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NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE

1. FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS FROM 3 MARCH 84 EDITION OF NEW YORK TIMES BY STEPHEN KINZER ON DEATH SQUADS IN EL SALVADOR:

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DEATH SQUADS IN EL SALVADOR: EX-AIDE ACCUSES COLLEAGUES

A FORMER SALVADORAN MILITARY OFFICIAL HAS IMPLICATED HIGH-RANKING SALVADORAN OFFICIALS AND CIVILIANS IN ACTS OF TERRORISM, INCLUDING ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, A LEADING CANDIDATE FOR EL SALVADOR'S PRESIDENCY.

THE FORMER OFFICIAL, WHO HAS SERVED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF THE SECURITY POLICE IN EL SALVADOR, HAS GIVEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS EXTENSIVE INFORMATION ON WHAT HE SAYS ARE THE INNER WORKINGS OF SALVADORAN DEATH SQUADS, HOW AND WHY THEY WERE FORMED, WHO DIRECTS AND PAYS THEM AND WHO SELECTS THEIR VICTIMS.

THE SALVADORAN'S CHARGES

HE IS BELIEVED TO BE THE FIRST OFFICER WITH EXPERIENCE IN THE HIGHEST COUNCILS OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT TO ACCUSE FELLOW OFFICERS PUBLICLY OF VIOLENT POLITICAL CRIMES.

IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION OF THE ACCUSATIONS BY THE OFFICER, WHO ASKED TO REMAIN ANONYMOUS BECAUSE OF FEAR OF REPRISAL. BUT A UNITED STATES SENATOR WHO INTERVIEWED HIM SAYS HE WILL SEEK AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CHARGES AND A CONGRESSMAN SAYS HE IS CONFIDENT OF THE FORMER OFFICIALS'S VERACITY.  
THESE WERE AMONG HIS CHARGES:

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THE NETWORK OF DEATH SQUADS IN EL SALVADOR WAS SHAPED BY LEADING SALVADORAN OFFICIALS, INCLUDING COL. NICOLAS CARRANZA, CHIEF OF THE TREASURY POLICE, AND FORMER MINISTER OF DEFENSE JOSE GUILLERMO GARCIA AND IS STILL DIRECTED BY SENIOR OFFICIALS.

THE MAN WHO ORGANIZED AND CONTINUES TO DIRECT THE SQUADS IS MR. D'AUBUISSON, A FORMER ARMY OFFICER.

MR. D'AUBUISSON CONTINUED TO RECEIVE A MILITARY SALARY THROUGH THE LATE 1970'S DESPITE OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS THAT HE HAD BEEN DISMISSED FROM THE ARMY.

MONEY FOR RIGHTIST TERROR IN EL SALVADOR COMES FROM SALVADORAN EXILES LIVING IN THE MIAMI AREA.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ROUTINELY ORDERED THE POLICE AND SOLDIERS TO STAY OUT OF AREAS WHERE POLITICAL MURDERS WERE ABOUT TO TAKE PLACE AND THAT THEY HELPED ASSASSINS GET TO REFUGES IN NEIGHBORING GUATEMALA.

VETERANS OF NICARAGUA'S DEPOSED NATIONAL GUARD WERE USED IN SOME KILLINGS CARRIED OUT BY MR. D'AUBUISSON'S SQUADS.

MINISTER OF DEFENSE EUGENIO VIDES CASANOVA IS PERSONALLY DIRECTING A COVER-UP IN THE SLAYINGS OF FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN IN 1980 AND THAT HIS COUSIN, A COLONEL, ORDERED THE MURDERS.

"I WOULDN'T WANT TO BE HIS PRISONER"

THE OFFICER MAKING THESE CHARGES WAS INTERVIEWED BY THE NEW YORK TIMES AT A SMALL HOTEL IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES. HE WAS KNOWN BY JOURNALISTS WORKING IN EL SALVADOR IN THE LATE 1970'S. CONGRESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS AND CENTRAL AMERICA SPECIALISTS WHO HAVE INTERVIEWED HIM AT LENGTH RECENTLY SAID THEY WERE CONFIDENT OF HIS CREDIBILITY.

