

[REDACTED]

This report was prepared by the U.S. Government. It provides data on alleged human rights violations by the FMLN. Previous reports provided to the Ad Hoc and Truth Commissions dealt with alleged human rights violations by the Salvadoran Government. While this document is based on the best information available to the U.S. Government, the U.S. Government cannot provide any guarantee of the accuracy of the report.

I. ASSASSINATIONS AND KIDNAPPINGS OF LOCAL OFFICIALS

The U.S. Embassy Human Rights report on El Salvador for 1989 noted that "during much of 1989 the FMLN pursued a public policy of attempting to make the country 'ungovernable' through increased urban bombings and assassinations against conservative intellectuals, newspaper columnists, civilian employees of the military, former FMLN members, mayors, and government ministers and their families." The attacks on mayors and other local officials began in the early 1980s and intensified as the civil strife worsened. In 1985 the FMLN began a systematic campaign to eliminate governmental authority in areas the guerrillas claimed to control.

April 3, 1983. Eleazar Cruz, Mayor of San Cayetano Istepeque, San Vicente Department, was killed by 15 heavily armed FMLN guerrillas from the FDR faction who attacked and briefly occupied the town. The assailants also destroyed the mayor's files. Three other municipalities--Guadalupe, Verapaz, and San Lorenzo--were also attacked on the same day; 17 persons were reportedly killed in the four towns. [REDACTED]

July 10, 1983. FMLN guerrillas seized the town of Nueva Granada, Usulután Department, and killed the Christian Democratic mayor, Roberto Rendon, who they charged supported the civil defense paramilitary patrols. [REDACTED]

January, 1984. Maria Ovidia Amaya, the ARENA mayor of Yamabal, Morazan Department, was forced from her home and shot. [REDACTED]

January, 1984. An ARENA deputy from Usulután, Ricardo Arnaldo Pohl, was assassinated. [REDACTED]

January, 1985. The FMLN killed the mayor of San Jorge, San Miguel Department, during an attempted kidnapping. [REDACTED]

May 2, 1985. The newly appointed Christian Democratic mayor of San Jorge, Edgar Mauricio Valenzuela, was taken from his home and slain because he had disregarded guerrilla orders and accepted the position. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

May 16, 1985. FMLN guerrillas assassinated Dr. Jose Rodolfo Araujo, a magistrate on the Military First Instance Court in the capital; the FMLN claimed responsibility for the attack in a subsequent Radio Venceremos broadcast. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

August 16, 1985. Baudelio Aviles, the former ARENA mayor of El Paisnal, San Salvador Department, was killed and his wife and sister wounded during an FMLN attack on his home. [REDACTED]

1985. The FMLN also kidnapped 28 mayors in 1985 and used them as part of a ransom package for the release of captured or imprisoned FMLN leaders and combatants. Some of the mayors were held for over six months. On September 2, a reporter from the Salvadoran newspaper La Prensa Grafica observed a Radio Venceremos broadcast from Perquin, Morazan Department. Participants included ERP chief Joaquin Villalobos, PCS chief Shafik Handal, and nine of the kidnapped mayors. In October, all 28 mayors were ransomed by the government; they promptly resigned from their posts. [REDACTED]

1986. At least eight mayors and one former mayor were assassinated by the FMLN. At least 95 of El Salvador's 262 mayors were unable to carry out their duties in their own towns and sought refuge in departmental capitals; most had been threatened with death for cooperating with the government. [REDACTED]

January, 1987. The FMLN kidnapped three additional mayors as part of a campaign called "Heroic January--Farabundo Marti Lives." In Radio Venceremos broadcasts the guerrillas threatened all mayors and demanded their resignations. The FMLN kidnapped at least six additional mayors during the year and, beginning with the slaying of the mayor of Sensembra in September, initiated an intensive assassination campaign against mayors and other local officials. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

September 28, 1987. In the early morning hours, FMLN guerrillas murdered Isidra Andrade, the Christian Democratic mayor of Sensembra, Morazan Department. The 48-year-old Andrade was forced from her house and shot and killed on her patio in the presence of her young daughter. The Salvadoran daily El Mundo noted that the murder may have been motivated by both personal and political reasons. Mayor Andrade's brother Felix, an FMLN squad leader at the time, was believed to have been behind the assault. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

March 17, 1988. Guerrillas attacked the town of Azacualpa in southeastern Chalatenango Department and kidnapped Mayor Sergio Romero, a member of the National Conciliation Party. On the same day, the FMLN's "Radio Venceremos" first announced that the mayor had been killed in combat. The Salvadoran military, however, stated that Mr. Romero was killed as part of the FMLN's campaign against the upcoming elections. The [REDACTED] attributed Mr. Romero's death to the FMLN, reporting that he was beaten to death and his face mutilated.

[REDACTED]

April 14, 1988. During the night, guerrillas who identified themselves as members of the "Chico Sanchez" Eastern Front of the FMLN, took Pedro Ventura from his home and shot him to death in front of his wife and children. The victim, a member of the ARENA party, was mayor-elect of San Isidro, Morazan.

[REDACTED]

On April 16, 1988 Radio Venceremos claimed responsibility for Ventura's execution and stated that it was carried out because the mayor had failed to heed an FMLN warning not to participate in the elections or to continue his work as mayor.

