NATIONAL POLICE, NATIONAL GUARD, TREASURY POLICE), AND THE CIVIL DEFENSE. THE CLEAR INTENT IS TO PORTRAY "DEATH SQUADS" AS ELEMENTS OF THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES (ESAF); - NO REASON IS GIVEN FOR EQUATING "DEATH SQUADS" WITH OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT FORCES AND INCLUDING "DEATH SQUAD" KILLINGS WITH THOSE ATTRIBUTED TO REGULAR GOVERNMENT FORCES. MARIA JULIA HERNANDEZ, DIRECTOR OF TUTELA LEGAL, RELIES ON SEVERAL INDICATORS TO CLASSIFY A MURDER AS A DEATH SQUAD KILLING, BECAUSE, SHE SAYS, THEY HAVE CHARACTERIZED DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS IN THE PAST. THESE INDICATORS INCLUDE: VICTIM KILLED ELSEWHERE AND THE BODY DUMPED; BODY SHOWING SIGNS OF TORTURE; BODY WITHOUT IDENTIFYING

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S S 15403

E.O. 12356: N/A  
 TAGS: PREL, PHUM, ES  
 SUBJECT: "DEATH SQUAD" KILLINGS: APPROACH TUTELA

DOCUMENTS; BODY STRIPPED OF CLOTHING; VICTIM UNKNOWN TO ANYONE IN THE AREA. IN OUR VIEW, NONE OF THESE CHARACTERISTICS NECESSARILY IMPUTES A POLITICAL MOTIVE TO THE KILLING. IN CONTRAST, THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT FOR A MURDER TO BE CLASSIFIED AS A CRIME ATTRIBUTABLE TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE, A POLITICAL MOTIVE IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT. OTHERWISE MURDERS OF PRIVATE REVENGE AND KILLINGS BY COMMON CRIMINALS WILL BE INCLUDED.

4. (U) THE VALIDITY OF TL'S CLASSIFIERS IS OPEN TO DEBATE. IN EL SALVADOR'S VIOLENT SOCIETY, WHERE JUDICIAL RECOURSE HAS OFTEN BEEN ABSENT OR CORRUPTIBLE, PRIVATE "JUSTICE" HAS BEEN A NOT INFREQUENT RESPONSE. INCIDENTS OF TORTURE KILLINGS WERE COMMON LONG BEFORE THE DEATH SQUADS MADE THEIR APPEARANCE. AS FOR THE ABSENCE OF IDENTITY DOCUMENTS, A READING OF TL'S OWN REPORTS SHOWS THAT THE LACK OF IDENTITY DOCUMENTS IS FAIRLY COMMON AMONG THE LIVING; ABOUT HALF OF THE PEOPLE MAKING DECLARATIONS TO TL HAVE NO IDENTITY DOCUMENTS. TL'S "VICTIM UNKNOWN TO ANYONE IN THE AREA" (IN OTHER WORDS "KILLED ELSEWHERE AND DUMPED") PRESUPPOSES A STABLE VILLAGE-BASED SOCIETY WHERE EVERYONE KNOWS EVERYONE ELSE. EL SALVADOR PERHAPS WAS SUCH A SOCIETY AT ONE TIME, BUT WITH AN ESTIMATED TEN TO FIFTEEN PERCENT OF THE ENTIRE POPULATION DISPLACED BY THE WAR AND ECONOMIC FACTORS, THE VALIDITY OF THIS CLASSIFIER IS QUESTIONABLE. EVEN IF ONE ACCEPTS TL'S INDICATORS FOR CLASSIFYING A MURDER AS A DEATH SQUAD KILLING, MOST CAN BE EASILY DUPLICATED BY A COMMON CRIMINAL WISHING TO MISLEAD THE POLICE BY MAKING THE CRIME APPEAR TO BE POLITICALLY MOTIVATED. FURTHERMORE, MANY OF THE 82 DEATHS LISTED AS DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS BY TL SHOW THE OPPOSITE OF SOME OR ALL OF THESE INDICATORS, AND SOME EXHIBIT NONE OF THEM.

5. (U) REVIEW OF TL'S "DEATH SQUAD" KILLINGS:

TL'S SKETCHY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE 82 KILLINGS INCLUDED IN ITS MONTHLY REPORTS, SUMMARIZED, ARE AS FOLLOWS:

- 28 VICTIMS WERE SHOT WHILE WALKING OR IN A VEHICLE ON THE STREET, OR WERE SIMPLY "SHOT." NO REASON IS GIVEN IN MOST CASES FOR CLASSIFYING THESE MURDERS AS DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS. IN ONE CASE THE LONE ASSAILANT TOOK THE VICTIM'S IDENTIFICATION. IN ANOTHER CASE, THE VICTIM WAS SHOT BY THREE MASKED MEN." POSSIBLY RELEVANT FACTORS IN FOUR OTHER CASES: THREE OF THE VICTIMS WERE UNION OFFICIALS OR ACTIVISTS; ANOTHER WORKED IN THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE.

E.O. 12355: N/A

TAGS: PRFL, PHUM, ES

SUBJECT: "DEATH SQUAD" KILLINGS: APPROACH TUTELA

- . AND HANGED IN A TREE. THERE WAS NO CAUSE OF DEATH GIVEN FOR TWO OTHERS; THEY ARE SIMPLY CLASSIFIED AS "KILLED BY DEATH SQUADS."
- 6 VICTIMS SHOWED SIGNS OF TORTURE.
- 2 PEASANTS WERE TAKEN FROM THEIR HOUSE AND SHOT BY MEN IN OLIVE-COLORED UNIFORMS (USED BY BOTH SIDES IN THE CONFLICT).
- 2 VICTIMS WERE CALLED TO THE DOORS OF THEIR HOUSES AND SHOT BY MEN DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES.
- 2 WERE FOUND SHOT AFTER HAVING BEEN KIDNAPPED ON A PREVIOUS OCCASION; THEY HAD IMPLICATED GOES FORCES IN THE PREVIOUS KIDNAPPING.
- 2 WERE FOUND SHOT (ONE REPEATEDLY) IN DIFFERENT GARBAGE DUMPS.
- 1 WAS FOUND HALF-BURIED AFTER DISAPPEARING FROM HIS HOME SEVERAL DAYS EARLIER.
- 3 BROTHERS, PEASANTS, WERE TAKEN FROM THEIR HOME AND WERE LATER FOUND SHOT AND HACCED WITH MACHETES.
- 1 SISTER OF THE BROTHERS ABOVE WAS SHOT IN THE HOME AT THE TIME OF HER BROTHERS' KIDNAPPING.
- 1 VICTIM WAS FOUND BESIDE A ROAD, KILLED BY MACHETE BLOWS.
- 1 WAS CHASED IN THE STREET AND STABBED BY FOUR MEN.
- 1 WAS SHOT AT: A DANCE BY A DRUNKEN SOLDIER.
- 1 WAS FOUND STABBED AND PARTIALLY CLOTHED.
- 1 WAS FOUND PARTIALLY CLOTHED, FLOATING AT THE EDGE OF A LAKE; NO CAUSE OF DEATH WAS ESTABLISHED.
- 1 VICTIM HAD NO CAUSE OF DEATH GIVEN, NO REASON GIVEN FOR ATTRIBUTION TO DEATH SQUADS; THE NOTATION WAS SIMPLY "KILLED BY DEATH SQUADS."

9 VICTIMS WERE SHOT FROM MOVING VEHICLES OR BY PERSONS WHO EXITED VEHICLES, PERFORMED THE CRIME, AND RETURNED TO THE VEHICLES AND FLED. NO REASON IS GIVEN IN FIVE OF THESE CASES FOR CLASSIFYING THE MURDER AS A DEATH SQUAD KILLING. IN ONE CASE, THE VICTIM HAD NO IDENTITY DOCUMENTS. IN ANOTHER CASE, ONE OF THE PERPETRATORS SHOUTED TO BYSTANDERS, "HIDE, WE'RE FROM THE DEATH SQUADS." ONE VICTIM WAS A LAW PROFESSOR. AS A POSSIBLE MOTIVE IN ANOTHER CASE, THE EMBASSY NOTES THAT THE VICTIM WAS A TOWN MAYOR.

7 VICTIMS WERE APPARENTLY KILLED AT ONE LOCATION AND DUMPED SUBSEQUENTLY IN ANOTHER. ONE OF THE SEVEN WAS STRANGLERED; THE REST WERE SHOT. ONE HAD NO IDENTITY DOCUMENTS.

13 VICTIMS WHO DIED IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND WERE CLASSIFIED AS DEATH SQUAD VICTIMS HAD NO IDENTITY PAPERS. OF THESE, FIVE WERE SHOT (TWO OF THEM REPEATEDLY); ONE HANGED; ONE RAPED AND SHOT; ONE KILLED WITH A MACHETE. ANOTHER WAS FOUND SHOT

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~~SECTION 02 OF~~ SECTION 02 OF \* SAN SALVADOR 15403

SEPTEMBER 14, 1985

AMERICAN EMBASSY  
SAN SALVADOR

SUBJECT: WHO ARE THEY, REALLY? NEWLY CAPTURED FMLN  
- DOCUMENTS HIGHLIGHT MARXIST-LENINIST BASIS  
- OF THE SALVADORAN REVOLUTION

1. SUMMARY

A REVIEW OF RECENTLY-CAPTURED DOCUMENTS PROVIDES VALUABLE INSIGHTS AS TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORIENTATION OF THE FIVE FMLN CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS. THESE DOCUMENTS -- WHICH REPRESENT ONLY A SMALL SAMPLING OF THE INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS OF THE FMLN -- NOT ONLY AMPLY DISPLAY DEDICATION AND ADHERENCE TO MARXIST PRINCIPLES, BUT THE COMMITMENT AND DECLARED NEED TO FORM AND TAKE POWER BEHIND A SINGLE COMMUNIST PARTY. ALSO INCLUDED IN THESE DOCUMENTS ARE TACTICS AND STRATEGIES TO ACHIEVE THESE ENDS -- TAKING NOTE OF THE NEED TO MANIPULATE INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION -- AND THE INDOCTRINATION OF FOLLOWERS AND POTENTIAL FOLLOWERS.

THE FOLLOWING CHART OF FMLN ORGANIZATIONAL ACRONYMS IS MEANT TO HELP READERS UNDERSTAND THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE VARIOUS FMLN MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR POLITICAL FRONTS:

POLITICAL FRONTS

MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

ERP--PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY  
ARMY

PRS--SALVADORAN  
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

FPL--POPULAR FORCES OF  
LIBERATION

FAPL--POPULAR ARMED  
FORCES OF LIBERATION

RN--NATIONAL RESISTANCE

FARN--ARMED FORCES OF  
NATIONAL RESISTANCE

*Unclassified*

PCS--COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
EL SALVADOR

FAL--ARMED FORCES OF  
LIBERATION

PRTC--REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF  
CENTRAL AMERICAN WORKERS

FARLP--REVOLUTIONARY  
ARMED FORCES FOR  
POPULAR LIBERATION

END SUMMARY.

2. "BASE ALL...MEASURES ON MARXIST...METHODS"  
-----

A CAPTURED FPL DOCUMENT DATED AUGUST 1985 CLEARLY INDICATES THE GUERRILLA DEDICATION TO "MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES," INDICATING THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING FRIEDRICH ENGLES' THEORIES IN LENGTH "ESPECIALLY THOSE IDEAS CONCERNING THEORY OF CAPITAL VALUE, APPRECIATION AND ACCUMULATION." ANOTHER FPL DOCUMENT DATED MARCH 1985 ENTITLED "FPL PROJECTIONS AND OUTLINES FOR 1985-86" DESCRIBES THEIR INTENTION TO "BASE ALL ORGANIC MEASURES ON: 1) MARXIST-LENINIST METHODS OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AND, 2) A STRENGTHENED CAPACITY TO DIRECT THE PEOPLE." THESE GUERRILLA PLANS SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO THE NECESSITY TO ADHERE TO "MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY GUIDELINES: EMPHASIZING THE LENINIST THEORIES OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE BATTLE FOR POWER AND DIALECTIC MATERIALISM."

3. THIS FPL DOCUMENT GOES ON TO PROVIDE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, AND THEIR RESPECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MARXIST-LENINIST REVOLUTION, COMPLETE WITH A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF MARXIST-LENINIST THOUGHT UPON WORLD HISTORY. IN A NOVEMBER 1984 ANALYSIS OF ITS POLITICAL-MILITARY SITUATION CONTAINED IN A CAPTURED FMLN NOTEBOOK, THE FMLN OFFERS A RARE GLIMPSE INTO THE WORLD-VIEW OF THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLA ALLIANCE. IT OBSERVES THAT,

- "WE ARE IN AN EPOCH OF SOCIALIST, ANTI-CAPITALIST REVOLUTIONS WHICH BEGAN IN 1917 AND INCLUDES THE MAJORITY OF ASIA, A FOURTH OF AFRICA, CUBA AND NICARAGUA--THERE IS NOT A SINGLE COUNTRY WHERE THERE IS NOT AN ORGANIZATION FIGHTING FOR SOCIALISM. THIS CONTEMPORARY EPOCH IS CHARACTERIZED BY THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM."

4. "ONLY ONE COMMUNIST PARTY"  
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ACCORDING TO THE 1985-1986 FPL PROJECTIONS DOCUMENT, THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE FMLN-FDR STRATEGIC ALLIANCE "WILL PERMIT THE REVOLUTION TO MANIPULATE THE POLITICAL MILITARY SITUATION WITH THE GOAL OF TAKING POWER. AN INSURGENT DIRECTIVE REAFFIRMS THIS POSITION STATING THAT, "ALL EFFORT SHOULD BE EXERTED FOR THE SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER."

5. FOLLOWING THE SEIZURE OF POWER, THE GUERRILLA ALLIANCE, ACCORDING TO AN UNDATED FARN DOCUMENT CAPTURED IN APRIL 1985, WILL SEEK TO "CREATE A GOVERNMENT WITH A SINGLE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY" WHICH WILL "INSTALL AND CONSOLIDATE A DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP." THE DOCUMENT ADDED THAT: "UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES CAN THE FMLN LAY DOWN ITS ARMS TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS."

6. STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL FRIENDS AND PERMANENT FOES:  
"PARALYZE AND DEFEAT NORTH AMERICAN WILL"  
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ACCORDING TO THE FARN DOCUMENT OUTLINING STRATEGY AND TACTICS, THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT, ONCE ESTABLISHED, WILL DECLARE "NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" AS ITS "PRINCIPAL ENEMY." ITS ALLIES WILL CONSIST OF 1) "WORKERS AND PEASANTS PREDOMINATED BY THE PROLETARIAT," 2) "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND WORLD WORKERS MOVEMENTS." THE FARN DOCUMENT ALSO CLEARLY DEFINES THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT FMLN ALLIANCES AND CLASSIFIES THEM AS BEING EITHER STRATEGIC (PERMANENT) OR TACTICAL (TEMPORARY). THE PARTNERSHIP WITH THE "WORLD SOCIALIST MOVEMENT," "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES," AND "NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS" ARE CONSIDERED PERMANENT OR "STRATEGIC." CONVERSELY, THE PRESENT ALLIANCES WITH THE "DOMESTIC BOURGEOISIE", "MIDDLE-CLASS", "FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORCES, MOVEMENTS, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS WHICH OPPOSE U.S. INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR AND CENTRAL AMERICA" ARE CLASSIFIED AS EXPENDABLE AFTER THE REVOLUTION IS WON, BUT NEVERTHELESS CRITICAL TO THE SEIZURE OF POWER.

7. ACCORDING TO A PRTC FINANCIAL REPORT CAPTURED IN APRIL 1985, DATED JANUARY 1983-NOVEMBER 1984, THE GUERRILLAS



CURRENTLY RECEIVE INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE IN THE FORM OF "GRANTS FROM INSTITUTIONS, PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF BROTHER COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION, THE UNDATED FARN DOCUMENT ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS STATES THAT THEY ALSO ACTIVELY SEEK TO "GAIN WESTERN-BLOC ALLIES TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE U.S. FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT." THE FARN DOCUMENT FURTHER INSTRUCTS THAT "THE NEGOTIATING TABLE SHOULD BE USED TO PRESSURE THE U.S. INTO WITHDRAWING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR." NEGOTIATIONS WOULD "LEGITIMIZE REVOLUTIONARY POWER" AND "PARALYZE AND DEFEAT NORTH AMERICAN WILL."