IN HIS INTERVIEWS WITH THE TIMES, HE PORTRAYED HIMSELF AS A SUPPORTER OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT AND A VIGOROUS OPPONENT OF THE GUERRILLA INSURGENCY THAT HAS ENVELOPED HIS COUNTRY.

ONE OF THE TWO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO HAS MET WITH HIM, SENATOR PAUL E. TSONGAS, DEMOCRAT OF MASSACHUSETTS, SAID HE WAS TAKEN ABACK BY THE MAN'S STRONG PROMILITARY SENTIMENTS.

"GIVEN THE THINGS HE WAS SAYING, I EXPECTED SOME KIND OF LIBERAL HUMANITARIAN," SENATOR TSONGAS SAID. "WHAT I FOUND WAS ONE TOUGH MILITARY VETERAN. I WOULDN'T WANT TO BE HIS PRISONER."

THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID HE FEARED THAT IF MR. D'AUBUISSON WON THE ELECTION ON MARCH 25, HIS PRESIDENCY MIGHT PROVOKE A BREAK BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SALVAODRAN GOVERNMENT, THEREBY POSSIBLY AIDING THE INSURGENT GUERRILLAS. HE EXPRESSED NO SYMPATHY FOR EVEN THE MODERATE LEFT, CALLING THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS COMMUNIST-ORIENTED AND CORRUPT AND DECLARING THAT THEY WERE AS GREAT A THREAT TO THE COUNTRY AS MR. D'AUBUISSON AND COLONEL CARRANZA. HE SAID HE CONSIDERED MARIO ZAMORA, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER WHO WAS ASSASSINATED IN EARLY 1980, TO HAVE BEEN "A MARXIST AGENT WHO GUIDED CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC YOUTH INTO THE HANDS OF THE GUERRILLAS."

THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID HE HAD KNOWN MR. D'AUBUISSON FOR MANY YEARS AND CONSIDERED HIM AN "ANARCHIC PSYCHOPATH." HE SAID HE FEARED THAT "UNCONTROLLABLE VIOLENCE" WOULD CONSUME EL SALVADOR IF MR. D'AUBUISSON WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT, AND THAT THIS FEAR WAS ONE OF THE FACTORS THAT LED HIM TO DIVULGE CLOSELY HELD SECRETS.

SENATOR TSONGAS SAID HE WOULD PRESS THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, OF WHICH HE IS A MEMBER, TO INVESTIGATE EACH OF THE MAN'S MANY CHARGES ABOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT IN ACTS OF TERROR.

REPRESENTATIVE JAMES M. SHANNON, DEMOCRAT OF MASSACHUSETTS, WHO HAS ALSO MET WITH THE SALVADORAN, SAID HE WAS CONFIDENT OF HIS VERACITY.

"HE KNEW THINGS THAT ONLY SOMEONE WHO HAD ACCESS TO THE HIGH COMMAND WOULD KNOW," REPRESENTATIVE SHANNON SAID. "HE HAS THE NAMES AND FACTS TO SUBSTANTIATE WHAT A LOT OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SAYING."

BOTH SENATOR TSONGAS AND REPRESENTATIVE SHANNON ARE CRITICS OF THE REAGON ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

OTHER PEOPLE FAMILIAR WITH THE SALVADORAN AND HIS ALLEGATIONS SAID HE HAD BEEN KNOWN FOR HIS DIFFERENCES WITH MR. D'AUBUISSON. THEY SAID HE MIGHT ALSO BE MOTIVATED BY INDICATIONS THAT YOUNG PEOPLE CLOSE TO HIM, POSSIBLY INCLUDING RELATIVES, MAY BE DEVELOPING TIES TO TERROR GROUPS.

IN INTERVIEWS, THE FORMER OFFICIAL SPOKE SEVERAL TIMES OF THE NUMBER OF SALVADORAN YOUTHS WHO HE SAID WERE BEING TURNED INTO MEMBERS OF DEATH SQUADS AFTER JOINING MR- D'AUBUISSON'S POLITICAL COTERIE.

ALLEGATIONS THAT DEATH SQUADS IN EL SALVADOR ARE TIED TO HIGH MILITARY OFFICERS HAVE BEEN MADE BEFORE AND HAVE BEEN CITED BY SOME

CONGRESSIONAL CRITICS OF THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY IN EL SALVADOR.