[REDACTED]

May 11, 1988. During the night, Terencio Rodriguez, the 38-year-old ARENA mayor of Perquin, Morazan Department, was assassinated by an unidentified group of FMLN guerrillas on the patio of his house.

[REDACTED]

August 21, 1988. Guerrillas identifying themselves as members of the FMLN kidnapped and killed Dolores Molina, mayor of the small municipality of Lolotiquillo, Morazan Department. A member of the Christian Democratic Party, Molina was severely beaten before his execution, according to Morazan deputy Margarita Castro.

[REDACTED]

A communique issued by the FMLN on August 22 announced that Molina had been executed for participating in the government's counterinsurgency operations.

[REDACTED]

October 25, 1988. Mayor Lucio Salvador Perla of Sociedad, Morazan Department was taken from his house by FMLN guerrillas who accused the ARENA member of assisting the government's civil defense program and killed him minutes later.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On October 27, Radio Venceremos claimed responsibility for the execution. On November 6, Gregorio Rosa Chavez, Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador, condemned the FMLN for the assassination of three mayors, including Lucio Salvador.

[REDACTED]

October 30, 1988. Jose Alberto Lopez Lopez, the Christian Democratic mayor of Guatajiagua, Morazan Department, was kidnapped from his home by guerrillas believed to be elements of the FMLN. Lopez's body was found in a rural area the next morning. On November 6, Gregorio Rosa Chavez, Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador, condemned the FMLN for the assassination of three mayors, including Lopez.

[REDACTED]

October 31, 1988. ARENA member Jose Ulises Hernandez, Mayor of Nueva Granada, Usulután Department, was taken from his home at 7:00 PM by two guerrillas. According to local press reports the assailants, members of the FPL, shot the mayor shortly thereafter. Eyewitnesses stated that Hernandez' family attempted to drive him to San Miguel hospital, but he died enroute.

[REDACTED]

During a homily, Msgr. Gregorio Rosa Chavez, the Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador, condemned such "barbaric actions against civilian officials chosen by the people" and asserted, "We express our vigorous rejection of these acts despite the reasons the guerrillas allege to justify the unjustifiable".

[REDACTED]

November 25, 1988. ARENA member Napoleon Alexander Villafuerte, the Mayor of Sesori, San Miguel Department, was abducted and killed by three members of the ERP from the Northern San Miguel subzone. One of the three used the pseudonym "Arnolfo." "Lucio," ERP Chief of Masas in the Northern San Miguel Subzone, gave the order to kill Villafuerte. In a Radio Venceremos broadcast the next day, the FMLN took credit for the assassination and reminded all local mayors and officials that "we will not allow them to operate in disputed areas under guerrilla control as instruments of counterinsurgency war plans. We urge mayors and officials to refrain from participating in such activities and to resign. Otherwise, they will continue to be targets of our units for participating in the dictatorship's counterinsurgency war apparatus."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

January 27, 1989. Ernesto Flores, the 40-year-old Governor of Usulután, was assassinated by a unit of the FMLN. Flores was the PDC secretary general in the department. The governor's secretary reported that the attackers appeared at Flores' residence in Villa El Triunfo in the morning, shot the victim, and left a poster at the site that stated: "For not keeping your promise and for collaborating with the Yankees". On January 29, Archbishop Rivera y Damas strongly condemned the governor's murder and the bombing of the home of the defense minister's mother.

[REDACTED]

II. ASSASSINATIONS OF PROMINENT CIVILIANS

June 27, 1983. Rene Barrios Amaya, former labor leader, first secretary of the Constituent Assembly, and ARENA deputy, was assassinated by several unidentified individuals on the southern outskirts of the capital. In a communique issued several hours later, the FPL claimed responsibility for the slaying.

[REDACTED]

January 27, 1984. FMLN guerrillas killed ARENA assembly deputy Ricardo Arnaldo Pohl as he drove his daughter to school in San Salvador. The Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front of the FPL claimed responsibility.

[REDACTED]

February 25, 1984. Roberto Ismael Ayala, a PAISA deputy from Cabanas department, was shot to death in San Salvador by two young men. Although no terrorist group claimed responsibility for the slaying, the [REDACTED] strongly suspected the Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front of the FPL.

[REDACTED]

March 14, 1984. Hector Tulio Flores, a PCN deputy, was shot dead by unidentified assailants. The Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front of the FPL claimed responsibility.

[REDACTED]

March 31, 1984. Dr. Rafael Hasbun, a leading ARENA ideologue and well-known conservative writer and newspaper correspondent, was assassinated by urban commandos. The PRTC claimed responsibility for the slaying in a communique released on April 2, describing the killing as "revolutionary action: death to political harborers of the death squads".

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

December 7, 1984. Efraim Aristides Figueroa, the director of the San Salvador Light Company, was shot to death in downtown San Salvador. The Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front of the FPL claimed responsibility.

[REDACTED]

October 26, 1987. Herbert Ernesto Anaya Sanabria, President of the nongovernmental Human Rights Commission (CDHES), was assassinated in San Salvador. The victim was in the parking lot of his residential complex, waiting to take his wife and their five children to school, when two men shot him with small caliber weapons.

[REDACTED]

Anaya, a member of the ERP, had been imprisoned from May 1986 until February 1987, when he was one of 57 insurgents released from prison in exchange for the FMLN's release of a kidnapped Air Force colonel.