8. SIMILARY, AN FPL INTERNAL CIRCULAR STATING FPL OBJECTIVES FOR 1984 INDICATED THE INTENTION TO EXERT DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE ON THE U.S. THE DOCUMENT RECOMMENDED ACTION ON THREE FRONTS: 1) "STRENGTHEN RELATIONS FOR FMLN ALLIANCE IN EUROPE THROUGH A PROGRAM DIRECTED TOWARD SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS," 2)"INCREASE EXPANSION AND SUPPORT AMONG LATIN AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS, ESPECIALLY COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA, ARGENTINA, BRAZIL AND EQUADOR," 3) IN REFERENCE TO CONTADORA: "ESTABLISH A DEFINITE MEANS FOR REDUCING DEPENDENCY ON NORTH AMERICAN PLANS AND DECREASING VULNERABILITY TO YANKEE IDEAS."

9. A CAPTURED 72-PAGE LOG OF FPL MESSAGES DESCRIBING THE FOREIGN RELATIONS ORIENTATION OF THE SALVADORAN GUERRILLA GROUPS CAPTURED IN AUGUST OF 1984 REVEALS FREQUENT COMMUNICATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF NICARAGUA. AMONG OTHER TOPICS THE MESSAGES FOR NICARAGUA CONTAINED PROMISES OF MATERIAL SUPPORT AND ADMISSIONS THAT THE FSLN (SANDINISTAS) HAD BEEN "ATTACKING THE NEUTRALITY OF COSTA RICA."

THE LOG BOOK ALSO PROVIDED NICARAGUAN ASSESSMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO DUARTE'S ELECTION. IT WAS OBSERVED THAT SWEDEN HAD TEMPORARILY FROZEN ITS ECONOMIC AID TO THE GUERRILLAS WHILE RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL HAD IMPROVED DUE TO THE EFFORTS OF A FEMALE FMLN LIAISON IN LISBON. IT WAS FURTHER NOTED THAT FRANCE SHOWED OPPOSITION TO U.S. POLICIES IN CENTRAL AMERICA BUT, BECAUSE OF DUARTE'S ELECTION, WAS BLOCKED ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT.

## 10. DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

THE MOST BASIC UNIT OF THE GUERRILLA POLITICAL-MILITARY ORGANIZATION IS THE CELL. MINUTES CAPTURED IN AUGUST 1984 OF A "ZONAL COMMITTEE MEETING" OF THE PRTC, A FORUM IN WHICH THE CELL REPRESENTATIVES OF A GIVEN REGION MEET TO SHARE INFORMATION, CLARIFY THE WORKINGS OF THE GUERRILLA STRUCTURE AND PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. ACCORDING TO THIS DOCUMENT DATED FEBRUARY 1984, THE ZONAL COMMITTEES--WHICH ANSWER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE--ARE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR INSTITUTING "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM" AND INSTILLING "RESPECT FOR HIGHER ORGANS OF THE PARTY." IN A SELF-ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMITTEE'S ACHIEVEMENTS IT WAS NOTED THAT THEY "HAVE CLASSIFIED AND HAVE CONTROL OF ALL PARTY MEMBERS, PARTY ASPIRANTS AND COLLABORATORS", INDICATING THAT THE CELLS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR RECRUITMENT AND PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT. THE ZONAL COMMITTEE MEETING FURTHER REVEALS THAT THE CELLS ARE ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR DEVISING THE GRASS-ROOTS "WORK PLANS."

11. ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING CHARACTERISTICS CONTAINED IN MANY OF THE CAPTURED DOCUMENTS IS THE CLOSE INTER-MARRIAGE AT ALL LEVELS OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY ASPECTS. FOR EXAMPLE, A 1984 FPL DIRECTIVE ORDERED ITS COMMANDS TO COOPERATE WITH THE "SALVADORAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN MILITARY MATTERS AND COMMAND QUALIFICATIONS." THIS INCLUDED, "DEVELOPMENT OF JOINT MANEUVERS, MAINTENANCE OF INTERCHANGE WITH THE POLITICAL COMMISSION" AND "FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS."

12. A PRTC DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND SELF EVALUATION DATED MARCH 1985 INDICATES THAT POLITICAL CADRE ARE SPECIFICALLY DESIGNATED--NOT ONLY TO ACCOMPANY EACH MILITARY UNIT, BUT INDEED TO HOLD THE HIGHEST RANK WITHIN THOSE UNITS. THE MILITARY LEADER ALSO PERFORMS THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PARTY CHIEF. THE "POLITICAL COMMISSAR"--YET ANOTHER INDIVIDUAL WITHIN THE MILITARY UNIT--IS SPECIFICALLY VESTED WITH "THE POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF THE TROOPS".

## 13. GUERRILLA IDEOLOGICAL FITNESS REPORTS

THESE SAME PRTC MINUTES FURTHER DEMONSTRATE THE HIGH ORGANIZATIONAL PRIORITY GIVEN IDEOLOGY AND REVEAL THAT

"COMRADES" REGULARLY UNDERGO DETAILED IDEOLOGICAL EVALUATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, "REBECCA" WAS PRAISED BECAUSE: 1) "SHE MAINTAINS GOOD WORK RELATIONS WITH ALL HER COMRADES," 2) IS "EXPERIENCED IN PARTY WORK," 3) "IS CONCERNED THAT EVERYONE SHOULD FOLLOW THE PARTY LINE," 4) "SHE HAS ATTAINED A HIGH LEVEL OF PROLETARIANISM AND KNOWLEDGE OF MARXISM." LIKEWISE, "NELSON" WAS DESCRIBED BY HIS SUPERIORS AS HAVING A "GOOD LEVEL OF PROLETARIANISM." "TAVO", ON THE OTHER HAND, WAS CRITICIZED FOR NOT BEING "MORE FAMILIAR WITH MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE PARTY-LINE." IT WAS ALSO SUGGESTED THAT "TAVO" "SHOULD OVERCOME HIS IDEOLOGICAL DOUBTS."

14. ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL OF THE POPULATION: PODERES POPULARES (GUERRILLA LOCAL GOVERNMENTS)

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ANOTHER FORM OF LOCAL POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, MORE ADVANCED THAN THE CELL, ARE THE "PODERES POPULARES DE LIBERACION" (PPL) OR POPULAR POWERS OF LIBERATION. DESCRIBED IN AN UNDATED FPL PAMPHLET CAPTURED IN JANUARY 1985, THEIR STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION APPEARS TO BE SIMILAR TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CUBA. THE PPL IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MANAGING THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND LEGAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE SITUATED IN THE CONTROLLED ZONE (AN AREA UNDER GUERRILLA CONTROL). USUALLY A SINGLE PPL CONTAINS NOT LESS THAN 200 PERSONS. THE (FPL) PARTY DIRECTLY ADMINISTERS THE PPL "THROUGH ITS MILITANTS WHO ARE DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT ALL THE POLITICAL-MILITARY INSTRUMENTS IN THE AREA." THE DOCUMENT REFLECTS CONCERN THAT THE PARTY ASSURE THAT "THE MEMBERS ELECTED TO THE PPL HAVE MILITANTS IN THE FPL" SO THAT "THE PARTY CAN KEEP ITS BEST PEOPLE AT THE CENTER FOR THE INTERNAL POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL COHESION FOR MARXIST-LENINIST TRAINING."

15. THE PAMPHLET DRAWS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ROLE OF THE PPL BEFORE AND AFTER THE "TAKE-OVER OF POWER." "BEFORE THE POWER TAKE-OVER, THE PPL IS A LOCAL GOVERNMENT AT WAR." THE PAMPHLET SPECIFIES THAT THIS POST TAKE-OVER STAGE WILL, IN CONTRAST, BE CHARACTERIZED BY "ORGANIZATIONAL CONTROL OF THE POPULATION," "ORIENTATION OF THE INHABITANTS IN THE POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THEIR SOCIETY," AND "CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY FORCE."

16. THE DOCUMENT GOES ON TO INDICATE THE PPL POSSESSES THREE MAIN BUREAUCRATIC ORGANS: 1) THE POPULAR ASSEMBLY WHICH IS THE "ULTIMATE AUTHORITY" AND RESPONSIBLE FOR THE "ELECTION" OF JUNTA MEMBERS; 2) THE GOVERNMENTAL JUNTA, THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF "MANAGEMENT," AND 3) THE POPULAR REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL WHICH SERVES AN ADVISORY ROLE.

17. THE PAMPHLET PAINSTAKINGLY DELINEATES THE ROLE OF THE PPL WITH RESPECT TO THE "MASSES." IT STATES, "THE PPL IS NOT THE SAME AS THE MASSES BUT...IS TO BE A "GOVERNING ORGAN OF THE 'MASSES'," WHILE THE "MASSES" ARE "PEOPLE (WHO HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED) INTO THE STRUGGLE."

18. DESTROY...DESTROY...DESTROY  
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THE DOCUMENTS CLARIFY FMLN-FDR TACTICS TOWARD BOTH THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND THE CREATION OF A GUERRILLA INFRASTRUCTURE BASED ON ONE PARTY. AN UNDATED FARN DOCUMENT CAPTURED IN APRIL 1985 OUTLINES INSURGENT PLANS FOR COUNTERACTING THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR AND PRESCRIBES METHODS BY WHICH THIS MIGHT BE BROUGHT ABOUT. THESE METHODS ARE CHARACTERIZED BY THE DESTRUCTION OF "SOFT-TARGETS," PRESUMABLY TO DEMONSTRATE GOVERNMENT IMPOTENCE, THUS ALIENATING THE POPULATION. THE STATED OBJECTIVES ARE AS FOLLOWS: 1) "DESTROY LOCAL POWER (MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY);" 2) "DESTROY ELECTRICAL POWER LINES;" 3) "DESTROY RAIL LINES;" 4) "DESTROY TELECOMMUNICATIONS SYSTEMS;" 5) "EXPAND OUR POLICY AGAINST COFFEE, COTTON AND SABOTAGE HIGHWAYS."

19. THE "PLAN TO DESTROY LOCAL POWER" OUTLINED IN THIS DOCUMENT NOTES THAT ONLY 24 OUT OF 86 GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR MUNICIPALITIES IN THE EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY HAVE PERMANENT DEFENSES. IT POINTS OUT THAT LOCAL POWER (MUNICIPAL AUTHORITY) COULD BE ERADICATED IN THE REMAINING 62 MUNICIPALITIES BY "DESTROYING TOWN HALLS, DOING AWAY WITH THE MAYORS AND ALL MUNICIPAL PARTY WORKERS, ESPECIALLY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS." THE RESULT WOULD BE THAT THE PLAN WOULD "PUT AN END TO THE ELECTORAL PROCESS" AND "CREATE A STATE OF ANARCHY." THE PLAN ADMITS THAT "WITHOUT CHAOS AND ANARCHY, WE WILL NOT WIN NEW ZONES." THE INSURGENT PLAN ALSO CONSIDERED THEIR REACTION TO GOVERNMENT AID PROGRAMS DIRECTED AT RECONSTRUCTING

WAR-TORN MUNICIPALITIES. "WHERE WE HAVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE MAYORS WE MUST MAKE AGREEMENTS THAT NO ENEMY PLAN WILL BE ALLOWED AND LET THEM KNOW THAT WE CAN DESTABILIZE LOCAL POWER."

20. "IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL SUSTENANCE"  
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A FMLN CENTRAL COMMAND PRIMER FOR INDOCTRINATION DATED FEBRUARY 1985 STATES, "INDOCTRINATION...IS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL EFFORTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY BATTLE... OUR ORGANIZATION HAS DECIDED TO EXPAND THIS EFFORT INTO ALL ZONES AND FRONTS. IN ORDER TO DO THIS HUNDREDS OF MILITANTS...SHOULD LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN OF INDOCTRINATION IN ALL SECTORS."

21. THE EXPECTED BENEFITS TO BE GAINED BY SUCH A CONCENTRATED EFFORT IS PARTIALLY EXPLAINED BY ANOTHER UNDATED, FMLN CENTRAL COMMAND DOCUMENT CAPTURED IN FEBRUARY 1985, CLAIMING THAT INDOCTRINATION "GIVES THE MASSES A BASE FOR IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL SUSTENANCE." OTHER PARALLEL QUALITIES RESULTING FROM SUCCESSFUL INDOCTRINATION PROGRAMS WERE "RAISING THE MASS LEVEL OF SUPPORT TOWARD THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR" AND "DEVELOPING CLASS AWARENESS..., LOOKING TOWARD CONFRONTATION WITH IMPERIALISM AND THE PROLONGATION OF THE WAR."

22. THE POSSESSION OF IDEAS OTHER THAN THOSE PRESCRIBED BY THE PARTY ARE VIEWED AS A SERIOUS THREAT. THE FPL "PLANS FOR 1985-86" EXPRESSES THE NEED TO "PURIFY THE PARTY THROUGH GREATER CONTROL OF THE MILITANTS (IN THEIR IDEOLOGICAL VIEWS)." IT WAS RECOMMENDED THAT THE "FIRST EFFORT SHOULD BE TO RESCUE AND RE-EDUCATE THE IDEOLOGICALLY INCORRECT." "IDEOLOGICAL RENEGADES" SAY THE GUERRILLA PLANS, "ARE A DAMAGING TREND FOR OUR REVOLUTION".

23. THE FMLN CENTRAL COMMAND PLAN TO REVITALIZE A WEAKENING "MASSES" MOVEMENT SEEKS TO "CREATE A POLITICAL MOVEMENT" BY INSURING THAT "THE PARTY CADRE, ORGANIZERS, POLITICAL AGITATORS...ORGANIZE, INDOCTRINATE AND ORIENT THE MASSES." A SIMILAR ATTITUDE IS EXPRESSED BY A PRTC WORK PLAN FOR NORTHEAST SAN MIGUEL AIMED AT "RAISING THEIR POLITICAL AWARENESS SO THAT THEY CAN JOIN THE STRUGGLE..."

24. A PRTC DOCUMENT DATED MARCH 1985 SPECIFIED MECHANISMS THROUGH WHICH IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION WAS GIVEN. IT STATED THAT "THE POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING OF MEMBERS HAS BEEN BROADENED THROUGH SEMINARS...AND COURSES ON MARXISM-LENINISM." THESE COURSES WERE TO BE TAUGHT AT THE PRTC'S OWN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION CALLED "THE ADAN DIAZ POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL SCHOOL." AN FPL DOCUMENT DATED AUGUST 1984 REVEALED THE CONTENT OF A SIMILAR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM. THE ORGANIZATION CALLED FOR "THE STUDY OF MARXIST POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ENGELS' WRITINGS ON MARX." THE DOCUMENT ADDED THAT "IT IS IMPORTANT TO STUDY THESE THEORIES IN DEPTH, ESPECIALLY THOSE IDEAS CONCERNING THEORY OF CAPITAL VALUE, APPRECIATION AND ACCUMULATION...TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF OUR CAPITALIST DEPENDENT COUNTRY."

25. THE PRTC GUERRILLA ORGANS CHARGED WITH LOCAL DISSEMINATION OF PROPAGANDA CONDUCT AN "INFORMATION EXCHANGE WITH THE PROPAGANDA COMMISSION" EVERY MONTH, PRESUMABLY TO INFORM THEMSELVES ON THE NEW "POLICY LINES." THE MOST RECENT INSTRUCTIONS HANDED DOWN FROM THE PROPAGANDA COMMISSION OF THE PRTC RECOMMENDED THAT THE LOCAL GROUPS IN CHARGE OF PROPAGANDA "RELATE TO THE PATRIOTIC VALUES OF THE NATION AND PROJECT THE FMLN AS THE FORCE REPRESENTING POPULAR POWER".

26. AN FPL DOCUMENT OUTLINING A WORK-PLAN DATED APRIL 4, 1985 CONVEYED A SIMILAR DESIRE TO SHAPE IDEAS AND VALUES OF THE POPULATION OR, MORE PRECISELY, "UNITE MILITANTS POLITICALLY AND IDEOLOGICALLY AROUND THE POLICIES SET BY HIGHER ECHELONS." AMONG THE "IDEOLOGICAL FAULTS" THE PARTY VOWED TO "COMBAT" AMONG ITS "MILITANTS" WERE "SUBJECTIVITY, IDEALISM AND LIBERALISM."

27. THE FMLN PRIMER FOR INDOCTRINATION DOCUMENTS THE OPERATION OF THE PROPAGANDA TEAMS. THE PRIMER ALERTS TEAM MEMBERS TO THE "ATTITUDES (THE GUERRILLAS) CAN EXPECT" FROM THE PEOPLE. AMONG THE POSSIBLE REACTIONS LISTED WERE "NERVOUSNESS, FEAR AND EVEN INDIFFERENCE."

28. THE INDOCTRINATION PRIMER INSTRUCTS TEAM MEMBERS TO COLLECT PERSONAL INFORMATION SUCH AS "THE NAMES OF FAMILY MEMBERS, HOW FAMILIES ARE RELATED, HOW MANY CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD" AND "HOW THEY EARN THEIR MONEY."