IN RECENT MONTHS THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE NEW APPEALS TO SALVADORAN LEADERS TO PRESS FOR AN END TO DEATH SQUAD ACTIVITY. VICE PRESIDENT BUSH AND SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE P. SHULTZ HAVE BOTH VISITED EL SALVADOR TO PRESENT THE ADMINISTRATION CASE, AND BOTH SAID THEY WER CONVINCED THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT WAS MAKING A SERIOUS EFFORT TO CURB POLITICAL VIOLENCE.

THE SALAVADORAN MILITARY COMMAND HAS PUBLICLY DENOUNCED THE DEATH SQUADS, AND MILITARY LEADERS HAVE DENIED ALLEGATIONS THAT THEY ARE CONNECTED TO VIOLENT ACTS.

"THE DEATH SQUADS MUST DISAPPEAR FOREVER TO PROVE OUR DETERMINATION TO COMBAT THEM AND OUR FAITH IN THE DEMOCRATIC PORCESS," DEFENSE MINISTER VIDES CASANOVA SAID IN NOVEMBER. "ALL SALVADORANS MUST OPPOSE AND DENOUNCE THEM SO THEY WILL NOT ONLY BE ILLEGAL BUT CONDEMNED BY EVERYONE."

BUT ACCORDING TO THE SALVADORAN NOW SHARING INFORMATION WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, GENERAL VIDES CASANOVA AND OTHER IMPORTANT SALVADORAN OFFICERS HAVE ORDERED OR COVERED UP ACTS OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE.

HE SAID HE HAD PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THESE CRIMES BECAUSE HIS GOVERNMENT POST HAD PUT HIM IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH TOP MILITARY LEADERS. HE SAID HIS OFFICE HAD REGULARLY RECEIVED SENSITIVE INFORMATION DETAILING THE OFFICERS' PARTICIPATION IN VIOLENCE AND THAT HIS AGENTS SOMETIMES MONITORED THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASSASSINATION PLOTS FORMULATED BY OFFICERS.

THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF RIGHTIST TERROR IN EL SALVADOR, ACCORDING TO THE FORMER OFFICIAL, GREW OUT OF THE POWER STRUGGLE THAT ERUPTED BETWEEN REFORMIST AND CONSERVATIVE MILITARY FACTIONS IN 1979.

AFTER THE OCTOBER 1979 MILITARY COUP, LEFTISTS GAINED A FOOHOLD IN THE GOVERNMENT AND FORMED A LOOSE ALLIANCE WITH REFORMIST OFFICERS LED BY COL. ARNOLDO MAJANO, A MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA, RIGHTISTS LED BY DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA AND COLONEL CARRANZA, THEN HIS DEPUTY, WERE ALARMED AT THIS ALLIANCE.

THEIR CAMPAIGN TO OUTHANEUVER COLONEL MAJANO AND FORCE HIM AND HIS ALLIES FROM THE GOVERNMENT ACCORDING TO THE SALVADORAN, SECRETLY INCLUDED A SERIES OF TERRORIST ACTS. RIGHTIST OFFICERS, HE SAID, HOPED TO DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY AND CREATE CONDITIONS FOR A

COUNTERCOUP.

"GARCIA AND CARRANZA ASKED D'AUBUISSON TO ESTABLISH THE BROAD NATIONALIST FRONT WITH THE OBJECT OF SUPPORTING THE ARMED FORCES AND DESTABILIZING COLONEL MAJANO, WHO WAS BECOMING A PROBLEM FOR THEM." THE SALVADORAN SAID EVENLY. "HE DID A GOOD JOB ORGANIZING STREET RALLIES AND TOOK ON THE TASK OF ELIMINATING PEOPLE."

MR. D'AUBUISSON WAS SUPPOSEDLY OUT OF THE ARMY AT THIS TIME, BUT ACCORDING TO THE FORMER OFFICIAL HE WAS SECRETLY STILL RECEIVING A SALARY. IN FACT, HE SAID, MR. D'AUBUISSON ACTUALLY RECEIVED A SUBSTANTIAL RAISE IN HIS MILITARY PAY DURING THE TIME HE WAS ORGANIZING THE DEATH SQUADS IN LATE 1979.