[REDACTED]

Shortly after the assassination of Anaya the FMLN issued a communique charging the Salvadoran Army and Duarte government with the crime. The insurgents also suspended the dialogue with the government and declared a three-day national transportation stoppage in early November "to show the people's rejection of the repressive escalation unleashed by the Duarte government. . . ."

[REDACTED]

On December 23, the National Police arrested ERP member Jorge Alberto Miranda Arevalo, alias "Erick" and "Jacinto," in the San Salvador neighborhood of Zacamil. During interrogation, Miranda admitted to having taken part in Anaya's assassination. According to Miranda, the ERP had ordered Anaya's death because he had been passing information to the armed forces and was no longer effective as president of the CDHES. During the assault Miranda provided security for the gunman who killed Anaya, another cell member known only as "Carlos." A third insurgent, Romualdo Alberto Zelaya, alias "Jose," drove the escape vehicle. Miranda was sentenced to a 30-year prison term for the murder of Anaya.

[REDACTED]

December 6, 1988. Francisco Ismael Diaz, the press and propaganda secretary of the 22,000-member Salvadoran Peasant Central (CCS) and former mayor of Lolotique, San Miguel Department, was slain by guerrillas after he was kidnapped near Lolotique. His younger brother, who was present during Diaz' abduction, identified the kidnappers as members of the FMLN. Diaz' corpse was discovered the next day in the vicinity of Sesori, about 15 kilometers north of Lolotique. He had been shot at least once in the head. Diaz, leader of the CCS agricultural cooperative of Lolotique, had refused to

[REDACTED]

cooperate with the FMLN, despite having received two threatening letters. ERP member Andres Perez allegedly participated in the assassination of Diaz. [REDACTED]

An FMLN communique issued after the slaying stated that Diaz had been killed because he had helped the Army's counterinsurgency campaign. [REDACTED]

March 15, 1989. An armed man assassinated Francisco L. Peccorini, an American citizen and one of the leaders of the Committee for the Rescue of the National University. The victim was shot when his car stopped at a traffic light on Avenida Olimpica, near the Flor Blanca Stadium in San Salvador. No group claimed responsibility for the slaying. A former Jesuit, retired professor, and conservative political commentator, Peccorini had returned to El Salvador from the United States in 1987. He spoke against the FMLN and its use of the National University for subversive activities. [REDACTED]

Two other attacks on members of the Committee had occurred earlier. On November 25, 1988 three grenades were thrown at the son and daughter-in-law of Rafael Antonio Mendez, head of the Committee; the daughter-in-law was injured. Mendez publicly blamed University Unity, a political group at the National University, for the attack. On March 10, 1989 armed men shot at Mendez's vehicle, lightly wounding him as well as his bodyguard and Gladis Larromana, a secretary recently released from the University. [REDACTED]

The [REDACTED] commented that university students operating out of the campus as FMLN urban commandos probably assassinated Peccorini and suggested the slaying was an indication that the Rescue Committee's efforts were perceived by the FMLN as a threat to its control of the University. [REDACTED]

On July 25, 1989 former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White described [REDACTED] a meeting he had recently attended in Mexico with Ferman Cienfuegos and other FMLN officials. White stated that during the meeting the FMLN had acknowledged its responsibility for recent acts of terrorism including the killing of Peccorini and the bombing of Vice-President Merino's house--but not the killings of Minister Rodriguez Porth and Edgar Chacon. The FMLN admitted, however, that the killings had worked against FMLN interests. Cienfuegos stated that the FMLN was debating a change in policy regarding assassinations, under which the high command would decide who would be killed by name and acknowledge responsibility for all such acts. Cienfuegos indicated that part of the reason for the change was a lack of

[REDACTED]

precision in the orders passed to urban commando cells.

[REDACTED]

On February 2, 1992 ERP leader Joaquin Villalobos and his deputy Ana Guadalupe Martinez discussed [REDACTED] "mistakes" made in urban terror tactics. One was the wave of civilian killings launched by the FMLN high command in the late 1980s. Among the victims of that campaign listed by the guerrilla leader was Francisco Peccorini.

[REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, alias "Roberto," was charged with the murder of Edgar Chacon, as well as numerous others including Peccorini.

[REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo or "Roberto" was identified as a former FAL political commander who was arrested by Treasury Police in San Salvador on December 30, 1989.

[REDACTED]

February 16, 1989. Napoleon Romero Garcia, alias "Miguel Castellanos," a 42-year-old former guerrilla commander who had defected from the FMLN, was machine-gunned to death as he left his office in northern San Salvador by car. For several years Castellanos had been a leader of the FPL, but in 1985 he had renounced violence and, along with other former guerrillas, formed the Center for the Study of the National Reality, with the goal of promoting democracy. Radio Venceremos announced the death of "traitor" Castellanos immediately after the attack, but never formally claimed responsibility for the slaying. The FPL's clandestine radio also announced the "execution" and characterized it as a victory of the people and a warning to traitors.

[REDACTED]

In mid-February, 1989 a leader in the FPL urban structure in San Salvador, alias "Daniel", boasted that he and several other unidentified individuals had participated in bringing Castellanos to justice.

[REDACTED]

On October 24, 1989 President Cristiani revealed in a press conference that, according to ballistic experts, the weapons used to kill Castellanos were the same as those used to assassinate Rodriguez Porth.

[REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, alias "Roberto," was charged with the murder of Castellanos, as well as numerous others.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo or "Roberto" has been identified as a former FAL political commander who was arrested by Treasury Police in San Salvador on December 30, 1989.

[REDACTED]

April 9, 1989. Jose Roberto Garcia Alvarado, the Attorney General of El Salvador, was killed in his armored car. As the vehicle was stopped at a traffic light, an unidentified assailant jumped from a truck, placed a cone-shaped device on top of the passenger side--directly above Garcia--and escaped on foot. The powerful blast killed the attorney general instantly, but his driver and bodyguard survived.

[REDACTED]

Immediately after the attack, an obscure urban commando group calling itself the "Gerardo Barrios Civic Force" telephoned a San Salvador radio station and claimed responsibility for the slaying. The January 10, 1990 edition of Proceso, a weekly publication of the Jesuit-run Central American University, stated in an editorial that the Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL) had claimed responsibility for Garcia's assassination.

[REDACTED]

On February 2, 1992, ERP leader Joaquin Villalobos and his deputy Ana Guadalupe discussed [REDACTED] "mistakes" made in urban terror tactics, including the wave of civilian killings launched by the FMLN high command in the late 1980s. Among the victims of that campaign listed by the guerrilla leader was Attorney General Garcia.

[REDACTED]

June 9, 1989. Jose Antonio Rodriguez Porth, having served as Minister of the Presidency for eight days, was assassinated in front of his home in San Salvador. Three to four men using automatic rifles killed Rodriguez, his driver, and his orderly.

[REDACTED]

The FMLN was accused of the crime, but did not respond for several days; when it did, the organization pledged an investigation to determine if any of its combatants had been involved. In a radio communique on June 15, 1989, the FMLN General Command denied responsibility for the slaying and claimed that it had no reason to commit such an act.

[REDACTED]

Elements of the PRTC Mardoqueo Cruz Urban Commandos unit were responsible for the slaying, which was approved in advance by PRTC leader Francisco Jovel Urquilla, alias "Roberto Roca." He ordered the unit not to claim responsibility for the assassination, because it had not been authorized by the FMLN high command. FMLN leaders,

[REDACTED]

however, were informed of the PRTC's involvement after the fact. The unit responsible for the slaying worked under the direction of Miguel Angel Alvarado Osarlio, alias "Jose Juan Obregon" and Gerardo Jacinto Melgar, alias "Wilbur Mendoza," both members of the PRTC central committee. [REDACTED]

During a press conference on October 24, 1989 President Cristiani stated that according to ballistic experts, the weapons used to kill Rodriguez Porth were the same as those used to kill "Miguel Castellanos." [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, alias "Roberto" was charged with the murder of Edgar Chacon, as well as numerous others, including Rodriguez Porth. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, or "Roberto," was a former FAL political commander who was arrested by Treasury Police in San Salvador on December 30, 1989. [REDACTED]

On February 2, 1992 ERP leader Joaquin Villalobos and his deputy Ana Guadalupe Martinez discussed [REDACTED] "mistakes" made in urban terror tactics. One was the wave of civilian killings launched by the FMLN high command in the late 1980s. Among the victims listed by the guerrilla leaders was Jose Antonio Rodriguez Porth. [REDACTED]

July 19, 1989. Guillermo Payes Interiano, rightwing political analyst and member of Edgar Chacon's conservative think-tank, the International Relations Institute, was shot in the back, arm, and neck as he entered a business establishment in San Salvador; he died on August 21, 1989. Payes was president of the Association of Salvadoran professionals and a strong supporter of the ARENA Party. [REDACTED]

The FMLN publicly denied responsibility for the murder of Payes, blaming it, along with the deaths of Chacon and Rodriguez, on a power struggle within the ARENA party. [REDACTED]

During a meeting with [REDACTED] on February 2, 1992 ERP leader Joaquin Villalobos listed Guillermo Payes as one of the victims of the campaign of civilian killings launched by the FMLN high command in 1989. [REDACTED]

During a press conference on December 9, 1989 President Cristiani implicated "Jaime," an FPL urban commando operating from the University of El Salvador in Chacon's murder. Cristiani stated that according to ballistic

[REDACTED]

tests, a .45 caliber pistol used by "Jaime" to shoot Francisco Guerrero also had been used to murder Chacon and Payes. [REDACTED]

On July 23, 1989 Salvadoran police arrested suspected FMLN member Adolfo Aguilar and charged him with the murders of Gabriel Payes and Edgar Chacon. As of January 1992, his case was under consideration by the 6th Criminal Court of San Salvador. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, alias "Roberto," was charged with the murder of Payes, among many others. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, or "Roberto," was identified as a former FAL political commander who was arrested by Treasury Police in San Salvador on December 30, 1989. [REDACTED]

June 30, 1989. Edgar Chacon, rightwing intellectual, political analyst, and President of the conservative International Relations Institute, was slain by gunfire while his auto was stopped in traffic at a San Salvador intersection. The same day the FMLN issued a communique denying responsibility for the attack, claiming that Chacon died as the result of a "war" among rightist groups "with the participation of the CIA." But President Alfredo Cristiani blamed the FMLN guerrillas for the murder. [REDACTED]