29. THE QUESTION OF UNIFIED COMMAND  
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ALL GUERRILLA ORGANIZATIONS, THE FARN/RN, FAR-LP/PRTC, FAL/PCES, FAPL/FPC AND ERP/PRS, ARE REPRESENTED IN THE DOCUMENTS. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, SOME DOUBTS AS TO WHETHER THEIR COMMAND IS AS UNIFIED AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST OR WHETHER, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ERP STANDS FOR THE SAME OBJECTIVES AND PROMOTES THE SAME METHODS AS THE FARN. ON 14 AUGUST 1985, THE FMLN GENERAL COMMAND BROADCAST A STATEMENT WHICH LEAVES NO ROOM FOR AMBIGUITY. THE MESSAGE WAS READ BY LEONEL GONZALES, HEAD OF THE FPL AND A MEMBER OF THE FMLN GENERAL COMMAND, OVER RADIO VENCEREMOS, THE ERP (EJERCITO REVOLUCIONARIO POPULAR) ORGAN. SENDING A "FRATERNAL, COMBATIVE AND SOLIDARITY GREETING," HE STRESSED THE "UNITY" AND "COHESION" OF THE FMLN FORCES AND STATED THAT THEY "ARE CLOSER TO THE COMPLETE UNIFICATION OF (THEIR) REVOLUTIONARY ARMY." ACCORDING TO THE STATEMENT, "SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES CONCERNING (THEIR) STRATEGY NO LONGER EXIST" AND ADDED THEY "HAVE A SINGLE POLITICAL LINE.

30. THE FMLN CLAIMED THAT THEY ARE "ABOUT TO TAKE FIRM STEPS TOWARD IDEOLOGICAL UNIFICATION" WHICH, GIVEN THE KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR PRESENT SIMILARITIES AS TOLD BY THE CAPTURED DOCUMENTS, SHOULD NOT BE A DIFFICULT TASK, IN AN IDEOLOGICAL SENSE, ALTHOUGH MAJOR PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES AND DISAGREEMENTS OVER TACTICS WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY IMPEDE TOTAL UNITY (I.E., UNITY UNDER WHOM?). THEY FURTHER VOWED TO WORK "TOWARD PARTY UNITY UNTIL (THEY) BECOME A SINGLE ORGANIZATION" SO THAT THEY CAN "DEFEAT THE INFLUENCE OF THE BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY BASED ON INDIVIDUALISM." STRENGTHENING THEIR "PROLETARIAN AND REVOLUTIONARY VALUES" THE FMLN LEADERSHIP PROMISED TO "BECOME A SINGLE PARTY AND A SINGLE ARMY."

31. THE ALLIANCE PROMISED TO CONTINUE "DISMEMBERING (THE GOVERNMENT'S) LOCAL (READ: MUNICIPAL) AND NATIONAL POWER", AND DEFEAT THE "PEOPLES ENEMY" AND THE "SLOGAN RULING (THEIR) ACTIONS IS: LET US DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR." WHILE THEY ADMITTED THAT THE "ENEMY'S (READ: GOVERNMENT'S) PLAN IS TO REDUCE THE WAR," THEY ADDED THAT THEIR "PLAN IS TO BRING THE WAR TO THE ENTIRE COUNTRY."

32. GONZALES CLOSED BY STATING THAT "THE FMLN, (THE) PEOPLE'S VANGUARD...WILL HAVE THE LAST WORD IN THIS WAR OF LIBERATION." AS IS CUSTOMARY IN THE USSR, CUBA, NICARAGUA AND OTHER "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES, THE STATEMENT WAS CAPPED BY SLOGANS: "LONG LIVE THE WORKERS' STRUGGLE", "LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY WORK" AND "LONG LIVE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY."

33. CONCLUSION: IT IS CLEAR THAT THE FMLN INTENDS NOTHING LESS THAN THE SEIZURE OF COMPLETE POWER IN EL SALVADOR, AND THAT THAT SEIZURE OF POWER WILL TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A SINGLE "COMMUNIST" PARTY. THE CONCEPT OF DIALOGUE -- THE ONLY TIME IT WAS TOUCHED ON WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF "LEGITIMIZING REVOLUTIONARY POWERS" -- CAN THEN BE SEEN IN ITS PROPER PERSPECTIVE -- A CYNICAL MEANS TO DISTRACT THE GOES FROM THE WAR AND TO SCORE TACTICAL PROPAGANDA POINTS. THERE IS NO ROOM IN THE FMLN OUTLOOK FOR THE POPULAR VOICE TO BE EXPRESSED IN FREE ELECTIONS. THESE DOCUMENTS INDICATE FURTHER THAT THE MANIPULATION OF IDEAS, PEOPLE AND THE TRUTH ARE THE PRIME MEANS TO ACHIEVE FMLN GOALS.



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**AMERICAS WATCH REPORT: AN EXPLOITATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:**  
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THE AMERICAS WATCH REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 1985 IS A LESSON IN THE EXPLOITATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS TO SUPPORT AMERICAS WATCH'S POLITICAL STAND AGAINST U.S. POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE REPORT IS BASED PRIMARILY ON PRO-FMLN SOURCES, AND RELIES HEAVILY ON TESTIMONY FROM FMLN SUPPORTERS FROM THE GUERRILLA STRONGHOLD OF GUAZAPA AND FROM SYMPATHIZERS AND FAMILIES OF GUERRILLAS IN CHURCH CAMPS IN EL SALVADOR AND REFUGEE CAMPS IN HONDURAS. IT DEPENDS FOR ITS FIGURES ON TUTELA LEGAL, THE CATHOLIC LEGAL AID OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF SAN SALVADOR, WHOSE METHODOLOGY IS QUESTIONABLE AND WHOSE STATISTICS WE HAVE SHOWN TO BE BADLY FLAWED AND BIASED. THE AW REPORT ACCEPTS TUTELA LEGAL'S METHODOLOGY WITHOUT CRITICAL ANALYSIS. IT INCLUDES ERRORS OF FACT. THE REPORT IS SUPERFICIAL, DEMONSTRATING A LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN EL SALVADOR AND OF THE BEHAVIOR AND CUSTOMS OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE. TO MAKE ITS CASE, AMERICAS WATCH REPEATEDLY DREDGES UP INCIDENTS FROM THE PAST TO SUPPORT THE REPORT'S CONTENTION THAT TERROR CONTINUES IN THE PRESENT. THE REPORT IGNORES THE SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS MILIEU AND PRESIDENT DUARTE'S STRONG EMPHASIS ON ITS CONTINUING IMPROVEMENT. AMERICAS WATCH TREADS LIGHTLY ON GUERRILLA ATROCITIES; THE 150-PAGE REPORT DEVOTES ONLY 16 PAGES TO GUERRILLA HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, WHICH ARE TODAY FLAGRANT AND CONSPICUOUS IN COMPARISON WITH THE DEMONSTRABLY IMPROVED COMPORTMENT OF GOVERNMENT SECURITY FORCES.

**3. SPECIFIC ABUSES CHARGED:**  
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THE REPORT CHARGES THE DUARTE GOVERNMENT WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND VIOLATIONS OF THE "LAWS OF WAR" IN SEVERAL AREAS. AMERICAS WATCH ALLEGES THAT THE FOLLOWING COMBAT-RELATED ABUSES OCCUR:

- 1) VIOLATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN REGULATIONS GOVERNING AERIAL BOMBING;
- 2) FORCED RELOCATION OF CIVILIANS "BY ABUSIVE MEANS";
- 3) HARASSMENT OF RELIEF AND MEDICAL OPERATIONS; AND
- 4) USE OF COERCION IN ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CIVIL DEFENSE SYSTEM.

THE REPORT ACCUSES THE GOES OF RESPONSIBILITY IN THE FOLLOWING NON-COMBAT AREAS:

- 1) RESURGENCE OF DEATH SQUAD ACTIVITIES;
- 2) USE OF TORTURE BY ARMED FORCES;

3) FAILURE TO PUNISH MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES; AND

4) LACK OF RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THE COURTS, PRESS, LABOR UNIONS, AND UNIVERSITIES.

4. GENERAL COMMENT ON THE REPORT:  
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A. INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING: THE AMERICAS WATCH CHARGE OF INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING IS A CANARD. CIVILIAN CASUALTIES HAVE RARELY OCCURRED SINCE PRESIDENT DUARTE ORDERED NEW RULES OF ENGAGEMENT FOR THE USE OF AIR POWER IN AUGUST 1984, AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES SINCE THAT TIME IS VERY LOW. CAREFUL MONITORING HAS SHOWN THAT THE AIR FORCE CAREFULLY CONTROLS ITS BOMBING MISSIONS AND CLOSELY FOLLOWS THE BOMBING RULES ESTABLISHED BY THE PRESIDENT.

B. "FORCED RELOCATION OF CIVILIANS" IS A CHARGE BASED ON A FEW ISOLATED INSTANCES WHERE CIVILIAN GUERRILLA SUPPORTERS (MASAS) WERE CAPTURED DURING MILITARY SWEEPS. THOSE MASAS WHO DID NOT HAVE OTHER RESOURCES WERE TRANSFERRED TO DISPLACED PERSONS CAMPS THROUGH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) AND CHURCH GROUPS. THESE CIVILIANS, IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW, WERE REMOVED FROM A LIFE OF TERROR, DEPRIVATION, PSYCHOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION INTENDED TO SOW FEAR AND DISTRUST OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND DANGER DUE TO THEIR LIVING AND TRAVELLING WITH THE GUERRILLA COMBATANTS. IN INTERVIEWS WITH GUERRILLA MASAS, EMBASSY OFFICERS FOUND THAT MANY MASAS REMAIN WITH THE GUERRILLAS OUT OF FEAR, A FEAR FED BY GUERRILLAS WHO TELL THEM THAT THEY WILL BE TORTURED AND KILLED IF CAPTURED BY THE ESAF -- CHARGES WHICH MAY HAVE HAD SOME VALIDITY IN THE PAST, BUT NO LONGER DO TODAY.

C. LIKEWISE, THE REPORT'S CHARGE OF HARASSMENT OF RELIEF AND MEDICAL WORKERS BY THE MILITARY MAY HAVE HAD SOME BASIS IN THE PAST, BUT COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THESE GROUPS AND THE MILITARY HAS IMPROVED AND COMPLAINTS HAVE FALLEN OFF ACCORDINGLY. THE CASES CITED BY AW ARE WELL KNOWN TO THE EMBASSY. IN OUR FOLLOW-UP ON THESE ACCUSATIONS, WE FOUND THAT CERTAIN VILLAGES WERE RECEIVING DOUBLE OR TRIPLE DONATIONS OF FOOD AND MEDICINE FROM SEVERAL RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS, AS A RESULT OF WHICH THE GUERRILLAS WERE TAKING SHIPMENTS FROM THE INHABITANTS AFTER THE RELIEF TEAMS DEPARTED. AS NOTED BY A.W., DOCTORS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF GUERRILLA ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, BUT FOR HOLDING THAT MEMBERSHIP, NOT FOR PROVIDING MEDICAL SERVICES. ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN A GUERRILLA ORGANIZATION IS AGAINST SALVADORAN LAW. TO PRESENT A BALANCED PICTURE THE REPORT SHOULD NOTE THAT THE ICRC PROVIDES FOOD AND MEDICINE TO MORE THAN 80,000 PERSONS IN OR NEAR THE

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CONFLICTIVE AREAS, AMONG WHOM ARE SOME OF THE 25,000 MASAS WHOM ROBERT MCCARTNEY ESTIMATES ARE STILL LIVING IN ZONES OF HEAVY GUERRILLA PRESENCE AND SUPPORTING THE GUERRILLAS (ROBERT MCCARTNEY, "REBELS OPTIMISTIC DESPITE ARMY ATTACKS", "THE WASHINGTON POST", P. A1, NOVEMBER 7, 1985). THIS SHOULD BE AMPLE PROOF THAT THE GOES ALLOWS RELIEF OPERATIONS TO PROVIDE FOOD AND MEDICAL CARE TO GUERRILLA MASAS.

D. THE REPORT'S ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE CIVIL DEFENSE AS AN ABUSER OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION HAVE SOME BASIS. NEVERTHELESS, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE PRODUCTIVE TO STRESS THE PROGRESS BEING MADE IN THIS REGARD AND TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE VESTIGES OF THE OLD CIVIL DEFENSE, AND THE NEW CIVIL DEFENSE WHICH STARTED IN 1984 WITH U.S. SUPPORT AND IS GRADUALLY DISPLACING THE OLD. UNLIKE OLD CIVIL DEFENSE, MEMBERS OF THE NEW CORPS ARE UNPAID VOLUNTEERS WHO ARE SUPERVISED BY A CIVIL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, USUALLY CHAIRED BY THE MAYOR AND COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF A BROAD SAMPLING OF THE MUNICIPALITIES' POLITICAL COMPLEXION. UNDOUBTEDLY, AS THE REPORT CLAIMS, THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL PEER PRESSURE TO JOIN CIVIL DEFENSE AS THE NEW PROGRAM HAS PROVED QUITE SUCCESSFUL IN PROTECTING AGAINST GUERRILLA ATTACKS AND WANTON ACTS OF GUERRILLA TERRORISM IN THE NEARLY 80 TOWNS WHERE IT HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. CIVIL DEFENSE MEMBERS, OLD AND NEW, AND THEIR FAMILIES ARE SUBJECT TO FMLN INTIMIDATION AND ATROCITIES, SUCH AS THOSE WHICH OCCURRED AT SANTA CRUZ LOMA AND SAN IGNACIO DURING 1985. WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY CASE WHERE MEMBERS OF NEW CIVIL DEFENSE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. WHEN THE OLD CIVIL DEFENSE IS ACCUSED OF ABUSES OF AUTHORITY, THE GOES HAS REACTED BY ARRESTING THOSE RESPONSIBLE. U.S. TRAINERS ARE EMPHASIZING RESPECT FOR THE CIVILIAN POPULATION WHEN FORMULATING CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING PROGRAMS. THE PARISH PRIESTS WHO MINISTER TO THE ARMED FORCES GIVE HUMAN RIGHTS LECTURES TO THE CIVIL DEFENSE FORCES AS WELL.

E. NON-COMBAT-RELATED ABUSES:

A.W.'S MOST DAMNING ACCUSATION AGAINST THE GOES IS THAT DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS ARE COMMITTED BY THE ARMED FORCES AND PARAMILITARY GROUPS. AS THE BASIS FOR ITS ALLEGATIONS, AW CITED STATISTICS PROVIDED BY TUTELA LEGAL. NEITHER AW NOR TUTELA LEGAL, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN ABLE TO PROVIDE ANY PERSUASIVE EVIDENCE OF LINKAGE BETWEEN POLITICAL KILLINGS AND THE ARMED FORCES. IN THE U.S. EMBASSY'S VIEW, TUTELA LEGAL ARBITRARILY ATTRIBUTES KILLINGS BY UNKNOWN ASSAILANTS TO RIGHTIST "PARAMILITARY DEATH SQUADS" (REF B). ACTUALLY, MANY OF THESE KILLINGS APPEAR TO BE COMMON CRIME, WITHOUT POLITICAL MOTIVATION. OF THOSE WITH A POLITICAL MOTIVE, THE LARGEST PERCENTAGE ARE CLAIMED BY OR APPEAR TO BE PERPETRATED BY THE LEFT. THE RIGHT PUBLICLY CLAIMED

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ONLY ONE KILLING IN ALL OF 1984, AND CLAIMED NONE IN ALL OF 1985 UNTIL DECEMBER, WHEN A PREVIOUSLY UNHEARD-OF VIGILANTE GROUP CLAIMED TO HAVE KILLED THREE MEN IN SANTA ANA BECAUSE THEY WERE THIEVES WHOM THE COURTS HAD NOT PUNISHED.

IN ITS CHARGE OF USE OF TORTURE BY THE ARMED FORCES, THE AUTHORS HAVE AGAIN BASED THEIR ALLEGATIONS ON TESTIMONY TAKEN FROM GUERRILLAS OR GUERRILLA SYMPATHIZERS. INTERVIEWS WITH GUERRILLAS IN PRISON SHOULD BE VIEWED WITH CAUTION, AS THEY ARE WELL VERSED IN THE MANIPULATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS A PROPAGANDA TOOL TO USE AGAINST THE DUARTE GOVERNMENT. IT IS PROBABLE THAT PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE IS APPLIED DURING INTERROGATION BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE PHYSICAL TORTURE IS A DELIBERATE POLICY OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT, NOR THAT IT IS COMMON. COMPLAINTS OF TORTURE ARE SIGNIFICANTLY FEWER THAN IN THE PAST, AND THE ARMED FORCES AND THE POLICE FORCES IN PARTICULAR ARE MAKING A SIGNIFICANT EFFORT TO REDUCE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION BY INSTITUTING SAFEGUARDS IN THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS AND ALLOWING ACCESS TO THEM BY REPRESENTATIVES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCIES. THE REPORT NEGLECTS TO MENTION THE POSITIVE EFFORTS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE ARMED FORCES IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1985. THE LACK OF BALANCE IN THE REPORT AND FAILURE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE IMPROVEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE DEMONSTRATES, IN OUR VIEW, THE REPORT'S BIAS.