"GARCIA AND CARRANZA GAVE HIM THEIR MOST SUITABLE MEN IN EACH PART OF THE COUNTRY FOR HIS SQUADS," THE SALVADORAN SAID. "THE GOAL WAS TO MAKE IT SEEM THAT THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA WAS INCAPABLE OF GOVERNING, TO CREATE CHAOS SO THEY COULD PUSH MAJANO OUT."

COLONEL MAJANO WAS THE TARGET OF SUSTAINED ATTACKS FROM THE RIGHT DURING HIS 14 MONTHS ON THE JUNTA BECAUSE OF HIS SUPPORT FOR LAND REDISTRIBUTION, NATIONALIZATION OF THE BANKS AND CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MILITARY. HE IS NOW IN EXILE AND REPORTEDLY LIVES IN MEXICO.

THE FORMER MILITARY OFFICIAL SAID HE HAD DIRECT KNOWLEDGE OF THE PARTICIPATION OF MR. D'AUBUISSON, GENERAL GARCIA AND COLONEL CARRANZA IN THE PROCESS OF SELECTING DEATH SQUAD VICTIMS, MANY OF WHOM HAVE BEEN TRADE UNIONISTS, STUDENT LEADERS, PEASANT ORGANIZERS AND OTHERS CONSIDERED POTENTIALLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE LEFT.

HE SAID MANY OF THE MEN WHO CARRIED OUT KILLINGS OR KIDNAPPINGS UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY WERE ACTING ON GOVERNMENT ORDERS AND THAT SUCH A CONCLUSION WAS REASONABLE BECAUSE THE POLICE WERE CLEARED FROM THE SCENE BEFORE ASSAULTS AND FULL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ESCAPE WERE PROVIDED.

#### GUATEMALA IS CALLED SCHOOL AND REFUGE

MR. D'AUBUISSON IS KNOWN TO HAVE GONE TO GUATEMALA REGULARLY DURING 1979 AND 1980, AND, ACCORDING TO THE FORMER MILITARY OFFICIAL, HE WAS IN CONTACT THERE WITH MARIO SANDOVAL ALARCON AND LEONEL SISNIEGA OTERO, THE TWO LEADERS OF THE ULTRARIGHT NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, A GUATEMALAN POLITICAL PARTY THAT HAS BEEN LINKED TO POLITICAL VIOLENCE. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT WAS FORMED IN THE EARLY 1950'S WITH THE HELP OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY TO OVERTHROW THE LEFTIST GOVERNMENT OF JACOBO ARBENZ GUZMAN,

WHO FELL FROM POWER IN A C.I.A.-BACKED COUP IN JUNE 1954.

ACCORDING TO THE SALVADORAN, MR. D'AUBUISSON AND HIS MEN MOVED FREELY BETWEEN EL SALVADOR AND GUATEMALA. IN MANY CASES, HE SAID, ASSASSINS WOULD DRIVE DIRECTLY FROM THE SCENE OF A MURDER IN EL SALVADOR TO AN AIRSTRIP WHERE THEY WOULD BOARD A PRIVATE PLANE FOR GUATEMALA.

GUATEMALA IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN CENTRAL AMERICA WITH A LONG HISTORY OF DEATH SQUAD ACTIVITY, AND THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID MR. D'AUBUISSON WENT THERE TO LEARN HOW RIGHTIST SQUADS WERE RUN. TRIPS TO GUATEMALA AFTER KILLINGS WERE ALSO THOUGHT TO PROTECT THE KILLERS FROM POSSIBLE PRIVATE REPRISALS AND FROM QUESTIONING BY SALVADORAN AGENCIES NOT INVOLVED IN THE PLOTS. 2

HE SAID THE GUATEMALAN GOVERNMENT WAS NOT FULLY AWARE OF THE EXTENT OF THESE TIES AND WAS NOT A PARTY TO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE D'AUBUISSON GROUP, ALTHOUGH ITS INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES WERE AWARE THAT MR. D'AUBUISSON WAS ACTIVE THERE.