On July 25, 1989 during a meeting in Mexico between FARN leader Ferman Cienfuegos and former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, Cienfuegos admitted FMLN responsibility for a number of killings of prominent civilians but denied that the FMLN had killed Chacon. [REDACTED]

During a discussion with [REDACTED] on February 21, 1990, Hector Silva, a leader of the leftist Popular Social Movement (MPSC) stated that there were increasing indications that the FMLN--specifically urban units of the PCES--had killed "Chachi" Guerrero and most likely had killed Rodriguez Porth and Edgar Chacon. [REDACTED]

On February 2, 1992 ERP leader Joaquin Villalobos and his deputy Ana Guadalupe Martinez discussed with [REDACTED] "mistakes" made in urban terror tactics, including the wave of civilian killings launched by the FMLN high command in the late 1980s. Among the victims of the campaign listed by the guerrilla leaders was Edgar

[REDACTED]

Chacon. [REDACTED]

During a press conference on December 9, 1989 President Cristiani implicated "Jaime," an FPL urban commando operating from the University of El Salvador in Chacon's murder. Cristiani stated that according to ballistic tests, a .45 caliber pistol used by "Jaime" to shoot Francisco Guerrero also had been used to murder Chacon and Payes. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, alias "Roberto," was charged with the murder of Chacon, as well as numerous others, including Miguel Castellanos, Peccorini, Payes, Rodriguez Porth, Casanova, and "Chachi" Guerrero. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo or "Roberto" was identified as a former FAL political commander who was arrested by Treasury Police in San Salvador on December 30, 1989. [REDACTED]

On July 23, 1989 Salvadoran police arrested suspected FMLN member Adolfo Aguilar and charged him with the murders of Gabriel Payes and Edgar Chacon. As of January 1992, Aguilar's case was under consideration by the 6th Criminal Court of San Salvador. [REDACTED]

November 28, 1989. Francisco Jose "Chachi" Guerrero, a former foreign minister and former President of the Salvadoran Supreme Court, was machine-gunned in his car by FMLN urban commandos in a yellow Volkswagen at a San Salvador intersection; he died later that day. Guerrero's security men killed one of the two assailants and wounded and captured the other. The government communique issued on the same day accused the FMLN of the crime. An FMLN spokesman in Costa Rica, rejected the accusation on November 28 and announced that the leadership of the FMLN was preparing an official communique on Guerrero's death. The wounded assailant, Cesar Ernesto Erazo Cruz, a member of the FPL, confessed to participating in Guerrero's slaying. [REDACTED]

Cesar Erazo was brought to trial in the 6th Criminal Court of San Salvador where, on July 21, 1992, he was acquitted of the murder of Guerrero. Erazo still faces a charge in connection with his escape from prison, but was released on bail on August 13, 1992. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

During a discussion with [REDACTED] on February 21, 1990, Hector Silva, a leader of the leftist Popular Social Movement stated that there were increasing indications that the FMLN--specifically urban units of the PCES--had killed Guerrero. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, alias "Roberto," was charged with the murder of Guerrero, as well as several others. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, or "Roberto," was identified as a former FAL political commander who was arrested by Treasury Police in San Salvador on December 30, 1989. [REDACTED]

On February 2, 1992, ERP leader Joaquin Villalobos and his deputy Ana Guadalupe Martinez discussed [REDACTED] "mistakes" made in urban terror tactics, including the wave of civilian killings launched by the FMLN high command in the late 1980s. Among the victims of the campaign listed by the guerrilla leaders was Francisco Jose Guerrero. [REDACTED]

III. OTHER CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF FMLN VIOLENCE

July, 1984. Miguel Portillo was reportedly killed in Quetzaltepeque, La Libertad Department, by the Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front of the FPL. [REDACTED]

October 26, 1984. Three men claiming to be members of the FPL shot Raul Melendez Aquino, the 62-year-old supervisor of security guards at the U.S. Embassy as he walked near the San Salvador Maternity Hospital. [REDACTED]

November 17, 1984. Santiago Carcamo Segovia, the supervisor of the mobile vehicle patrol for the US Embassy, was shot to death. The Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front of the FPL claimed responsibility. [REDACTED]

November, 1984. Marco A. Navarro, a guard at the Ministry of Justice in San Salvador, was shot to death by the Clara Elizabeth Ramirez Front of the FPL. [REDACTED]

November 12, 1987. Billy Mejico Quinteros Martinez, a driver for the US Defense Attache's office, was abducted while [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

refueling an Embassy vehicle in San Salvador. He was killed by five bullets fired into his head and back. The FMLN claimed responsibility. [REDACTED]

December 12, 1987. FMLN guerrillas trapped seven Usulután coffee workers, including women and children, in a storage building and raked the doors with machine-gun fire while igniting the building with torches, burning them alive. [REDACTED]

May 22, 1989. FMLN guerrillas ambushed a civilian van carrying 15 people on the Santa Ana highway near Tacachico. The guerrillas exploded two mines on the road and then machine-gunned the vehicle, killing eight persons, including two children. In a broadcast on Radio Venceremos the FMLN admitted responsibility and deplored the loss of civilian lives. [REDACTED]

October 17, 1989. Maria Isabel Casanova Porras, the 23-year-old daughter of retired Colonel Edgardo Casanova Vejar, was machine-gunned to death near her home in Santa Tecla. The university student was driving unaccompanied to a local gym when urban commandos using AK-47s attacked her car. An official government communique issued on the same day blamed the FMLN for the assassination. Initially, the FMLN Modesto Ramirez Urban Commandos claimed responsibility in a telephone call to a local radio station, but three hours later the FMLN General Command denied responsibility, noting that "it is not the policy of the FMLN to kill the relatives of military chiefs".