A.W. NOTES THAT NO OFFICER HAS YET BEEN FOUND GUILTY OF A HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE. HOWEVER, CONTRARY TO A.W.'S CLAIM, ENLISTED MEN HAVE BEEN CONVICTED OF ABUSES AGAINST SALVADORANS. IT IS CLEAR THAT THERE IS NOW A MORE DELIBERATE AND SYSTEMATIC EFFORT TO CATCH AND RECTIFY HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES: ACCORDING TO FIGURES PROVIDED BY THE VICE MINISTER FOR PUBLIC SECURITY, COLONEL REYNALDO LOPEZ NUILA, ONLY THREE MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY WERE CHARGED WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN 1979; BUT THE NUMBER GREW TO 271 IN 1984.

5. LACK OF RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THE COURTS, PRESS, LABOR UNIONS, AND UNIVERSITIES:  
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A. THE COURTS: -AFTER STATING ON P. 5 THAT AMONG THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT'S ABUSES ARE "SHORTCOMINGS IN RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND PROPER FUNCTIONING OF SUCH CRUCIAL INSTITUTIONS...AS THE COURTS...", AMERICAS WATCH FAILS TO CONSTRUCT A CASE TO SUPPORT ITS ASSERTION. AMERICAS WATCH DOES NO IN-DEPTH STUDY, OR EVEN A DETAILED DESCRIPTION, OF THE VERY REAL PROBLEMS OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. RATHER, ITS TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT IS ANECDOTAL (PP. 134-139). THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT IS CONSCIOUS OF THE PROBLEMS OF INTIMIDATION, POOR PAY, CORRUPTION, LACK OF INVESTIGATIVE CAPACITY,

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TRAINING, AND IN SOME INSTANCES AN OUTDATED PENAL CODE -- PROBLEMS WHICH, TO BE FAIR, EXIST IN MANY OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. IT IS ATTACKING THESE PROBLEMS THROUGH A U.S. AID-FUNDED JUDICIAL REFORM PROJECT, WHICH THE A.W. REPORT OUTLINES BUT CRITICIZES FOR MOVING TOO SLOWLY.

B. THE PRESS: AMERICAS WATCH CLAIMS RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN EL SALVADOR, WHILE FAILING TO NOTE THAT THE RESTRICTIONS (WHICH STEM FROM "STATE-OF-SIEGE" LEGISLATION) ARE NOT ENFORCED. THERE IS NO CENSORSHIP OF THE MEDIA. AMERICAS WATCH HARKS BACK TO 1980 AND 1981, WHEN TWO OPPOSITION NEWSPAPERS WERE CLOSED, TO SUPPORT ITS THESIS OF NO PRESS FREEDOM IN EL SALVADOR IN 1985 (P. 147). THOUGH CLAIMING "RESTRICTIONS" ON THE MEDIA, AW NOTES THAT THE TWO MORNING DAILIES NOW PUBLISHING IN SAN SALVADOR HAVE BEEN "VIRULENTLY CRITICAL OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND THEIR REFORM PROJECTS" (P. 148). A.W. FURTHERMORE MAKES NO MENTION OF THE PAID ADVERTISEMENTS FROM THE FMLN AND GUERRILLA FRONT ORGANIZATIONS, WHICH ARE PUBLISHED ALMOST DAILY IN THE NEWSPAPERS, NOR OF THE INFORMATION FROM THE GUERRILLAS' CLANDESTINE RADIO STATIONS THAT THE CONVENTIONAL RADIO STATIONS RELAY FAITHFULLY AND WITH TOTAL FREEDOM.

C. LABOR UNIONS: A.W. AGAIN REVERTS TO PAST YEARS FOR EXAMPLES OF LACK OF RESPECT FOR LABOR UNIONS, RECALLING THE LAS HOJAS MASSACRE OF 1983 (WHICH WAS NOT LABOR-RELATED) AND GLOSSING OVER THE FACT THAT ALMOST ALL THE MURDERS THE UNIONS COMPLAIN ABOUT OCCURRED BEFORE 1985. A.W. ITSELF NOTES THAT FOLLOWING DUARTE'S INAUGURATION IN JUNE 1984, "FENASTRAS (NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SALVADORAN TRADE UNIONS), WHICH HAD BEEN FUNCTIONING ON A SEMI-CLANDESTINE BASIS SINCE 1980, RENTED OFFICES AND BEGAN TO FUNCTION OPENLY. UNIONS STEPPED UP MARCHES, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND STRIKES. THE UNIONS' TRADITIONAL MAY DAY MARCH DREW AROUND 30,000 (SIC) IN 1985, COMPARED TO ONLY 5,000 THE YEAR BEFORE."

D. UNIVERSITIES: IN ITS CLAIM OF NON-RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF UNIVERSITIES, A.W. REFERS ONLY TO THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, AMONG THE HALF-DOZEN MAJOR UNIVERSITIES OPERATING FREELY IN EL SALVADOR. A.W. ONCE AGAIN REFERS TO THE PAST, TO THE CLOSURE OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY IN 1980. TO SUPPORT ITS THESIS OF LACK OF RESPECT FOR UNIVERSITY INDEPENDENCE, A.W. CAN MUSTER ONLY A FEW ARRESTS OF STUDENTS IN JUNE OF 1985 AND A THREAT AGAINST ELEVEN STUDENTS, PROFESSORS, AND WORKERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OSTENSIBLY PUBLISHED BY A RIGHT-WING GROUP IN JULY 1985. WE HAVE CREDIBLE INFORMATION THAT THE THREAT WAS IN FACT PLANTED BY LEFTIST RIVALS SEEKING TO INTIMIDATE THE ELEVEN, RATHER THAN BY THE RIGHT (REF C).

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6. SPECIFIC POINTS:  
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-- FORCEFUL RELOCATION: AMERICAS WATCH (P. 7) ALLEGES THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR IS DETERMINED TO COMBAT THE FMLN BY FORCEFUL RELOCATION OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION BUT PRESENTS NO CONCRETE DATA TO SUPPORT ITS ALLEGATION. THE DISPLACEMENT OF POPULATION FROM THE CONFLICTIVE AREAS IS LARGELY VOLUNTARY ON THE PART OF THE INHABITANTS WHO ARE FLEEING WAR, AND IT IS CERTAINLY SIGNIFICANT THAT BY FAR THE VAST MAJORITY OF THESE FLED TO GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED AREAS RATHER THAN TO THOSE IN GUERRILLA HANDS OR ACROSS THE FRONTIER INTO HONDURAS. THE RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF CIVILIANS WHO WERE REMOVED FROM NORTHERN MORAZAN AND FROM GUAZAPA (SAN SALVADOR DEPARTMENT) IN 1985 WERE RELOCATED FOR THEIR OWN SAFETY TO PREVENT THEIR BEING TRAPPED IN AREAS OF INTENSE COMBAT. THE ICRC HAS NOTED AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF PERSONS APPLYING FOR FOOD AID IN OR NEAR CONFLICTIVE AREAS, TO MORE THAN 80,000. IF AW'S THESIS OF "MASS EVACUATION" (P.50) WERE TRUE, THERE WOULD BE FEWER TO FEED.

-- CABANAS: AMERICAS WATCH (P. 9) BRINGS UP AN INCIDENT FROM 1984 WHEN IT CLAIMS "THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE REFUSES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT CABANAS AND CHALATENANGO MASSACRES EVER TOOK PLACE". IN FACT, THE EMBASSY EXAMINED THE CHARGES AND DOES NOT AGREE THAT MASSACRES TOOK PLACE. IN REFERENCE TO THE ALLEGATIONS, THE ARCHBISHOP OF SAN SALVADOR TOLD DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS LAURA DIETRICH IN FEBRUARY 1985 THAT, ALTHOUGH HE BELIEVED SOME CIVILIANS HAD BEEN KILLED IN THESE TWO INCIDENTS, THE CASE WAS CONFUSING BECAUSE THERE WERE SEVERAL VERSIONS OF WHAT HAD OCCURRED IN CABANAS. IN THE CASE OF CHALATENANGO, HE SAID, ARMED GUERRILLAS HAD BEEN ACCOMPANYING THE CIVILIANS. IN ITS AUGUST 1984 MONTHLY REPORT, TUTELA LEGAL PUBLISHED WITNESSES' TESTIMONY OF THE CHALATENANGO CASE, INCLUDING STATEMENTS THAT ONE OR TWO OF THE ACCOMPANYING GUERRILLAS (DEPENDING ON WHICH WITNESS WAS SPEAKING) SHOT OR THREW HAND GRENADES AT THE SOLDIERS.

-- AERIAL ATTACKS AND MORTARING (P. 10): U.S. EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE REPEATEDLY SOUGHT TO VERIFY ALLEGATIONS OF INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING AND MORTARING MADE BY GUERRILLA RADIO STATIONS, BUT HAVE FOUND NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT SUCH ASSERTIONS. DURING VISITS IN JULY 1985 TO THE REGIONAL OFFICES OF THE GOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION IN SAN VICENTE AND SAN MIGUEL, EMBASSY OFFICERS QUERIED THE COMMISSION'S DELEGATES REGARDING BOMBING OR ARTILLERY ATTACKS. EXCEPT FOR ONE INJURY, NO CASES HAVE BEEN REPORTED TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION SINCE THE OPENING OF THEIR OFFICES IN DECEMBER 1984. AMERICAS WATCH RELIES ON TESTIMONY FROM DISPLACED PERSONS FROM NORTHERN MORAZAN (P. 13), AN AREA WITH

HEAVY GUERRILLA PRESENCE. IN ADDITION, THE REPORT ALLEGES THAT MANY CIVILIANS ARE "KILLED AND WOUNDED AS A RESULT OF THESE BOMBARDMENTS." A.W. QUOTES TUTELA LEGAL AS A SOURCE FOR THESE ALLEGATIONS, A SOURCE WHICH HAS REPEATEDLY PROVED UNRELIABLE IN THE PAST. (SEE EMBASSY REPORTS "GUERRILLAS DUPE TUTELA LEGAL," REF D, AND "TUTELA LEGAL: A CASE STUDY," REF E). FURTHERMORE, THE GUERRILLAS THEMSELVES SAY THAT FEW CIVILIANS ARE KILLED BY BOMBING, ACCORDING TO A "WASHINGTON POST" ARTICLE BY ROBERT MCCARTNEY (NOVEMBER 8, 1985, P. 1) AND A "NEW YORK TIMES" ARTICLE BY JAMES LENOYNE (DECEMBER 20, 1985, P. 8Y). BOTH REPORTERS HAD TRAVELLED EXTENSIVELY IN GUERRILLA AREAS BEFORE WRITING THEIR ARTICLES.

-- TESTIMONY OF BOMBING (P. 13): THIS SECTION CONTAINS 5 PAGES OF TESTIMONY TAKEN FROM REFUGEES IN THE COLOMONCAGUA CAMP IN HONDURAS. BOMBING DOES OCCUR IN THE GUERRILLA-INFESTED REGION OF EL SALVADOR ONLY A FEW KILOMETERS FROM THE CAMP. HOWEVER, EMBASSY INTERVIEWS WITH THE UNHCR CAMP DIRECTOR AND CAMP PHYSICIANS FAILED TO UNCOVER A SINGLE INSTANCE OF CIVILIANS WOUNDED IN AERIAL ATTACKS.

-- EL OCOTAL BOMBING (P. 19): AMERICAS WATCH CRITICIZES THE DUARTE GOVERNMENT FOR THE ACCIDENTAL BOMBING WHICH OCCURRED IN EL OCOTAL ON AUGUST 6. THE SALVADORAN AIR FORCE PROMPTLY ADMITTED ITS RESPONSIBILITY AND, IN OUR VIEW, DESERVES CREDIT FOR ITS EFFORTS TO RECTIFY THE TRAGIC ERROR OF THIS ACCIDENTAL BOMBING OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION BY APOLOGIZING FOR ITS MISTAKE AND PAYING INDEMNITY TO THE VICTIMS' FAMILIES -- A "FIRST" FOR THE AIR FORCE AND AN INDICATION OF A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE WHICH THE A.W. REPORT IGNORES.

-- GUAZAPA BOMBING (P. 29): IN "TESTIMONY ON AERIAL BOMBARDMENT IN OPERATIONS IN GUAZAPA" (P. 29) WHILE DRAWING HEAVILY FROM STATEMENTS BY GUERRILLA SUPPORTERS, AMERICAS WATCH REPRESENTATIVES NEGLECTED TO INTERVIEW NON-GUERRILLA FARMERS WHO LIVE IN THE GUAZAPA AREA. THESE FARMERS HAVE SUFFERED HARASSMENT AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR CROPS AT THE HANDS OF THE GUERRILLAS. THE AIR FORCE HAS NOT KNOWINGLY BOMBED CIVILIANS IN THE AREA.

-- LAS ANIMAS: CIVILIAN CASUALTIES (P. 31): AMERICAS WATCH HIGHLIGHTS THE KILLING OF FOUR CIVILIANS, A MOTHER AND HER THREE SONS WHO WERE HIDING IN A GRANARY DURING A BATTLE. A.W. FAILS TO NOTE THAT THE ROCKET WHICH STRUCK THE GRANARY WAS FIRED IN SUPPORT OF A NATIONAL GUARD COLUMN WHICH HAD BEEN AMBUSHED BY THE GUERRILLAS AT THE EDGE OF TOWN. EVEN A.W. "DO(ES) NOT SUGGEST THAT THE CIVILIAN DEATHS THAT OCCURRED IN THIS EPISODE WERE THE RESULT OF DELIBERATE ATTACKS ON CIVILIANS OR THAT THEY WERE THE CONSEQUENCE OF INDISCRIMINATE ATTACKS..." (P. 31).

-- TUTELA LEGAL ON CIVILIAN CASUALTIES (P. 37): A.W. CITES TUTELA LEGAL AS ITS SOURCE FOR COMBAT-RELATED CIVILIAN CASUALTIES. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS WHEN THE EMBASSY WAS ABLE TO INVESTIGATE TUTELA'S CLAIMS, WE FOUND THAT TUTELA REPORTED CIVILIAN DEATHS WHICH DID NOT OCCUR OR WHICH, IN FACT, WERE PERPETRATED BY THE GUERRILLAS (REF F). SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS OFTEN MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO TRAVEL TO CONFLICTIVE AREAS FOR ON-SITE INVESTIGATIONS, FORCING TUTELA TO RELY HEAVILY ON TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES, WHO MAY THEMSELVES BE GUERRILLA SYMPATHIZERS WHO UNDERSTAND THE VALUE OF SUPPLYING FALSE INFORMATION TO TUTELA LEGAL IN ORDER TO FURTHER THEIR PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN.

-- IN "FORCIBLE RELOCATION" (P. 38): AMERICAS WATCH CRITICIZES THE GOES FOR PROVIDING SAFE CONDUCT PASSES TO GUERRILLA MASAS. SAFE CONDUCT PASSES WERE DESIGNED TO PROTECT FORMER GUERRILLAS AND MASAS FROM ARREST. THOUGH VIEWED BY A.W. AS A STIGMA, THEY SERVE, IN FACT, AS PROTECTION FOR THOSE WHO HAVE CHOSEN TO LEAVE THE GUERRILLA RANKS AND AS TEMPORARY PERSONAL IDENTITY DOCUMENTS.

-- CHILDREN DETAINED WITH PARENTS (PP. 61-63): AMERICAS WATCH CRITICIZES THE DETAINING OF CHILDREN WITH THEIR PARENTS WHO ARE CAPTURED ON A MILITARY OPERATION. THIS IS AN EXAMPLE OF THE AUTHORS' LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE SALVADORAN CULTURE. A CHILD'S SECURITY IS WITH ITS MOTHER. SALVADORAN AUTHORITIES RECOGNIZE THIS AND SOMETIMES PERMIT INFANTS AND TODDLERS TO RESIDE WITH THEIR MOTHERS WHO ARE IN PRISON. IT IS CUSTOMARY THAT WHEN THE MILITARY IS OPERATING IN A CONFLICTIVE AREA AND CAPTURES GUERRILLA MASAS, IT KEEPS THE CHILDREN TOGETHER WITH THE ADULT MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY. THE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO TRAUMATIZE THE CHILDREN BY SEPARATING THEM FROM THEIR PARENTS, LEAVING THEM IN ISOLATED AREAS WHERE THERE ARE NO CHILD CARE FACILITIES, FORCING PARENTS TO ABANDON THEIR OFFSPRING. IN A CONFLICTIVE ZONE, THERE WOULD BE HIGH RISK THAT THE FAMILIES THUS SEPARATED WOULD NEVER BE REUNITED. THE MASAS ARE HELD FOR TWO OR THREE DAYS IN THE COURTYARDS OF THE HEADQUARTERS, NOT IN CELLS. THE CHILDREN DO NOT SEEM UPSET BY BEING IN A MILITARY COMPOUND.