IN GUATEMALA, THE FORMER MILITARY OFFICIAL SAID, MR. D'AUBUISSON MET REGULARLY WITH A SMALL GROUP OF WEALTHY SALVADORAN EXILES DETERMINED TO OUST THE MAJANO FACTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND REPEAL THE LEGAL CHANGES THAT HAD COST MANY OF THEM MUCH MONEY AND POSITIONS OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE., MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP REGULARLY PROVIDED NAMES OF PEOPLE THEY WANTED KILLED, HE SAID, AND PAID MR. D'AUBUISSON TO CARRY OUT THEIR WISHES.

"THESE EXILES NOW OPERATE OUT OF MIAMI AND STILL HAVE THE SAME RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SQUADS," HE SAID. "WITH CARRANZA NOW HEAD OF THE TREASURY POLICE, THERE IS NO PROBLEM."

ACCORDING TO THE SALVADORAN, THE TWO MOST STUNNING POLITICAL MURDERS OF EARLY 1980 IN EL SALVADOR, THOSE OF MARIO ZAMORA AND ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO, WERE BOTH PLANNED AND CARRIED OUT BY MR. D'AUBUISSON WITH MONEY FROM EXILES IN GUATEMALA AND UNDER THE PROTECTION OF GENERAL GARCIA AND COLONEL CARRANZA. AT THIS TIME, THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID, MR. D'AUBUISSON DID NOT HAVE A RELIABLE TEAM OF SALVADORAN KILLERS AND USED VETERANS OF NICARAGUA'S DEPOSED NATIONAL GUARD AS TRIGGERMEN FOR BOTH ASSASSINATIONS.

THE KILLING OF MR. ZAMORA, AN OUTSPOKEN ACTIVIST WHO WAS A SPOKESMAN FOR YOUNG LEFTISTS IN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND WHO HELD A CABINET POST UNDER THE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA, HAPPENED WHEN MR. ZAMORA WAS ENGAGED IN A PUBLIC FEUD WITH MR. D'AUBUISSON. MR. ZAMORA WAS KILLED BY A SQUAD THAT BROKE INTO HIS HOME ON THE EVENING OF FEB. 23, 1980.

MR. ZAMORA'S BROTHER RUBEN HAS BECOME A LEADING SPOKESMAN FOR

THE SALVADORAN REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. HE HAS SAID HE BELIEVES MR. D'AUBUISSON HELPED PLAN HIS BROTHER'S MURDER.

A MONTH AFTER THE ZAMORA KILLING, ARCHBISHOP ROMERO WAS SLAIN WHILE SAYING MASS AT A HOSPITAL CHAPEL IN SAN SALVADOR.

"AS FOR THE CASE OF THE ARCHBISHOP, D'AUBUISSON SIMPLY ORDERED IT AFTER MEETING WITH EXILES IN GUATEMALA," THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID. "HE FORMED THE TEAMS. HIS MEN FOLLOWED THE ARCHBISHOP TO LEARN HIS HABITS AND HE PICKED THE FOUR MEN WHO CARRIED OUT THE OPERATION AND THE EIGHT OTHERS WHO MADE UP THE SECURITY GROUP."

#### 40 STICKS OF DYNAMITE ARE PRELUDE TO EXILE

COLONEL MAJANO LOST POLITICAL GROUND CONTINUALLY THROUGH 1980, AND MOST OF THE LEFTISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING TWO KEY JUNTA MEMBERS, WERE FORCED FROM OFFICE. AT ONE POINT, COLONEL MAJANO ORDERED THE ARREST OF MR. D'AUBUISSON ON CHARGES OF PLOTTING A COUP, BUT MR. D'AUBUISSON WAS QUICKLY RELEASED THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA.

AS COLONEL MAJANO DROVE NEAR THE SALVADORAN INSTITUTE FOR AGRARIAN REFORM ON NOV. 11, 1980, A BOMB MADE FROM 40 STICKS OF DYNAMITE EXPLODED JUST AFTER HIS CAR PASSED. THIS ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT WAS CARRIED OUT BY SQUADS WORKING FOR MR. D'AUBUISSON, THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID.