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, alias "Roberto" was charged with the murder of Casanova, as well as several others. [REDACTED]

Pablo Salvador Carcamo, or "Roberto," was identified as a former FAL political commander who was arrested by Treasury Police in San Salvador on December 30, 1989. [REDACTED]

January 25, 1990. An FMLN urban commando squad attacked the San Salvador residence of presidential advisor Saul Suster, killing two of his bodyguards. [REDACTED]

March 23, 1990. Otto Valdemar Sorto, the son-in-law of Air Force Commander General Rafael Villamariona, was shot and seriously wounded as he left his home. The 25-year-old Sorto died of the wounds on April 9, 1990. The FMLN claimed responsibility. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

June 18, 1990. Berta Flores Beltran and Maria Elena Romero were killed when alleged FMLN extremists opened fire with AK-47s on a house in Mejicanos. [REDACTED]

IV. KIDNAPPING OF THE PRESIDENT'S DAUGHTER

September 10, 1985. Ines Guadalupe Duarte Duran, the eldest daughter of then President Jose Napoleon Duarte and a 35-year-old mother of three, was abducted by a heavily armed group of men as she arrived for classes at the University of New El Salvador. Her companion, 23-year-old Ana Cecilia Villeda Sosa was also kidnapped. The operation left Duarte's driver dead and her security guard seriously injured. [REDACTED]

Three days after the abduction, Duarte's kidnappers contacted government officials and began probing their willingness to exchange captured FMLN leaders for Duarte. With a motive for the abduction established, suspicions were immediately cast on the FAL faction. Government security forces had recently captured the second highest ranking FAL leader, deputy secretary general Americo Mauro Araujo Ramirez, alias "Comandante Hugo" and FAL commander Hector Antonio Acevedo Moreno, alias "Octavio Martinez." Fearing that ongoing negotiations with the government might be imperiled by the abduction, the FMLN did not publicly claim responsibility. Nevertheless, several weeks after the kidnapping, the FMLN informed key Latin American and European leaders that it had kidnapped Duarte. [REDACTED]

On October 24, 1985 after 44 days of captivity, Duarte and Villeda were released in exchange for "Comandante Hugo," "Octavio Martinez," PRTC leader alias "Nidia Diaz," 22 other insurgents held in prison, and a promise of safe conduct for 101 injured guerrillas. [REDACTED]

Duarte's recollection of events confirmed the involvement of the FAL in the abduction. Based on information provided by Duarte after her release, it appeared that she had been held in Cerro Los Lirios, a FAL stronghold on the southern slopes of the Guazapa Volcano. A 35- to 40-member FMLN unit commanded by Lieutenant alias "Junior," second in command of a FAL special forces detachment known as U-24, served as Duarte's jailers. "Junior" was reportedly killed in a firefight on April 23, 1986. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

According to Duarte, her captors also spoke of "Lucio" as one of their leaders. Dagoberto Sosa, alias "Lucio Martinez" was FAL chief of staff. When Duarte and Villeda were released on October 24, he was present on behalf of the FMLN. [REDACTED]

V. INDISCRIMINATE USE OF IMPROVISED WEAPONS

The FMLN developed three types of improvised indirect fire weapons to launch explosive charges at targets several hundred meters away. The first, commonly known as mortero, was fashioned from steel pipes and launched a 2-kilogram charge. The mortars were sometimes launched from an abandoned vehicle rigged with explosives that would detonate after the mortars had been fired. A second weapon, the rampa, was a catapult-type system that launched a 6-kilogram charge. The third and most destructive device, the tepezcuintle, was manufactured from propane gas cylinders and propelled a 36-kilogram charge. [REDACTED]

Because these improvised devices were inaccurate or indiscriminate, they often missed their military targets and exploded in civilian areas. [REDACTED]

January 16 and February 21, 1989. FMLN guerrillas attacked the headquarters of Military Detachment-Engineers in San Salvador, employing rampas in both attacks. Neither of these attacks caused civilian casualties, but eight homes were destroyed and 13 others seriously damaged. In Radio Venceremos broadcasts the FMLN claimed responsibility for both attacks. [REDACTED]

February 16, 1989. FMLN guerrillas launched five rampa charges at the 6th Brigade Headquarters in Usulután Department. Three of the five charges exploded outside the compound, seriously wounding three civilians--including a small girl, destroying one civilian house, and damaging several others; there was no damage to or injury in the installation. The FMLN claimed responsibility in a Radio Venceremos broadcast. [REDACTED]

March 15, 1989. FMLN forces attacked Military Detachment-1 installations in Chalatenango city, using rampas and small arms. Several charges missed their targets and fell on civilian homes around the installation, wounding one child and damaging five houses. In a Radio Venceremos broadcast the FMLN Modesto Ramirez Central Front claimed responsibility for the attack. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

October 30, 1989. FMLN urban commandos attacked the Joint General Staff headquarters in San Salvador with homemade mortars, killing one civilian and wounding four others. All of the rounds missed the military compound and fell among civilians in a heavily travelled area of the capital. One round exploded in a Texaco gas station, damaging two cars and the station. Two rounds landed on a Chevron gas station, killing the attendant and wounding one child. Six other rounds damaged a restaurant, a military recreation center, and a barber shop. There were no military casualties. In a Radio Venceremos broadcast the FMLN's Modesto Ramirez Central Front took credit for the assault.