-- AMERICAS WATCH STATES (P. 65) THAT "IN AN INTERVIEW WITH AMBASSADOR PICKERING HE SUGGESTED THAT ALTERNATIVES COULD BE DEVELOPED SUCH AS TURNING THE CHILDREN OVER TO RELATIVES OR LOCAL CHURCH OFFICIALS AT THE TIME OF CAPTURE." AN EMBASSY OFFICER PRESENT RECALLS THAT AMBASSADOR PICKERING, IN FACT, DID NOT AGREE WITH THIS APPROACH NOR URGE THAT IT BECOME POLICY. THE LACK OF FACILITIES FOR CHILD CARE IN THE RURAL AREAS WOULD MAKE THIS SUGGESTION IMPRACTICABLE. AMERICAS WATCH NOTES THAT THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE CHILDREN WITH THEIR PARENTS IS A VIOLATION OF THE NORMAL OPERATING PROCEDURES (THE



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"PON") WHICH GUIDE ARREST AND CAPTURE BY THE ARMED FORCES. IN FACT THE PON DOES PROHIBIT INCARCERATION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS WITH ADULTS IN JAILS AND PENAL INSTITUTIONS. IT DOES NOT, HOWEVER, FORBID THE HOLDING OF CHILDREN WITH THEIR FAMILIES IN AN OPEN COMPOUND WHILE AWAITING TRANSFER TO A DISPLACED PERSONS CAMP OR OTHER FINAL DESTINATION. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC TO SEE THESE CHILDREN TRANSFERRED TO A CENTER FOR PROTECTION OF MINORS AS SUGGESTED BY AMERICAS WATCH.

-- MEDICAL NEUTRALITY: ON PAGE 70 AMERICAS WATCH COMMENTS ON THE ARREST OF TWO U.S. MENNONITE MISSIONARIES AND A SALVADORAN CO-WORKER IN A CONFLICTIVE AREA ON MAY 9. THE INDIVIDUALS, WHO TEACH HEALTH CLASSES, WERE ARRESTED IN CACAOPERA, MORAZAN UNDER SUSPICION OF TEACHING MARXISM. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH AN EMBASSY OFFICER, ONE OF THE MISSIONARIES SAID THAT THE MENNONITES HAD RESIDED FOR 2 YEARS IN CACAOPERA WITHOUT PROBLEMS. THE MISSIONARY NOTED THAT THEY HAD NEGLECTED TO INFORM THE NEW DEPARTMENTAL COMMANDER OF THE NATURE OF THEIR WORK, WHICH THEY BELIEVE LED TO THEIR ARREST. THE MISSIONARIES SUBSEQUENTLY RETURNED TO THEIR VILLAGE AND ARE NOW TEACHING AGAIN AFTER HAVING EXPLAINED THE NON-POLITICAL NATURE OF THEIR INSTRUCTION TO THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMANDER.

-- ACCESS TO CONFLICT ZONES FOR RELIEF AGENCIES (P. 70): AMERICAS WATCH CONDEMNS COL. SIGIFREDO OCHOA WHO, ACCORDING TO THE REPORT, FREQUENTLY BARS ACCESS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF CHALATENANGO TO THE ICRC, FOREIGN PRESS AND, IN ONE INSTANCE, CARITAS. ON THAT ONE OCCASION, CARITAS HAD NEGLECTED TO ASK PERMISSION FOR THE SHIPMENT TO ENTER THE DEPARTMENT. COL. OCHOA SAID HE REQUIRES THAT ALL TRUCKS CARRYING RELIEF PROVISIONS BE REGISTERED IN ADVANCE. ACCORDING TO COL. OCHOA, SEVERAL VILLAGES THAT ARE CLOSE TO GUERRILLA STRONGHOLDS HAVE RECEIVED DOUBLE AND SOMETIMES TRIPLE SHIPMENTS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES, ENCOURAGING THE GUERRILLAS TO TAKE THE SUPPLIES FROM THE RECIPIENTS. THE CARITAS REPRESENTATIVE AGREED TO CONFORM TO REGULATIONS IN THE FUTURE WITH A PROPER REQUEST FOR ADMITTANCE INTO THE DEPARTMENT.

-- GOVERNMENT DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD: AMERICAS WATCH CHARGES ON P. 71 THAT THE ARMY DISTRIBUTES FOOD FROM U.S. AID AND FROM PL 480. THE ARMY'S ONLY ROLE IS TO PROVIDE LOGISTICAL AND SECURITY SUPPORT. ON THE OCCASIONS WHEN THE ARMY PROVIDES SECURE TRANSPORT AND ASSISTS IN THE DISTRIBUTION, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DISPLACED (CONADES), A CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT AGENCY, ACCOMPANIES THE ARMY TO ENSURE THAT PEOPLE IN NEED ARE BEING SERVED. CONSIDERING THE NUMEROUS OCCASIONS ON WHICH THE GUERRILLAS HAVE ATTACKED LAND TRANSPORT AND HAVE STOLEN OR DESTROYED FOODSTUFFS BEING TRUCKED ON THE NATION'S ROADS, ARMY SECURITY IS OFTEN A NECESSITY.

-- "PRISONERS OF WAR" (P. 72): AMERICAS WATCH NOTES THAT A.W. HAS REQUESTED THAT THE ARMED FORCES PREPARE A LIST OF PRISONERS CAPTURED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE. THE ARMED FORCES DO NOT KEEP THEIR RECORDS IN THIS MANNER; THEY CURRENTLY LIST ALL COMBAT AND URBAN GUERRILLAS TAKEN PRISONER WITHOUT DIFFERENTIATION.

-- NIDIA DIAZ: AMERICAS WATCH COMPLAINS THAT GUERRILLA COMMANDER NIDIA DIAZ, WHO WAS CAPTURED IN APRIL OF 1985, REMAINED AT NATIONAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS RATHER THAN BEING SENT TO THE WOMEN'S PRISON AT ILOPANGO, SUPPOSEDLY IN VIOLATION OF EL SALVADOR'S ARREST PROCEDURES (THE PON). AMERICAS WATCH HAS MISINTERPRETED THE PON, WHICH REQUIRES THAT A PRISONER ARRESTED FOR CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE BE CONSIGNED TO AN "INSTRUCTIONAL JUDGE" AFTER A MAXIMUM INTERROGATION PERIOD OF 15 DAYS. THIS PROCEDURE WAS FOLLOWED IN NIDIA DIAZ' CASE. THE PON DOES NOT REQUIRE THAT THE PRISONER BE SENT TO A PENITENTIARY. THE NATIONAL POLICE BELIEVED IN THIS CASE THAT MS. DIAZ WOULD BE MORE SECURE IN POLICE HEADQUARTERS THAN IN THE MORE LIGHTLY DEFENDED WOMEN'S FACILITY AT ILOPANGO.

-- MINING BY THE ARMY (PP. 79-80): THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AND GOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION HAVE RECEIVED ONLY ISOLATED REPORTS OF GOES MINES KILLING CIVILIANS. MINING, HOWEVER, HAS BECOME A STANDARD, FREQUENTLY EMPLOYED GUERRILLA TACTIC IN THEIR WAR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND HAS CAUSED AT LEAST 39 DEATHS AND OVER 107 INJURIES AMONG THE CIVILIAN POPULATION FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER 1985, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS; THE OFFICIAL ARMED FORCES COUNT OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES OF GUERRILLA MINES IS HIGHER.

-- IN "DEATH SQUADS" (P. 88): AMERICAS WATCH CLAIMS THAT DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS ARE CONDONED BY THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT AND QUOTES (INCORRECTLY) TUTELA LEGAL'S TABULATION OF DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS FOR THE FIRST 6 MONTHS OF 1985. U.S. EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES HAVE QUESTIONED TUTELA REGARDING THE BASIS FOR THESE ACCUSATIONS. TUTELA HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO PRESENT EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT ITS ALLEGATIONS OF DEATH SQUAD ACTIVITY OR OF GOVERNMENT OR ARMED FORCES INVOLVEMENT IN OR CONDONING OF THESE MURDERS. TUTELA LEGAL, HOWEVER, CONTINUES TO ARBITRARILY ASSIGN THE TAG "DEATH SQUAD KILLING" TO MANY VICTIMS KILLED BY AN UNKNOWN ASSAILANT. (REF B, SS 15403). CONTRARY TO AW'S CLAIM THAT TUTELA "INVESTIGATES EACH DEATH SQUAD CASE IT REPORTS," TUTELA'S DIRECTOR INFORMED AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT TUTELA CANNOT INVESTIGATE MANY CASES BECAUSE OF LACK OF STAFF.

A.W. CONCURS WITH TUTELA'S VIEW THAT ANY VICTIM KILLED IN A TRADITIONAL DEATH SQUAD STYLE SHOULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE RIGHT WING DEATH SQUADS, AND BY INFERENCE HAS THE "BLESSING" OF THE ARMED FORCES. THIS MODUS OPERANDI, ACCORDING TO THE REPORT, CONSISTS OF:

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A. "TORTURE BEFORE KILLING"

B. "DUMPING UNIDENTIFIED BODIES AWAY FROM THE SCENE OF THE CRIME"

C. "GUNNING DOWN OF VICTIMS ON THE STREET, OR IN THEIR OFFICES, IN BROAD DAYLIGHT"

RIGHT WING DEATH SQUADS, HOWEVER, DO NOT HAVE A MONOPOLY ON THESE STYLES OF KILLING. THE RECENT UPSURGE IN GUERRILLA TERROR ACTIVITIES DEMONSTRATES GUERRILLA CAPABILITIES IN THESE AREAS. THE FMLN IS WELL KNOWN FOR GUNNING DOWN ITS VICTIMS ON THE STREETS, A METHOD ATTRIBUTED BY TUTELA LEGAL ONLY TO THE RIGHT.

-- ABDUCTIONS AND DISAPPEARANCES: AMERICAS WATCH BASES THIS SECTION (PP. 94-96) ON NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS AND ON INFORMATION IN TUTELA LEGAL'S MONTHLY REPORTS. SURPRISINGLY, A.W. REFERS TO LEGAL ARRESTS BY POLICE OFFICERS AS "ABDUCTIONS." A.W. IS ALSO MISTAKEN IN STATING THAT REGULATIONS REQUIRE THAT ARRESTS BE MADE ONLY BY UNIFORMED PERSONNEL; REGULATIONS PERMIT EXCEPTIONS IN CASES WHERE, FOR GOOD REASON, ARRESTING OFFICER'S IDENTITIES NEED TO BE PROTECTED. THESE OFFICERS ARE ALWAYS, HOWEVER, IDENTIFIED IN POLICE RECORDS OF THE ARREST, AND WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY INSTANCE WHEN IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO DETERMINE FROM PROPER RECORDS AND LOGS WHO THE ARRESTING OFFICERS WERE.

A.W. MENTIONS THREE CASES OF "ABDUCTIONS." IN ONE CASE, A.W. CLAIMS THAT A GROUP OF HEAVILY ARMED MEN "ABDUCTED" FRANCISCO JAVIER CAMPOS SOSA, AND THAT "A FEW DAYS LATER" COLONEL RINALDO GOLCHER, COMMANDER OF THE TREASURY POLICE, "ADMITTED" THAT CAMPOS WAS IN TREASURY POLICE CUSTODY. ACTUALLY, THE TREASURY POLICE NOTIFIED THE FAMILY, THE RED CROSS, AND THE GOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF CAMPOS' DETENTION WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS OF THE TIME HE WAS PICKED UP, AS REQUIRED BY SALVADORAN ARREST PROCEDURES. CAMPOS WAS FREED ON JUNE 19. IN THE OTHER TWO CASES OF "ABDUCTION", A.W. DOES NOT IDENTIFY THE PERSONS SUPPOSEDLY "ABDUCTED", NOR THE NEWSPAPERS THAT REPORTED THE INCIDENTS, NOR THE UNIONS THAT SUPPOSEDLY WENT ON STRIKE TO PROTEST THE INCIDENTS, AND DOES NOT GIVE THE DATE(S) WHEN ALL THIS IS SUPPOSED TO HAVE OCCURRED. WITHOUT MORE INFORMATION, THE EMBASSY CANNOT COMMENT ON THE CASES. A.W.'S REPORT NOTES THAT ONE OF THESE MEN WAS RELEASED, AND ONE WAS CHARGED AND SENT TO MARIONA PRISON. FROM THIS INFORMATION, BOTH WOULD APPEAR TO BE ROUTINE ARRESTS.

A.W. PRESENTS FIGURES ON DISAPPEARANCES WHICH A.W. ATTRIBUTES TO TUTELA LEGAL (P. 96). HOWEVER, FOR JUNE, A.W. CLAIMS SEVEN DISAPPEARANCES WHERE TUTELA LEGAL'S

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REPORT SHOWS ONLY TWO. IN THE SEPARATE SECTION ENTITLED "DISAPPEARANCES TABULATED IN THIS MONTH BUT ACTUALLY OCCURRING DURING A PRIOR MONTH," EMBASSY IS AT A LOSS TO EXPLAIN HOW A.W. CAME BY ITS FIGURES. THE A.W. COUNT IS 40 SUCH DISAPPEARANCES FOR THE FIRST HALF OF 1985. YET TUTELA'S MONTHLY REPORTS FOR THE JANUARY-JUNE 1985 PERIOD RECORD ONLY EIGHT PERSONS AS HAVING "DISAPPEARED" EARLIER IN 1985; EIGHT "ARRESTED AND DISAPPEARED" EARLIER IN 1985; SEVEN "DISAPPEARED IN PREVIOUS YEARS"; AND SEVEN KIDNAPPED BY THE GUERRILLAS. TO REACH THE FIGURE OF 40, A.W. WOULD HAVE HAD TO COUNT AS "DISAPPEARED" PERSONS LEGALLY ARRESTED AND HELD BY POLICE. EMBASSY CANNOT CONCUR THAT A PERSON WHOSE WHEREABOUTS IS KNOWN HAS "DISAPPEARED."

-- LABOR ISSUES (PP. 140-147): AMERICAS WATCH MIXES HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FROM PAST YEARS, CURRENT EVENTS ON THE LABOR FRONT, AND INFORMATION FROM AN ANONYMOUS "UNIVERSITY SOURCE" TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS SAVAGELY REPRESSING UNION ACTIVITY. IN REALITY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN EXTRAORDINARILY PATIENT WITH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR UNIONS ENGAGING IN ILLEGAL STRIKES. CONTRARY TO WHAT THE A.W. REPORT ALLEGES:

A. POLICE DID NOT RAID ANIS HEADQUARTERS, "CONFISCATING DOCUMENTS AND MEMBERSHIP LISTS" (PP. 141-142). ADRIAN ESQUINO, PRESIDENT OF ANIS, TOLD EMBOFF THAT SOME WORKERS FROM THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT (AIFLD, AN AFL-CIO ORGANIZATION) CAME AND REPOSSESSED TWO CARS AND A RADIO TELEPHONE AIFLD HAD LEFT TO ANIS. THEY TOOK NO FILES OR DOCUMENTS OF ANY KIND.

B. THERE WERE NOT 1,110 WORKERS FIRED FROM 16 STATE AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS FOR UNION ACTIVITY IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1985 (P. 143). THE ONLY LARGE-SCALE FIRING FOR UNION ACTIVITY -- REFUSING TO OBEY A JUDICIAL ORDER TO RETURN TO WORK -- WAS THE WATER COMPANY'S FIRING OF 237 (ACCORDING TO THE UNION PRESIDENT) WORKERS IN JULY WHOSE STRIKE HAD BEEN DECLARED BY A LABOR JUDGE TO BE ILLEGAL; 30 OF THESE WERE LATER REHIRED. IF THE OTHER 873 FIRINGS CLAIMED BY A.W.'S "UNIVERSITY SOURCE" HAD OCCURRED IN ONLY 15 OTHER COMPANIES, THE FIRINGS COULD NOT HAVE GONE UNNOTICED.