TWO WEEKS AFTER THE CAR-BOMB ATTACK, SIX MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE LEFTIST DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY FRONT WERE KIDNAPPED AND KILLED, AN ACTION THE FORMER MILITARY OFFICIAL SAID WAS ALSO CARRIED OUT BY SQUADS WORKING FOR MR. D'AUBUISSON. IN MID-DECEMBER, COLONEL MAJANO WAS FINALLY FORCED TO LEAVE THE JUNTA. HE FLED INTO EXILE SOON AFTERWARD.

THE SALVADORAN WAS IN A SENSITIVE GOVERNMENT POST WHEN THE FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN WERE KILLED IN EL SALVADOR ON DEC. 2, 1980. HE SAID HIS POST GAVE HIM THE OPPORTUNITY TO WATCH A COVER-UP DEVELOP. AMERICAN OFFICIALS FAMILIAR WITH CIRCUMSTANCES AT THAT TIME CONFIRMED THAT THE SALVADORAN WAS WELL SITUATED TO SEE THE INNER REACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE KILLINGS.

HE SAID THE MURDER OF THE CHURCHWOMEN WAS "AN UNUSUAL CASE" THAT DID NOT INVOLVE MR. D'AUBUISSON OR WHAT HE DESCRIBES AS THE "NORMAL STRUCTURE."

"NATIONAL GUARDSMEN AT THE AIRPORT SPOTTED THE WOMEN, AND THEY RADIOED FOR INSTRUCTIONS," HE SAID, SPEAKING MATTER-OF-FACTLY AND

CHAIN-SMOKING AMERICAN CIGARETTES. "TWO OF THE WOMEN WERE COMING FROM A CONFERENCE OF MARYKNOLL NUNS IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA, AND THE OTHER TWO WERE KNOWN AS SUSPICIOUS.

"THE WORD CAME DOWN TO ELIMINATE THEM. IT CAME FROM COL. OSCAR EDGARDO CASANOVA, WHO WAS IN CHARGE IN THAT ZONE."

SALVADORAN AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS HAVE SAID THERE IS NO EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THE FIVE NATIONAL GUARDSMEN ACCUSED OF KILLING THE CHURCHWOMEN WERE ACTING ON ORDERS. BUT CRITICS, INCLUDING RELATIVES OF THE WOMEN, HAVE EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT A CRIME OF THIS MAGNITUDE WOULD HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT SPONTANEOUSLY.

COLONEL CASANOVA IS A COUSIN OF GENERAL VIDES CASANOVA, THEN CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL GUARD AND NOW MINISTER OF DEFENSE. OSCAR EDGARDO CASANOVA IS NOW COMMANDER OF THE SALVADORAN ARMY'S SECOND BRIGADE, STATIONED AT THE WESTERN CITY OF SANTA ANA. HE WAS TRANSFERRED FROM LA PAZ, WHERE THE MURDERS TOOK PLACE, WEEKS AFTER THE WOMEN WERE KILLED. HIS TRANSFER WAS PART OF A SHAKE-UP THAT THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID WAS PRINCIPALLY DESIGNED TO PROVIDE A PRETEXT FOR PROTECTING THE WOMEN'S KILLERS.

ACCORDING TO THE SALVADORAN, THE TRANSFERS SENT A MESSAGE TO SOLDIERS THAT THEY WOULD BE PROTECTED IF THEY WERE IMPLICATED IN CRIMES OF VIOLENCE.

HE SAID COLONEL CASANOVA'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE KILLING OF THE CHURCHWOMEN WAS KNOWN TO SEVERAL PEOPLE AT HIGH LEVELS OF THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT.

"THE MEN WHO DID THE KILLING HAVE BEEN PROMISED THAT THEY WILL BE FREED THROUGH THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM, WHICH MEANS THAT THEY CAN NEVER BE PUT ON TRIAL AGAIN," THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID. "IF THEY DON'T NAME CASANOVA, THEY WILL GET OUT OF JAIL AS SOON AS IT IS FEASIBLE."

#### KILLINGS SAID TO FOSTER MURDER AS WAY OF LIFE

THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID THAT THE JANUARY 1981 KILLING OF JOSE RODOLFO VIERA, WHO HEADED THE LAND REDISTRIBUTION PROGRAM THAT MANY WEALTHY SALVADORAN LANDOWNERS BITTERLY OPPOSED, WAS CARRIED OUT BY MEN WORKING FOR MR. D'AUBUISSON. HE DESCRIBED THE TWO MEN WHO HAVE BEEN ACCUSED IN THE KILLING, CAPT. EDUARDO ALFONSO AVILA AND LIEUT. ISIDRO LOPEZ SIBRIAN, AS "INTEGRAL MEMBERS OF THE D'AUBUISSON GANG."