[REDACTED]

November 11, 1989. FMLN urban commandos fired homemade mortars at the National Guard General Headquarters. Three soldiers were wounded when one round fell inside the installation. Five other rounds exploded outside the garrison, one killing two children in their home. Security forces subsequently dismantled a car bomb with six mortar rounds parked near the installation.

[REDACTED]

October 17, 1990. FMLN guerrillas attacked the Salvadoran Air Force base at Illopango, using at least 18 tepezcuintles and damaging a number of aircraft and facilities, as well as a foster home for young girls. In a "war bulletin" broadcast over Radio Venceremos, the Modesto Ramirez Central Front claimed responsibility.

[REDACTED]

October 23, 1990. FMLN guerrillas fired two tepezcuintles at the Salvadoran Joint General Staff Headquarters in San Salvador. Both projectiles missed their target: one landed in a parking lot, and the other hit a private home, killing an eight-year-old girl and a 17-year-old boy, and wounding three adults.

[REDACTED]

March 11, 1988. Two car bombs exploded in the commercial district of Zona Rosa in the capital, injuring two civilians, destroying three cars and damaging eight others, and breaking windows in commercial buildings. Two days later, in a Radio Venceremos broadcast FLMN urban commandos were congratulated for the assault. It was the FMLN's first use of car bombs.

[REDACTED]

October 18, 1988. Two car bombs were detonated simultaneously in the Escalon subdivision of San Salvador, injuring 11 civilians, damaging 21 commercial establishments, and destroying three vehicles. Two additional car bombs were

[REDACTED]

discovered and deactivated by security forces that evening. In a communique issued on October 19, a guerrilla group called the "Jose Manuel Arce Commandos" took credit for the attack.

[REDACTED]

November 1, 1988. The FMLN conducted a rampa attack against the National Guard Headquarters in the capital, killing four soldiers, wounding 50 others, and causing considerable damage to the installation. In addition one round fell on a house, and several houses in the neighborhood were damaged when the vehicles carrying the rampas exploded. Four civilians were killed, including one child. The FMLN Modesto Ramirez Central Front, through a Radio Venceremos broadcast, claimed responsibility.

[REDACTED]

December 23, 1988. The FMLN attacked the Ministry of Defense compound and the Joint General Staff Headquarters in San Salvador with three rampas, killing one civilian employee and wounding one Salvadoran Army officer and four other civilian employees and causing considerable structural damage inside the compound. Two secondary explosions occurred as a result of bombs set in two pickup trucks that held the rampas, killing two civilians and wounding 45 others, mostly women and children. One truck was parked next to a government health station, which was destroyed by the explosion. The FMLN General Command, through Radio Venceremos "war reports," attributed the attack to its urban commandos.

[REDACTED]

January 20, 1989. FMLN guerrillas launched two rampas from pickup trucks at the Treasury Police garrison in the capital. Both charges exploded inside the compound, killing one policeman and wounding two others. The two trucks then exploded, killing one civilian and wounding a dozen others. At least 20 civilian homes and other buildings also were damaged. The FMLN claimed responsibility for the attack in a Radio Venceremos broadcast.

[REDACTED]

February 21, 1989. FMLN guerrillas fired rampas at the 1st Brigade Headquarters, killing two civilians and wounding four others when the projectiles fell short and exploded in civilian areas around the military installation. The two trucks transporting the rampas then exploded, damaging or destroying at least 15 civilian houses. The FMLN claimed responsibility on Radio Venceremos.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

April 5, 1989. FMLN guerrillas launched three explosives from a truck into the Artillery Brigade garrison at San Juan Opico, La Libertad Department. There was little damage to the military installation, but one civilian was injured when the truck exploded. [REDACTED]

May 22, 1991. FMLN guerrillas attacked 1st Brigade Headquarters in San Salvador with rampas. The explosives landed in a civilian area, killing two women and injuring a young girl. The military installation suffered no damage or casualties. [REDACTED]

Indiscriminate Use of Landmines and Booby Traps. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Country Reports on Human Rights noted that the FMLN guerrillas' use of unmarked landmines and booby traps was a major cause of peasant deaths and maimings. Planted along farm roads and paths, around electric poles downed by the guerrillas, under railroad tracks, near water sources, in farmlands, and on coffee plantations, these mines killed 52 civilians in 1988, 36 in the first eight months of 1989, 23 in the first five months of 1990, and four in the first five months of 1991. [REDACTED]

VI. THE FMLN'S WAR AGAINST THE SALVADORAN ECONOMY (1979-1990)

The 12-year-long Salvadoran conflict caused more than \$2 billion in losses, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The losses included direct and indirect costs (lost production and sales), damage to agriculture, industry, and commerce, and material damage to infrastructure, mass transport, and residential property. The report also estimates the resources of business firms and the government that were diverted to provide security against FMLN attacks. (U)