C. THERE WAS NO "WAVE OF ABDUCTIONS OF LABOR UNION LEADERS" IN JULY AND AUGUST OF 1985 (P. 146). AMERICAS WATCH LISTS AS KIDNAPPED AND DISAPPEARED ELSY ESPERANZA MARTINEZ AND HER HUSBAND, VILMA MENDEZ, NATIVIDAD VERNAL, RUFINO HERNANDEZ, AND RAMOS MARQUEZ (REAL NAME JUAN RAMON MARQUEZ). ACTUALLY, ALL SIX WERE LEGALLY ARRESTED. ELSY MARTINEZ, NATIVIDAD VERNAL, AND RUFINO HERNANDEZ WERE RELEASED. THE OTHERS ARE IN PRISON CHARGED WITH MEMBERSHIP IN SUBVERSIVE (GUERRILLA) ORGANIZATIONS.

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D: ACCORDING TO AMERICAS WATCH, MIGUEL LOPEZ OF THE ASOCIACION NACIONAL DE CAMPESINOS (ANC) WAS ABDUCTED ON AUGUST 9. EMBOFF CONTACTED ANC OFFICES AND WAS TOLD THAT ANC KNEW OF NO ONE BY THAT NAME, AND THAT NONE OF THEIR MEMBERS HAD BEEN ARRESTED OR WAS MISSING.

-- TORTURE (PP. 97-107): THE AMERICAS WATCH REPORT STATES IN THIS SECTION THAT TORTURE IS A PERSISTING MATTER OF MAJOR CONCERN. IT IS, IN FACT, EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO VERIFY THE USE OF TORTURE. THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, THROUGH ITS INTERVIEWS WITH PRISONERS AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS, HAS ESTABLISHED THAT SOME MISTREATMENT OF PRISONERS DOES TAKE PLACE. HOWEVER, THESE CASES ARE ISOLATED INCIDENTS AND ARE NOT CONDONED BY THE SALVADORAN AUTHORITIES. NO MENTION IS MADE HERE OF THE STRICTER CONTROLS PLACED UPON THE ARRESTING OFFICERS AND POLICE INTERROGATORS BY THE SECURITY FORCES. NO NOTICE IS TAKEN OF THE INCREASED NUMBER OF ARRESTS MADE BY THE SECURITY FORCES OF ITS OWN MEMBERS FOR ABUSE OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, SOMETHING WE BELIEVE WORTHY OF MENTION.

## 7. VIOLATIONS BY GUERRILLAS

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### A. SANTA CRUZ LOHA

IN "VIOLATIONS BY GUERRILLAS" (PP. 108-124), AMERICAS WATCH RECOUNTS THE GUERRILLA ATTACK ON THE VILLAGE OF SANTA CRUZ LOHA, LA PAZ, ON APRIL 8, 1985. IN THIS ATTACK, THE GUERRILLAS KILLED 21 PERSONS. AMERICAS WATCH MENTIONS ONLY THIRTEEN IN THE TEXT (SIX OTHERS ARE RELEGATED TO A FOOTNOTE). SIX OF THESE WERE CIVIL DEFENSE MEMBERS WHOM THE GUERRILLAS TOOK TO THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE VILLAGE AND EXECUTED. OF THE OTHERS NOTED BY AMERICAS WATCH, SIX, INCLUDING WOMEN AND CHILDREN, BURNED TO DEATH IN A HOUSE WHEN THE GUERRILLAS SET IT AFIRE, AND A CHILD WAS SHOT RUNNING FROM THAT HOUSE. AN EMBASSY OFFICER CONDUCTED ON-SITE INTERVIEWS WITH WITNESSES. NO WITNESS MENTIONED HOSTILE FIRE FROM THE HOUSE DIRECTED TOWARD THE GUERRILLAS, AND ALL CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT THE GUERRILLAS GAVE THE OCCUPANTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SURRENDER, AS FDR-FMLN REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK TOLD AMERICAS WATCH. A.W. WOULD HAVE DONE BETTER TO BELIEVE THE WITNESSES, WHOM WE UNDERSTAND ITS REPRESENTATIVE IN EL SALVADOR INTERVIEWED, RATHER THAN FMLN SPOKESPERSONS IN NEW YORK CITY. THE GUERRILLAS LEFT ON THE CADAVERS LEAFLETS PROCLAIMING THE VIRTUES OF THE FMLN AND STATING THAT SANTA CRUZ LOHA WAS TARGETTED BECAUSE OF ITS CIVIL DEFENSE FORCE.

### B. THE ZONA ROSA

AMERICAS WATCH CONDEMNS THE GUERRILLAS' JUNE 19, 1985 ATTACK IN THE ZONA ROSA RESTAURANT SECTION OF SAN

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SALVADOR WHICH KILLED FOUR U.S. MARINE SECURITY GUARDS, TWO U.S. BUSINESSMEN, AND SEVEN OTHER CIVILIANS (P. 112). UNFORTUNATELY, A.W. REPEATS RUMORS THAT SOME OF THE VICTIMS WERE KILLED OR WOUNDED IN CROSSFIRE. EXHAUSTIVE INVESTIGATION AND EXTENSIVE INTERVIEWING OF WITNESSES BY THE NATIONAL POLICE, THE MILITARY, AND EMBASSY PERSONNEL FOUND NO EVIDENCE OF ANY RETURN FIRE WHATSOEVER. BALLISTICS TESTS PROVED THAT THE BULLETS THAT KILLED THE MARINES AND THE BULLETS THAT KILLED THE OTHER VICTIMS WERE FIRED FROM THE SAME GUNS (REF G).

### C. OTHER GUERRILLA OFFENSES

AMERICAS WATCH COMMENTS ON THE GUERRILLA KIDNAPPING OF MAYORS, CONDEMNS KILLING AT ROADBLOCKS, AND DEVOTES TWO PAGES TO GUERRILLA MINING. THE REPORT, HOWEVER, QUESTIONS THE RELIABILITY OF REPORTS OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES FROM MINING. THE ELABORATE AND GRAPHIC TESTIMONY FOUND IN THE SECTIONS OF THE REPORT DEDICATED TO GOVERNMENT ABUSES IS NOTICEABLY ABSENT FROM THE SECTION DEVOTED TO FMLN ABUSES, EVEN THOUGH THE NAMED VICTIMS ARE READILY AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEW IN VIRTUALLY EVERY HOSPITAL OR MEDICAL FACILITY IN THE COUNTRY. A.W. FAILS TO LIST ANY OF THE NUMEROUS URBAN ASSASSINATIONS CLAIMED BY THE GUERRILLAS. GUERRILLA RADIO BROADCASTS ARE ENTIRELY OVERLOOKED AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION REGARDING GUERRILLA INTENTIONS IN METING OUT "POPULAR JUSTICE."

### 8. EMBASSY'S METHODOLOGY

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A.W.'S CRITICISM OF THE EMBASSY'S REPORTING ON HUMAN RIGHTS (PP. 125-132) FOCUSES ON THE "BI-WEEKLY VIOLENCE REPORT," COMPLAINING THAT THE BI-WEEKLY IS BASED ONLY ON LOCAL NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS AND IMPLYING THAT THE BI-WEEKLY PLUS A FEW MINOR BACKUP CABLES ARE THE EMBASSY'S ENTIRE EFFORT IN HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTING. THE BI-WEEKLY IS INDEED BASED PRIMARILY ON LOCAL NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS, AND SAYS SO; ITS PURPOSE IS TO REPORT WHAT APPEARS IN THE PRESS AND THUS TO FOLLOW THE TREND OF POLITICAL KILLINGS OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME. EVERY ISSUE OF THE BI-WEEKLY CARRIES A CAVEAT THAT THE EMBASSY DOES NOT ENDORSE THESE FIGURES AS REFLECTING THE PRECISE NUMERICAL LEVEL OF VIOLENCE. A.W. CLAIMS THAT THE EMBASSY MAKES A "CONSPICUOUS OMISSION" BY FAILING TO REPORT THE HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMATION INCLUDED IN THE WEEKLY HOMILY AT THE NATIONAL CATHEDRAL. IN FACT, THE EMBASSY TRANSLATES AND CABLES IN UNCLASSIFIED FORM THE HOMILIES, INCLUDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS SECTIONS, TO NUMEROUS POSTS WORLDWIDE AND TO THE WHITE HOUSE THROUGH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. INDEED, THE HOMILY REPORTS ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON MORE PROMPTLY THAN THE BI-WEEKLIES. THE EMBASSY ALSO SENDS TO THE DEPARTMENT THE VIOLENCE STATISTICS REPORTED BY TUTELA LEGAL, BY THE

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NON-GOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF EL SALVADOR (CDHES), AND BY SOCORRO JURIDICO CRISTIANO, NONE OF WHICH ARE FRIENDLY TO THE GOES. IN ADDITION, THE EMBASSY SENDS NUMEROUS REPORTS ON INDIVIDUAL CASES, AND THE COMPREHENSIVE ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT, WHICH COVERS SUBJECTS RANGING FROM POLITICAL KILLINGS TO LAND REFORM TO LITERACY RATES. THE AUTHORS OF THE A.W. REPORT HAD FREE ACCESS TO EMBASSY OFFICERS AND COULD EASILY HAVE OBTAINED THE ABOVE INFORMATION.

9. COMMENT:  
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WITH ITS SEPTEMBER 1985 REPORT, AMERICAS WATCH DEMONSTRATES ONCE AGAIN THAT IT HAS NO CLAIM TO STATUS AS AN OBJECTIVE REPORTER OF THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR. ITS BIAS IS OBVIOUSLY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH THE REPORT ADMITS "SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN SOME FORMS OF ABUSE" ATTRIBUTED TO THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING POLITICAL KILLINGS, DISAPPEARANCES, AND TORTURE, AMERICAS WATCH CANNOT BRING ITSELF TO APPROVE; INSTEAD IT ASSERTS THAT "AT NO TIME HAS IT BEEN POSSIBLE FOR US TO ASSERT THAT THERE WAS A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS" (P.2). AMERICAS WATCH'S STANDARD FOR A "GENERAL IMPROVEMENT" IS UNCLEAR. A.W. CRITICIZES "AERIAL BOMBARDMENT, STRAFING, MORTARING AND ARMY GROUND OPERATIONS THAT INCLUDE DESTRUCTION OF HOUSES AND CROPS (AND) CONTINUE TO GENERATE FEAR AND DISPLACE THE CIVILIAN POPULATION FROM THEIR HOMES." (PP. 8-9). THE EMBASSY IS NOT SURPRISED THAT WAR ACTIVITIES GENERATE FEAR IN THE CIVILIAN POPULATION, NOR THAT DAMAGE TO CIVILIAN PROPERTY OCCURS IN THE COURSE OF CONFLICT. WE ARE SURPRISED THAT A.W. SEEMS TO FEEL THAT ANY INJURY TO CIVILIANS OR THEIR PROPERTY THAT OCCURS IS THE RESULT OF A DELIBERATE MILITARY ATTACK ON THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. THE EMBASSY CANNOT CONCUR IN SUCH AN ASSUMPTION. EL SALVADOR IS THIRD-WORLD COUNTRY, WITH A DEPRESSED ECONOMY, WHOSE FRAGILE DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT IS FIGHTING FOR ITS LIFE AGAINST A SELF-PROCLAIMED MARXIST-LENINIST INSURGENCY. TO EXPECT THE GOVERNMENT TO PROSECUTE A WAR WITHOUT CAUSING ANY INCIDENTAL INJURY TO CIVILIANS OR CIVILIAN PROPERTY, IS TO EXPECT THE IMPOSSIBLE, AND THEN CRITICIZE THE COUNTRY FOR NOT REACHING IT. AMERICAS WATCH FAILS TO NOTE MANY IMPROVEMENTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR, AND BELITTLES OTHERS. IT UNQUESTIONINGLY ACCEPTS "TESTIMONY" FROM GUERRILLA FAMILIES AND SYMPATHIZERS WHICH IT SHOULD APPROACH WITH HEALTHY SKEPTICISM AS COMING FROM INTERESTED PARTIES. UNABLE TO MAKE ITS CASE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE MATERIAL AVAILABLE IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1985 (THE PERIOD SUPPOSEDLY COVERED BY THE REPORT), AMERICAS WATCH HAS INCLUDED INCIDENTS ALL THE WAY BACK TO 1980.

10. THE EMBASSY IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE AMERICAS WATCH REPORT ON A NUMBER OF GROUNDS:

-- THAT MORE RIGOROUS INVESTIGATIONS OF THE FACTS WERE NOT CARRIED OUT. EXAMPLE: A FEW TELEPHONE CALLS COULD HAVE LOCATED THE LABOR UNION MEMBERS REPORTED AS "DISAPPEARED" ON P. 146.

-- THAT FUZZY DEFINITIONS ARE USED. EXAMPLE: AMERICAS WATCH CRITICIZES THE LACK OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, WITHOUT DEFINING PRESS FREEDOM. AW THEN NOTES THAT THE MORNING NEWSPAPERS ARE VIRULENTLY CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT FROM A RIGHTIST VIEWPOINT. APPARENTLY THERE MUST BE LEFTIST CRITICISM BEFORE AMERICAS WATCH CONSIDERS THE PRESS FREE. BUT A.W. ALSO OMITTS NOTING THE REGULAR PUBLICATION AND THE AIRING OVER SALVADORAN RADIO AND TELEVISION OF FMLN AND FDR AND ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS' MANIFESTOS, DECLARATIONS AND COMMENTARIES -- ALL HIGHLY CRITICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT.

-- THAT THE BACKGROUND OF PERSONS GIVING "TESTIMONY" WAS NOT WEIGHED BEFORE ATTACHING CREDENCE TO THEIR TALES, AND THAT NO CORROBORATING EVIDENCE WAS SOUGHT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE AMERICAS WATCH'S REPRESENTATIVE ACCEPTED THE ACCOUNTS OF TERRIBLE BOMBINGS TOLD BY RESIDENTS OF THE GUERRILLA-DOMINATED COLONONCAGUA REFUGEE CAMP, BUT APPARENTLY DID NOT ASK CAMP PHYSICIANS OR OFFICIALS WHETHER THEY HAD SEEN ANY INJURIES FROM BOMBS. EMBASSY OFFICERS WHO VISITED COLONONCAGUA AND WHO ASKED CAMP PHYSICIANS AND OFFICIALS THIS QUESTION WERE TOLD THAT THEY HAD NOT.

-- THAT AMERICAS WATCH FAILED TO AVAIL ITSELF OF READILY-AVAILABLE INFORMATION ABOUT GUERRILLA ABUSES OF HUMAN RIGHTS, BROADCAST ON THE INSURGENTS' CLAUDESTINE RADIO STATIONS.

-- THAT AMERICAS WATCH ACCEPTS COMPLETELY THE REPORTS, TESTIMONIES, AND FIGURES OF TUTELA LEGAL, WITHOUT ANALYZING TUTELA LEGAL'S METHODOLOGY IN COLLECTING THESE TESTIMONIES AND COMPILING THESE FIGURES. IN FACT, SERIOUS PROBLEMS EXIST IN TUTELA'S METHODOLOGY. FOR EXAMPLE, TUTELA'S MURKY STANDARDS FOR DEATH SQUAD KILLINGS WERE NOTED ABOVE (REF B). IN ADDITION, IT IS OFTEN UNCLEAR WHERE TUTELA LEGAL OBTAINS ITS INFORMATION, AS IS THE CASE WITH ITS MONTHLY FIGURES ON BATTLEFIELD DEATHS OF (POSSIBLY) CIVILIANS AND (POSSIBLY) GUERRILLAS. ALSO, TUTELA'S METHOD OF DECIDING WHICH OF THESE PURPORTED CASUALTIES ARE CIVILIANS, AND WHICH ARE COMBATANTS, IS NOT EXPLAINED. TUTELA'S FAILURE TO ATTRIBUTE TO THE GUERRILLAS VIOLENT ACTS FOR WHICH THE GUERRILLAS HAVE PUBLICALLY CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY IS ANOTHER GLARING WEAKNESS IN ITS METHODOLOGY.



-- THAT AMERICAS WATCH CITES EVENTS FROM PREVIOUS YEARS AND PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS IN A REPORT SUPPOSEDLY DEVOTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1985. AW REFERS TO EL GRAMAL, DESTROYED IN 1981 (P. 28); TO BOMBING WHICH ALLEGEDLY OCCURRED IN OCTOBER 1984 (PP. 14-17); TO THE BOMBING OF TENANCINGO IN 1983 (P. 36); THE CLOSURE OF THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY IN 1980 (P. 150); THE CLOSURE OF TWO OPPOSITION NEWSPAPERS IN 1980 AND 1981 (P. 147); THE LAS HOJAS MASSACRE IN 1983 (P. 140); AND OTHER INSTANCES.

POST CAN ONLY CONCLUDE THAT AMERICAS WATCH'S POLITICAL AGENDA HAS HINDERED ITS OBJECTIVITY. WE RECOMMEND THAT READERS APPROACH THE AMERICAS WATCH REPORT WITH APPROPRIATE SKEPTICISM AND CAUTION. END COMMENT.