MR. VIERA WAS KILLED TOGETHER WITH TWO AMERICAN LABOR ADVISERS

ALL THEY WERE DINING AT THE SAN SALVADOR SHERATON. LIEUTENANT LOPEZ LIBERIAN REMAINS ON ACTIVE DUTY, AND CAPTAIN AVILA IS "UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF A JUDGE" WHILE CHARGES THAT HE LEFT THE COUNTRY ILLEGALLY ARE INVESTIGATED.

THE POLITICAL PARTY MR. D'AUBUISSON NOW HEADS, THE NATIONALIST REPUBLICAN ALLIANCE, EMERGED OUT OF THE BROAD NATIONALIST FRONT AS A VEHICLE FOR CANDIDATES IN THE 1982 ELECTION IN EL SALVADOR. MR. D'AUBUISSON BECAME PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AFTER THE 1982 ELECTION AND IS NOW THE NATIONALIST REPUBLICAN ALLIANCE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

ACCORDING TO THE FORMER OFFICIAL, ALLIANCE MONEY IS ROUTINELY USED TO PAY BOTH CAMPAIGN EXPENSES FOR MR. D'AUBUISSON'S PRESIDENTIAL BID AND EXPENSES OF DEATH SQUADS UNDER HIS CONTROL.

"HE FORMED THEM AND HE RUNS THEM," THE SALVADORAN SAID OF MR. D'AUBUISSON AND THE DEATH SQUADS. "CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS IN MIAMI KNOW THAT THEIR MONEY IS GOING FOR BOTH PURPOSES, CAMPAIGNING AND KILLING."

BECAUSE MR. D'AUBUISSON'S SQUADS HAVE OPERATED WITH SUCH IMPUNITY, THE FORMER OFFICIAL SAID, MANY SALVADORANS HAVE FOLLOWED HIS EXAMPLE AND TAKEN TO MURDER AS A WAY OF RESOLVING POLITICAL GRIEVANCES, PERSONAL QUARRELS OR FINANCIAL DISAGREEMENTS.

"VIOLENCE IS CONSUMING THE COUNTRY," HE SAID. HE SAID THE EXAMPLE OF MR. D'AUBUISSON HAD LED "TO A GEOMETRIC INCREASE IN MURDERS" OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS. PEOPLE SEE THAT ALL THEY HAVE TO DO IS GO OUT AND SHOOT SOMEONE AND NOTHING WILL HAPPEN TO THEM, HE SAID.

"YOUNG PEOPLE WHO WANT TO DO SOMETHING FOR THE COUNTRY AND FOR SOME REASON ARE ATTRACTED TO D'AUBUISSON, HE CONTINUED, "GO TO HIS OFFICE AND ASK WHAT THEY CAN DO TO HELP. SOMEONE GIVES THEM A GUN AND THE NAME OF SOMEONE TO KILL.

"IT REACHES THE POINT WHERE HIS HITMEN GET BORED AND ASK HIM WHAT OPERATION THEY ARE GOING TO CARRY OUT TODAY. SO HE SENDS THEM OUT TO KILL A PROFESSOR OR THROW A BOMB AT SOME UNION LEADER."

HE ASSERTED THAT JOSE NAPOLEON DUARTE, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC LEADER AND THE PARTY'S PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN THE ELECTION THIS MONTH, WAS TOLD WHILE HE WAS SERVING AS PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT IN 1981 THAT COLONEL CASANOVA WAS THE MAN WHO ORDERED THE KILLING OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN. BUT HE SAID MR. DUARTE CHOSE NOT TO ACT ON THE INFORMATION FOR FEAR THAT DOING SO MIGHT PRODUCE A VIOLENT

REACTING

MR. DUARTE HAS SAID HE TRIED VIGOROUSLY TO PURSUE THE CASE BUT WAS STYMIED BY THE MILITARY AND A TIMID JUDICIARY.

[REDACTED]