The Embassy noted that the estimate was conservative, since it did not attempt to quantify such factors as capital flight, foregone foreign and domestic investment, replacement cost of lost equipment, and revenue losses caused by the disruption of public sector utility services. [REDACTED]

Infrastructure. A key component of FMLN strategy was a campaign against the country's basic infrastructure. In March 1990, however, the FMLN pledged to halt attacks against civilian economic targets. Disruptions of the communications network declined significantly, from \$4.2 million in 1989 to \$0.5 million in 1990, though FMLN sabotage teams continued occasionally to attack telephone boxes and local and district offices of the telephone company. Direct damage to other state-owned infrastructure, such as the water system, ports, bridges, and railroads also declined, from \$1.4 million in 1989 to \$0.2 million in 1990. But FMLN forbearance did not

[REDACTED]

extend to the electric power system. In 1990 the guerrillas executed more than 1,000 bombing attacks on the electric power grid, causing \$6 million in damage and keeping most primary transmission lines operating at 15-20 percent below capacity. The frequent power outages caused serious interruptions to potable water services in large areas of the country. [REDACTED]

Agriculture. The war was waged primarily in the countryside, and the FMLN harrassed agriculture enterprises unceasingly. Early in the war FMLN assaults resulted in massive destruction of physical plant and equipment (mills, storage silos, etc.) and crops of farms owned by the elite. Cotton production was particularly hard hit owing to the ease with which harvested cotton can be burned and the industry's concentration in the eastern--and most conflictive--third of the country. The [REDACTED] estimated direct damage to El Salvador's principal export crops in the 1990 crop year at \$6 million. As the government's agrarian reform program moved into high gear in the 1980s, FMLN incursions spread to small, medium, and cooperative farms. In these attacks the FMLN indiscriminately burned crops, destroyed farm equipment, mined fields, and gunned down livestock, particularly cattle. [REDACTED]

Farmers also faced indirect losses as combat halted harvesting, FMLN roadblocks prevented farmers from getting their produce to market, and sabotage of the power grid hampered production in cotton gins and coffee and sugar mills. The war forced thousands of farm families to flee in search of security. Many small landowners (*campesinos*) fled to San Salvador; unable to find jobs, this migrant underclass put further strains on the city's limited services. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

DAMAGE TO THE SALVADORAN ECONOMY: 1979-1990
(millions of US dollars)

	1989	1990	1979-90
Infrastructure ^a	19.0	9.8	213
Industry & Commerce ^b	73.5	51.0	308
Agroindustry ^c	40.0	42.0	744
Public Transport ^d	4.6	1.0	28
Residential Housing & Personal Property ^e	8.5	1.5	42
Security Costs ^f	46.0	20.0	748
	191.6	125.3	2083

- a. [REDACTED] estimate of direct property damage derived from data supplied by El Salvador's National Electric Company (CEL), National Telephone Co. (ANTEL), Port Authority (CEPA), Ministry of Planning, and National Water Utility (ANDA).
- b. Includes [REDACTED] estimate of foregone production and sales losses due to war-related business closures, electric system sabotage, as well as direct material damage. Some data derived from estimates of private sector associations and from [REDACTED].
- c. [REDACTED] estimates include the value of lost agricultural production, as well as physical destruction of crops and property. Some data derived from National Coffee Council (CSC) and National Cotton Cooperative (COPAL).
- d. [REDACTED] estimate based on Salvadoran govern, and National Association of Bus Owners data, and [REDACTED].
- e. [REDACTED] estimate using Ministry of Planning and Chamber of Construction approximations and [REDACTED].
- f. Estimate based on [REDACTED] survey conducted in 1991.

[REDACTED]

Commerce and Industry. Direct damage to this sector amounted to about \$18 million in 1989 and \$9 million in 1990. Businesses were damaged more heavily by indirect losses, such as sabotage-induced slowdowns in activity and power outages. The [REDACTED] estimated indirect losses at \$56 million in 1989 and \$42 million in 1990. [REDACTED]

Public Transport. Despite the FMLN's decade-long attempt to cripple the economy by shutting down the mass transport system using such tactics as massive bus burnings, the system did not collapse. In March 1990 the guerrillas announced that they would no longer attack commuter buses. Guerrillas burned several dozen buses in 1990, causing damage estimated at \$0.5 million, much less than previous years. [REDACTED]

Residential and Personal Property: The FMLN's inability or unwillingness to hold urban areas and rural townships minimized destruction of homes and other personal property. The urban offensive in November 1989, however, wrought unprecedented damage to residential areas; 6,200 housing units were damaged or destroyed at a cost of \$9 million. In 1990, combat damage to homes returned to the normal level of about \$1 million. Destruction of personal vehicles in firefights, terrorist ambushes, and bombings grew sharply at the end of the decade; in 1989 an estimated 375 autos were damaged or destroyed at a cost of \$875,000. And in 1990 225 autos were damaged or destroyed at cost of about \$500,000. [REDACTED]

Indirect Private and Public Security Costs. The need to take security measures to protect against FMLN attacks on public and private property was a significant cost to business and the government. Such expenses included the maintenance of guard personnel, acquiring weapons, security-related construction, and terrorist insurance payments. The [REDACTED] estimated that security related expenditures dropped from \$46 million in 1989 to \$20 million in 1990. [REDACTED]