American Embassy  
San Salvador 2/14/86

**SUBJECT: GUERRILLA MINES CLAIM MANY SALVADORAN  
- CIVILIAN LIVES IN 1985**

**1. SUMMARY**  
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PRESSURE-TYPE LAND MINES PLANTED BY THE LEFTIST GUERRILLAS CLAIMED THE LIVES OF 17 CIVILIANS AND HAVE WOUNDED OVER 56 OTHERS FROM JUNE 16 TO DECEMBER 31, 1985, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES ALSO REPORT HIGHER CIVILIAN CASUALTIES FROM GUERRILLA MINES DURING THIS PERIOD ADDED TO THE DEATHS AND INJURIES FROM THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR (REFTEL). THE FIGURES REPORTED IN THIS CABLE RAISE THE NUMBER OF CIVILIAN CASUALTIES FROM GUERRILLA MINES TO A TOTAL OF 43 KILLED AND OVER 125 WOUNDED DURING 1985. THE INCIDENTS FROM THE LATTER HALF OF THE YEAR SHOW THE BEGINNING OF A PATTERN OF GUERRILLA MINES PLANTED SPECIFICALLY TO HARM CIVILIANS. THE GUERRILLAS CONTINUE TO USE MINES DESPITE CRITICISM FROM THE CHURCH AND DESPITE DEATHS AND INJURIES IN THEIR OWN RANKS FROM ACCIDENTALLY DETONATED MINES. END SUMMARY.

2. NON-COMBATANTS CONTINUE TO SUFFER CASUALTIES INFLICTED BY GUERRILLA-PLACED MINES. THE MINES ARE PRESSURE-DETONATED, EXPLODING WHEN STEPPED ON OR WHEN A WIRE IS TRIPPED. THE SALVADORAN PRESS REPORTED DEATHS AND INJURIES FROM GUERRILLA MINES IN ELEVEN OF THE FOURTEEN DEPARTMENTS (PROVINCES) OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN JUNE 16 AND DECEMBER 31, 1985 (REFTEL COVERS THE PERIOD JANUARY 1-JUNE 15, 1985). INCLUDED AMONG THE DEAD ARE AT LEAST 8 CHILDREN AND 3 WOMEN. AN EXACT COUNT IS IMPOSSIBLE AS THE REPORTS DO NOT ALWAYS LIST THE AGE AND SEX OF THE VICTIMS. ONE MAY SAFELY ASSUME THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED WHOSE AGE AND SEX ARE NOT SPECIFIED ARE ADULT MALES. TOTAL CASUALTIES APPEAR IN A TABLE AT THE END OF PARAGRAPH 3.

3. THE FOLLOWING IS A CHRONOLOGY OF INCIDENTS FROM JUNE 16 TO DECEMBER 31, 1985, AS REPORTED BY THE SALVADORAN PRESS. THE CHRONOLOGY LISTS CASES IN WHICH NON-COMBATANTS HAVE SUFFERED DEATH OR INJURY AS A RESULT OF MINES PLANTED BY THE LEFTIST INSURGENTS.

**JUNE 16 - 31, 1985**  
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-- TWO EMPLOYEES OF THE ELECTRIC COMPANY IN SANTIAGO DE MARIA, USULUTAN, WERE INJURED WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE. ONE OF THEM LOST A FOOT.

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-- TWO MINORS WERE SEVERELY WOUNDED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS IN LA CEIBA, USULUTAN.

JULY 1 - 15, 1985  
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-- A SEVEN-YEAR-OLD BOY TAKING A COW BACK TO THE STABLE NEAR BERLIN, USULUTAN, WAS KILLED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE PLANTED BY TERRORISTS.

-- A FARMWORKER WAS KILLED BY A MINE IN LOMA EL DESPARRAME, USULUTAN.

-- THREE EMPLOYEES OF THE ELECTRIC COMPANY WERE STARTING REPAIRS ON POWER PYLONS BLOWN UP BY THE GUERRILLAS WHEN THEY SET OFF A MINE IN NUEVA GUADALUPE, SAN MIGUEL.

-- A FARMWORKER IN SAN GERARDO, SAN MIGUEL, LOST BOTH LEGS WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE AS HE WENT TO BRING HOME HIS COWS.

-- THREE SCHOOL GIRLS WERE INJURED -- ONE OF THEM LOSING A LEG -- WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A MINE IN METAPAN, SANTA ANA, ON THEIR WAY HOME FROM SCHOOL.

-- FIVE POWER COMPANY EMPLOYEES WERE INJURED WHEN THEY CAME IN CONTACT WITH A MINE IN PASAQUINA, LA UNION, WHILE REPAIRING GUERRILLA-DOWNED POWER PYLONS.

JULY 16 - 31, 1985  
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NO MINING INCIDENTS REPORTED.

AUGUST 1 - 15, 1985  
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-- A FARMWORKER DIED AND ANOTHER WAS INJURED BY A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE IN JUCUARAN, USULUTAN.

-- TWO OTHER FARMWORKERS WERE INJURED WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA MINE IN THE ROAD NEAR TENANCINGO, CUSCATLAN.

-- A FIFTEEN-YEAR-OLD BOY WAS INJURED WHEN HIS HORSE STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE IN JUCUARAN, USULUTAN; HE DIED LATER. ANOTHER BOY WHO HAPPENED TO BE NEARBY WAS INJURED AS WELL.

-- A FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD BOY WAS SERIOUSLY HURT WHEN HE STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA MINE IN THE ROAD IN ANAMOROS, LA UNION.

-- THREE CIVILIANS WERE INJURED WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE IN A ROAD IN APASTEPEQUE, SAN VICENTE.

-- A YOUNG BOY WAS INJURED WHEN HE STUMBLED AND SET OFF A MINE LEFT ON A FARM IN TECOLUCA, SAN VICENTE.

-- A COMMERCIAL TRUCK RAN OVER A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE ON THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY NEAR THE EXIT TO NUEVA GRANADA, USULUTAN, INJURING THE DRIVER AND A PASSENGER.

OCTOBER 16 - 31, 1985  
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-- A FARMWORKER WAS KILLED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE LEFT BY GUERRILLAS NEAR JUCUARAN, USULUTAN.

-- ANOTHER FARMWORKER WAS KILLED BY A GUERRILLA MINE PLANTED IN THE ROAD IN SANTA CRUZ MICHAPA, CUSCATLAN.

NOVEMBER 1 - 15, 1985  
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-- ON NOVEMBER 4, A 66-YEAR-OLD FEMALE FARMWORKER WAS SEVERELY INJURED BY A GUERRILLA MINE SHE STEPPED ON IN GUALOCOCTI, MORAZAN.

NOVEMBER 16 - 30, 1985  
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-- A FARMWORKER WAS KILLED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE PLANTED BY GUERRILLAS AT THE "SAN LUCAS" FARM IN JUCUAPA, USULUTAN.

-- A BOY DIED AFTER STEPPING ON A MINE LEFT BY THE GUERRILLAS IN SANTA CLARA, SAN VICENTE.

-- ON NOVEMBER 18, THREE COFFEE PICKERS AGED 52, 26, AND 15, WERE WOUNDED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS IN THE "SIETE JOYAS" FARM IN ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ. THE FMLN HAD POSTED NOTICES THAT THE COFFEE PLANTATION WAS MINED.

-- ON NOVEMBER 28, A CIVILIAN COUPLE WAS INJURED WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS NEAR A CHURCH IN SAN JOSE GUAYABAL, CUSCATLAN.

DECEMBER 1 - 15, 1985

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-- A COFFEE PICKER DIED OF INJURIES SHE RECEIVED IN NOVEMBER WHEN SHE STEPPED ON A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS IN EL NISPERO, LA PAZ.

-- A CIVILIAN WAS SERIOUSLY INJURED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE LEFT BY GUERRILLAS JUST OUTSIDE SAN LUIS DE LA REINA, SAN MIGUEL.

-- TWO FARMWORKERS WERE INJURED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS AT THE "LA CRUZ" FARM IN CUSCATLAN.

-- SEVERAL ELECTRICIANS WHO WERE REPAIRING ELECTRIC POWER INSTALLATIONS DESTROYED BY THE GUERRILLAS IN USULUTAN WERE INJURED WHEN THEY SET OFF A MINE PLANTED BY THE SUBVERSIVES. THE EXACT NUMBER OF INJURED WAS NOT GIVEN.

-- A CIVILIAN WAS HOSPITALIZED WITH SERIOUS INJURIES RECEIVED FROM A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE IN JAN JOSE SEGUNDO, SAN SALVADOR.

DECEMBER 16 - 31, 1985

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-- A MAN DIED AND A 16-YEAR-OLD BOY LOST HIS LEG WHEN THEY SET OFF A MINE LEFT BY GUERRILLAS ON A COFFEE PLANTATION NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ.

-- A BOY WAS BLOWN APART BY A MINE PLANTED BY GUERRILLAS NEAR JUCUARAN, USULUTAN.

-- A WOMAN DIED WHEN HER HUSBAND AND SHE STEPPED ON A MINE WHILE HARVESTING COFFEE ON THE "SANTA TERESA" FARM, ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ. THE HUSBAND'S LEGS WERE AMPUTATED.

-- TWO FARMWORKERS ON THEIR WAY TO PICK COFFEE WERE INJURED WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA MINE ON THE "LA FLORIDA" FARM NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ.

-- A MAN WAS SEVERELY INJURED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE PLANTED IN THE ROAD IN SAN JOSE GUAYABAL, CUSCATLAN.

-- ANOTHER MAN WAS INJURED BY A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE ON A FARM NEAR SAN JOSE GUAYABAL.

-- TWO MEN AND A BOY WERE SEVERELY INJURED WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A MINE LEFT BY GUERRILLAS IN SAN ILDEFONSO, SAN VICENTE.

-- A FOURTEEN-YEAR-OLD BOY WAS INJURED WHILE HARVESTING COFFEE WHEN HE SET OFF A MINE PLANTED BY GUERRILLAS ON THE "EL SINAI" FARM, SANTA ANA.

-- A MAN WAS INJURED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE LEFT BY GUERRILLAS ON THE "EL LLORON" FARM, ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ.

4. CIVILIAN CASUALTIES FROM GUERRILLA PLACED MINES

JUNE 16 - DECEMBER 31, 1985

PERSONS KILLED		PERSONS INJURED	
CHILDREN:	8	CHILDREN:	15
WOMEN:	3	WOMEN:	3
MEN:	5	MEN:	7
UNSPECIFIED:	1	UNSPECIFIED:	29+ (A)
TOTAL:	17	TOTAL:	56+ (A)

- CIVILIAN CASUALTIES FROM GUERRILLA PLACED MINES  
- JANUARY 1 - JUNE 15, 1985

PERSONS KILLED		PERSONS INJURED	
-	26	-	69+ (A)
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TOTAL 1985:	43		125 +

(A) PRESS ACCOUNTS OF SOME OF THE INCIDENTS STATE ONLY THAT "SEVERAL" PEOPLE WERE INJURED. THE "+" SIGN INDICATES THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF WOUNDED IS HIGHER BY AN UNKNOWN AMOUNT.

##### 5. COMMENT

AS ONE MAY SEE FROM THE CHRONOLOGY ABOVE, IT IS DANGEROUS TO BE AN ELECTRIC COMPANY WORKER (OVER 10 WOUNDED) OR A COFFEE PICKER (3 KILLED, 8 WOUNDED) IN EL SALVADOR. ANOTHER WOMAN WAS KILLED BY A MINE WHEN SHE WALKED NEAR A DYNAMITED POWER POLE. THE GUERRILLAS HAVE ANNOUNCED ON THEIR CLANDESTINE RADIO STATIONS THAT THEY PLANT MINES TO IMPEDE THE REPAIR OF DAMAGED POWER INSTALLATIONS AND TO IMPEDE THE COFFEE HARVEST, IN ORDER TO DAMAGE THE GOVERNMENT'S "WAR ECONOMY." THESE MINES SPECIFICALLY TARGET CIVILIANS -- THE REPAIRMEN AND THE COFFEE PICKERS. OTHER MINES PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS NEAR POPULATED AREAS RESULT IN ADDITIONAL CIVILIAN

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CASUALTIES. THESE FACTS DEMONSTRATE THE FALSITY OF GUERRILLA CLAIMS THAT THEY TARGET ONLY MILITARY OBJECTIVES AND PERSONNEL. CHURCH PROTESTS AGAINST THE MINING, MOST RECENTLY IN THE FEBRUARY 9, 1985, HOMILY PREACHED BY ARCHBISHOP RIVERA DAMAS, HAVE FALLEN ON DEAF EARS. INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN CONTINUE TO LOSE THEIR LIMBS, THEIR SIGHT, AND THEIR LIVES, TO GUERRILLA MINES. END COMMENT.

CORR##



SUBJECT: FMLN MINES CONTINUE TO MAIM AND KILL CIVILIANS  
- JANUARY - MARCH, 1986

1. SUMMARY  
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PRESSURE-TYPE LAND MINES AND BOOBY TRAPS PLANTED BY THE LEFTIST GUERRILLAS CLAIMED THE LIVES OF 11 SALVADORAN CIVILIANS AND WOUNDED 71 OTHERS IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1986, ACCORDING TO REPORTS IN THE SALVADORAN PRESS. THIS COMPARES WITH 14 DEATHS AND 39 INJURIES FROM GUERRILLA MINES IN THE SAME PERIOD OF 1985. IN CONTRAST, ONE CIVILIAN DEATH WAS CAUSED BY A MINE PLACED BY GOVERNMENT FORCES DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1986. CONTINUING DISCOVERIES OF CLANDESTINE LABS AND LARGE CACHES OF EXPLOSIVES SUGGEST A CONTINUED REDIRECTION OF THE GUERRILLAS' EFFORTS AWAY FROM DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH THE ARMED FORCES AND TOWARD THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMY AND THE DEMORALIZATION OF THE POPULATION IN WHOSE NAME THE GUERRILLAS CLAIM TO BE FIGHTING. END SUMMARY.

2. THE MINES  
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THE HOSPITALS OF EL SALVADOR CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THE VICTIMS OF HOMEMADE EXPLOSIVE DEVICES PLANTED BY MEMBERS OF THE FARABUNDO MARTI NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (FMLN), THE UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION OF THE SELF-PROCLAIMED MARXIST-LENINIST GUERRILLA GROUPS WHICH ARE TRYING TO OVERTHROW THE GOES BY FORCE OF ARMS. SOME OF THE MINES ARE BURIED AND DETONATE WHEN STEPPED ON; OTHERS DISCHARGE A LETHAL CLOUD OF SHRAPNEL FROM SEVERAL FEET AWAY WHEN A DETONATOR IS STEPPED ON. STILL OTHERS ARE CONCEALED GRENADES, RIGGED TO EXPLODE WHEN A WIRE IS TRIPPED. SINCE SUCH PRESSURE-DETONATED CHARGES CANNOT DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN TARGETS, THE RESULTS ARE LOST LIMBS, LOST EYESIGHT, AND LOST LIVES AMONG THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. AS CAN BE SEEN FROM THE INDIVIDUAL CASES THE TERM "WOUNDED" OFTEN INDICATES THAT THE AMPUTATION OF ONE OR MORE LIMBS HAS OCCURRED. DESPITE GOES EFFORTS TO IMPROVE HEALTH CARE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, THE PRIMITIVE INFRASTRUCTURE THERE (POOR ROADS, LACK OF TRANSPORTATION AND FIRST AID TRAINING) OFTEN DELAYS THE VICTIM'S ARRIVAL AT SUITABLE MEDICAL FACILITIES. MANY SIMPLY LISTED AS "WOUNDED" LATER LOSE THEIR LIMBS, WHICH, AFTER ALL, IS THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE FOR WHICH THESE MINES ARE INTENDED.

3. THE CASUALTIES  
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ACCORDING TO REPORTS IN THE SALVADORAN PRESS, GUERRILLA

MINES KILLED 11 AND WOUNDED 71 CIVILIANS IN ELEVEN OF EL SALVADOR'S FOURTEEN DEPARTMENTS DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1986. AT LEAST SIX OF THE ELEVEN CIVILIAN DEAD AND FOURTEEN OF THE 71 INJURED WERE CHILDREN UNDER 18, AND AT LEAST SIX OF THE WOUNDED WERE WOMEN. AN EXACT COUNT IS IMPOSSIBLE AS THE PRESS REPORTS DO NOT ALWAYS LIST THE AGE AND SEX OF THE VICTIMS. ONE MAY SAFELY ASSUME THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED WHOSE AGE AND SEX ARE NOT SPECIFIED ARE ADULT MALES. TOTAL CASUALTIES APPEAR IN A TABLE IN PARAGRAPH 4.

#### 4. CHRONOLOGY AND TABLE

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THE FOLLOWING IS A CHRONOLOGY OF INCIDENTS FROM JANUARY 1 TO MARCH 31, 1986, AS REPORTED IN THE SALVADORAN PRESS. THE CHRONOLOGY LISTS CASES IN WHICH NON-COMBATANTS HAVE SUFFERED DEATH OR INJURY AS A RESULT OF MINES PLANTED BY THE LEFTIST INSURGENTS.

##### JANUARY 1 - 15

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-- A MAN, A WOMAN, AND HER SON WERE SERIOUSLY WOUNDED WHEN THEY SET OFF A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE IN A PATH IN LOMA DE MORAPALA, NEAR EL TRANSITO, SAN MIGUEL. REPORTED JANUARY 5.

-- ON JANUARY 6, TWO PEASANTS WERE ADMITTED TO THE ESCUELA REGIONAL HOSPITAL WITH THEIR LEGS MANGLED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS IN A CANTON OF USULUTAN.

-- A 16-YEAR-OLD BOY LOST A LEG TO A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ. REPORTED JANUARY 9.

##### JANUARY 16 - 31

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-- A THIRTEEN-YEAR-OLD BOY WAS KILLED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS UNDER A RAIL IN A RAILROAD BED NEAR THE VILLAGE OF EL MILAGRO, NEAR CIUDAD DELGADO, SAN SALVADOR, ON JANUARY 18.

-- ON JANUARY 29, A 50-YEAR-OLD COFFEE PICKER WAS KILLED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS NEAR A COFFEE TREE IN THE "SIETE JOYAS" COFFEE PLANTATION NEAR ZACATACOLUCA, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT.

-- A FARMWORKER WAS INJURED WHEN HE SET OFF A MINE PLANTED BY GUERRILLAS ON THE ROAD BETWEEN MEANGUERA AND OSICALA, NEAR THE TOLALA RIVER, IN MORAZAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED JANUARY 21.

-- TWO GIRLS, 9 AND 11 YEARS OLD, WERE WOUNDED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS IN THE SANTA CECILIA FARM, NEAR SANTA GERTRUDIS, SAN VICENTE, AS THEY WERE GOING TO PICK COFFEE. REPORTED JANUARY 29.

-- A YOUNG GIRL LOST A LEG WHEN SHE TRIGGERED A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS IN A COTTON FIELD ON THE LA CARRERA FARM, NEAR PUERTO EL TRIUNFO, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED JANUARY 30.

-- A 13-YEAR-OLD BOY HELPING HIS FATHER BUILD A HOUSE LOST HIS RIGHT LEG TO A GUERRILLA MINE IN SANTA GERTRUDIS, SAN VICENTE DEPARTMENT. REPORTED JANUARY 30.

-- A 40-YEAR-OLD MAN COLLECTING FIREWOOD WAS WOUNDED BY A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE IN THE VILLAGE OF LAS FLORES, NEAR JUCUARAN, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED JANUARY 30.

FEBRUARY 1 - 15  
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-- A MAN WAS KILLED BY A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE IN CERRO EL CAPULIN, NEAR SAN LUIS DE LA REINA, SAN MIGUEL DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 1.

-- A MAN WAS WOUNDED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA MINE IN THE "FLORIDA" FARM, NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 1.

-- A MAN WAS WOUNDED IN THE VILLAGE OF SAMURAI, NEAR JUCUARAN, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT, WHEN HE SET OFF A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE. REPORTED FEBRUARY 2.

-- TWO BROTHERS WERE WOUNDED BY A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE IN THE VILLAGE OF LAS CANAS, NEAR NUEVA CONCEPCION, CHALATENANGO DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 2.

-- A MAN LOST A LEG TO A GUERRILLA MINE PLACED NEAR THE EDGE OF THE VILLAGE OF MANGLAR SALINAS, NEAR JIQUILISCO, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 3.

-- A 12-YEAR-OLD BOY DIED FEBRUARY 4, EIGHT DAYS AFTER STEPPING ON A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE IN TENANCINGO, CUSCATLAN DEPARTMENT.

-- A MAN WAS WOUNDED BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS ON THE GROUNDS OF THE "SANTA ROSALIA" FARM, NEAR TECOLUCA, SAN VICENTE DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 4.

-- TWO ELECTRIC COMPANY WORKERS WERE WOUNDED ON FEBRUARY 2 BY A MINE PLACED BY GUERRILLAS NEAR A DOWNED POWER POLE TO IMPEDE THE POLE'S REPAIR. ONE WORKER LOST

A LEG. A SOLDIER ACCOMPANYING THE WORKERS TO PROVIDE SECURITY WAS ALSO WOUNDED.

-- TWO MEN CUTTING FIREWOOD IN THE "SUIZA" FARM NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ, WERE WOUNDED BY A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE ON FEBRUARY 4. THE LEFT LEG OF ONE WAS AMPUTATED.

-- A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE INJURED A CIVILIAN AND TWO NATIONAL GUARDSMEN WHEN THEY ATTEMPTED TO MOVE A GUERRILLA-CONSTRUCTED BARRICADE PLACED TO ENFORCE A TRAFFIC BAN DECLARED BY THE GUERRILLAS, ON THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY NEAR THE CUSCATLAN BRIDGE, ON FEBRUARY 14.

-- A 16-YEAR-OLD BOY'S RIGHT LEG WAS AMPUTATED AFTER HE STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE NEAR SAN VICENTE, SAN VICENTE DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 6.

-- A 70-YEAR-OLD WOMAN RETURNING HOME FROM PICKING COFFEE STEPPED ON A MINE PLACED IN THE PATH BY GUERRILLAS IN THE "ALTAGRACIA" COFFEE PLANTATION, NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT. HER LEG WAS AMPUTATED. REPORTED FEBRUARY 6.

-- A MAN WAS WOUNDED BY A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE NEAR RIO LAS CANAS, NEAR SAN ISIDRO, CABANAS DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 6.

-- A MINE PLANTED AMONG THE COFFEE TREES ON THE "EL PICACHO" FARM NEAR THE VILLAGE OF EL JOCOTE SAN ISIDRO, NEAR CHINAMECA, SAN MIGUEL DEPARTMENT, KILLED THREE PEOPLE AND WOUNDED NINE. THE DEAD WERE TWO BROTHERS AGED 13 AND 16, AND A MAN AGED 22. THE GROUP WAS HARVESTING COFFEE WHEN THE GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE EXPLODED. REPORTED FEBRUARY 7.

-- A MAN ON HIS WAY TO WORK STEPPED ON A MINE PLACED IN THE ROAD BY GUERRILLAS AND LOST HIS LEG, ON THE "LA CRUZADILLA DE SAN JUAN" FARM, NEAR JIQUILISCO, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 10.

-- IN THE VILLAGE OF JOCOTE DULCE, NEAR TIERRA BLANCA, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT, A MAN LOST HIS LEFT LEG WHEN HE STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA MINE. REPORTED FEBRUARY 10.

-- A MAN WAS SEVERELY INJURED IN BOTH LEGS WHEN HE SET OFF A MINE PLACED BY THE GUERRILLAS IN THE ROAD OUTSIDE THE "SAN ANTONIO" COFFEE PLANTATION, NEAR SANTA ELENA, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 13.

**FEBRUARY 16 - 28**  
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-- A 14-YEAR-OLD BOY LOST HIS RIGHT FOOT WHEN HE SET OFF A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE WHILE GATHERING FIREWOOD WITH HIS FATHER ON FEBRUARY 16, IN KILOMETER 66 OF THE TECOLUCA-SAN VICENTE HIGHWAY, NEAR THE VILLAGE OF DOS QUEBRADAS, SAN VICENTE DEPARTMENT.

-- A 13-YEAR-OLD BOY WAS KILLED AND HIS MOTHER WOUNDED WHEN THEY STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE IN THE PATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF TRONADOR TO EL PAISNAL, SAN SALVADOR DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 18.

-- A 12-YEAR-OLD GIRL WAS KILLED AND HER MOTHER WOUNDED BY A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE ON FEBRUARY 18 ON THE "LOLO LEIVA" COFFEE PLANTATION, NEAR SANTIAGO NONUALCO, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT, AS THEY WERE RETURNING HOME FROM PICKING COFFEE.

-- A BOY LOST BOTH LEGS WHEN HE SET OFF A MINE PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF SANTIAGO DE MARIA, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 22.

-- TWO MEN, AGED 56 AND 20, WERE HOSPITALIZED IN THE REGIONAL HOSPITAL OF CHALATENANGO AFTER STEPPING ON GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINES IN SEPARATE INCIDENTS. BOTH SUFFERED INJURIES TO THE LEFT LEG. REPORTED FEBRUARY 22.

-- THREE FARMERS, AGED 38, 29 AND 42, HAD THEIR LEGS AMPUTATED AFTER SETTING OFF A MINE PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS IN THE FIELD WHERE THEY WERE WORKING, IN USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 25.

-- A WOMAN WAS GRAVELY WOUNDED BY THE SHRAPNEL OF A LAND MINE PLACED BY THE GUERRILLAS AND WAS TREATED IN THE SAN PEDRO HOSPITAL, IN USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 25.

-- A MAN SUFFERED SERIOUS INJURIES WHEN HE STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA MINE IN THE VILLAGE OF FLOR AMARILLA, NEAR SANTA ANA, SANTA ANA DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 26.

-- A FARMWORKER WAS KILLED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE LEFT BY THE GUERRILLAS IN THE COLONIA UTILA, NEAR SANTA TECLA, LA LIBERTAD DEPARTMENT. REPORTED FEBRUARY 27.

**MARCH 1 - 15**  
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-- A CARPENTER LOOKING FOR WOOD FOR CONSTRUCTION LOST HIS LEFT LEG WHEN HE STEPPED ON A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE IN A PATH NEAR THE VILLAGE OF EL OBRAJUELO LEMPA, SAN VICENTE DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 1.

-- THREE WORKERS ON THE "SUIZA" COFFEE PLANTATION WERE WOUNDED BY MINES PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS IN THE ROADS OF THE PLANTATION, NEAR TECOLUCA, SAN VICENTE DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 1.

-- A MAN WAS INJURED BY A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE NEAR THE VILLAGE OF LOMA DE RAMOS, GUAZAPA, SAN SALVADOR DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 5.

-- A 12-YEAR-OLD GIRL WAS WOUNDED BY A MINE IN THE ROAD NEAR OSICALA, MORAZAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 5.

-- A MAN WAS INJURED BY A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE NEAR THE "MIRAMAR" FARM, NEAR SAN VICENTE. REPORTED MARCH 11.

MARCH 16 - 31  
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-- ONE MAN WAS KILLED AND ANOTHER WAS WOUNDED WHEN NINE DEVICES EXPLODED SIMULTANEOUSLY IN JUCUARAN, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 31.

-- A MAN LOOKING FOR FIREWOOD LOST HIS LEFT FOOT WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS NEAR SAN MARTIN, SAN SALVADOR DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 18.

-- A 13-YEAR-OLD BOY COLLECTING CASHEW NUTS SET OFF A GUERRILLA-PLANTED MINE NEAR THE VILLAGE OF EL QUEBRACHO, NEAR JUCUARAN, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. HE LOST HIS RIGHT HAND AND RECEIVED WOUNDS IN BOTH LEGS. REPORTED MARCH 22.

-- A MAN LOST HIS LEFT LEG AND WAS WOUNDED IN THE BODY WHEN HE SET OFF A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE NEAR THE VILLAGE OF CASERIO LOS DUBON, NEAR ARCATAO, CHALATENANGO DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 24.

-- ANOTHER MAN LOST A LEG WHEN HE SET OFF A MINE PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS NEAR JUCUARAN, USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 24.

-- A MAN WAS SERIOUSLY INJURED BY A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE IN THE VILLAGE OF EL ZAPOTE, NEAR TEJUTEPEQUE, CABANAS DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 24.

-- A MAN WAS WOUNDED WHEN HE STEPPED ON A MINE PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS NEAR A GARBAGE DUMP IN THE EL MILAGRO DE LA PAZ NEIGHBORHOOD OF SAN MIGUEL CITY, IN SAN MIGUEL DEPARTAMENT. REPORTED MARCH 24.

-- TWO MEN WERE WOUNDED WHEN THEY SET OFF A MINE PLACED BY THE GUERRILLAS NEAR TEJUTEPEQUE, CABANAS DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 26.

-- A MAN WAS SERIOUSLY WOUNDED BY A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE NEAR THE SAN FELIPE FARM, NEAR CONCEPCION BATRES, IN USULUTAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 31.

-- THREE CHILDREN WERE BADLY INJURED BY A MINE PLANTED BY THE GUERRILLAS NEAR THE VILLAGE OF JINUOCO NEAR TENANCINGO, CUSCATLAN DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 31.

-- A GIRL LOST HER LEFT LEG AND A FEMALE RELATIVE OF HERS WAS WOUNDED BY A GUERRILLA-PLACED MINE THEY SET OFF NEAR SAN ISIDRO, IN CABANAS DEPARTMENT. REPORTED MARCH 31.

PERSONS KILLED

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CHILDREN (A): 6  
WOMEN: 0  
MEN: 4  
UNSPECIFIED: 1

TOTAL 11

PERSONS INJURED

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CHILDREN: 14  
WOMEN: 6  
MEN: 33  
UNSPECIFIED: 18

TOTAL 71

(A) CHILDREN 17 AND UNDER

DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF 1986, ONE CIVILIAN WAS REPORTED KILLED BY AN ESAF MINE: ACCORDING TO A REPORT PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 17, NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS PLACED MINES TO HELP GUARD AGAINST GUERRILLA INCURSIONS INTO THE "ENTRE RIOS" COTTON FARM COOPERATIVE NEAR ZACATECOLUCA, LA PAZ DEPARTMENT. A MEMBER OF THE COOPERATIVE STEPPED ON ONE OF THE MINES AND WAS KILLED.

5. CONCLUSIONS

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A REVIEW OF THE MINING INCIDENTS DESCRIBED ABOVE SHOWS ONCE AGAIN THAT THE GUERRILLAS SPECIFICALLY TARGET CIVILIANS, SUCH AS ELECTRIC LINE REPAIRMEN (TWO WOUNDED) AND COFFEE PICKERS (FOUR DEAD, TWELVE WOUNDED) WHO BY FMLN DEFINITION ARE "SUPPORTING THE WAR ECONOMY" BY DARING TO EARN THEIR LIVING PICKING AN EXPORT CROP. THE GUERRILLAS ALSO MINE ROADS AND PATHS WHICH ARE USED NOT ONLY BY THE MILITARY BUT BY CIVILIANS (ONE DEAD, TEN WOUNDED). CIVILIANS WORKING IN THEIR FIELDS OR GATHERING FIREWOOD ARE ALSO AT RISK (NINE WOUNDED). IN COMPARISON WITH THE 11 DEAD AND 71 WOUNDED DUE TO GUERRILLA MINES, DURING THIS SAME QUARTER ONLY ONE CIVILIAN DIED AS THE RESULT OF A MINE PLANTED BY GOVERNMENT FORCES. THE NUMBER OF GUERRILLAS KILLED BY THEIR OWN MINES IS UNKNOWN, BUT THE LOCAL PRESS OCCASIONALLY CARRIES REPORTS OF GUERRILLAS KILLED BY PREMATURE EXPLOSIONS WHILE PLANTING MINES, AND SEVERAL

OF THE SEVEN WOUNDED GUERRILLAS FOUND BY THE ESAF IN AN UNDERGROUND SHELTER IN CHALATENANGO ON MARCH 13, 1986 AND TURNED OVER TO THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS HAD ONE OR BOTH LEGS AMPUTATED DUE TO MINE INJURIES. IT IS HIGHLY PROBABLE THAT MANY OTHER GUERRILLAS SUFFER THE SAME FATE.

6. THERE IS NO END IN SIGHT. THE CIVILIAN CASUALTY RATE DUE TO GUERRILLA MINES IS HIGHER THIS YEAR THAN LAST, AND SHOWS NO SIGN OF ABATING. YET THE GUERRILLAS BOAST OF THEIR "REVOLUTIONARY MINES" IN BROADCASTS ON THEIR CLANDESTINE RADIO STATIONS; THE ARMED FORCES ARE FINDING MORE AND MORE CACHES OF EXPLOSIVES, DETONATORS, AND COMPLETED MINES, AS WELL AS CLANDESTINE LABS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF EXPLOSIVES. DESPITE THE CARNAGE AMONG THE CIVILIANS THEY CLAIM TO CHAMPION, ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE INSURGENTS WILL CONTINUE AND INCREASE THEIR USE OF THESE DEADLY INDISCRIMINATE WEAPONS.