

MASTER EXHIBIT SERIES

EL SALVADOR

DOCUMENTATION ON POST PEACE ACCORD

MARCH - MAY, 1992

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All the sources of information contained in this document are identified and are publicly available. Summaries by
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Item

Citation\Description

VIOLATIONS OF THE PEACE ACCORD ARE ALREADY BEING REPORTED

- I. "El Salvador: Will the Government Keep Its Word?" Inter Press Service, May 11, 1992.

FMLN leaders recalled the order for 20 percent of their 8000 soldiers to disarm, insisting that the government fulfill its end of the bargain by dissolving the security forces as stipulated by the peace agreement. The government should have started to dismantle them on March 1, 1992. Opposition groups and trade unions called President Cristiani's scheme to convert the National Police into the Military Police and the National Guard into the frontier guard a government ploy to retain the same military institutions under a different name. An FMLN leader said they would not comply with their terms of the peace agreement until the government did. The rebels' refusal to disband will also delay their plans to become a political party.

- II. "Salvadoran President Says Army To Be Cut to 31,000 Troops --But No Less," Agence France Presse, May 11, 1992.

President Cristiani said El Salvador's army would be reduced from 55,000 to 31,000 troops, a violation of the peace agreement. The agreement requires the army to be reduced by half. The FMLN has protested the decision and requested the U.N. observers to examine the armed forces plans carefully. Organizations of the far right have rejected the U.N.-brokered peace agreement as a humiliation of the armed forces.

- III. "Government, Trade Unions Open Social and Economic Forum," Reuters, May 11, 1992.

The National Association of Private Business refused to participate in the Forum for Social Change and Economic Agreement, a key part of the peace agreement because the ANEP claims rebels are waging a campaign of intimidation, including land takeovers and kidnappings, against private landowners.

- IV. "Both Sides Flout Terms of Peace Pact in Salvador," San Francisco Examiner, May 10, 1992.

The failure of both sides to comply with key provisions of the peace accords is endangering a fragile peace process. One rebel leader said the situation now is very tense. Several diplomats, political analysts and U.N. sources said the government has adopted a narrow interpretation of the peace accords. A new military police was created as required by the agreement, but the government and military give it no money, no equipment and the army is grabbing everything. One of the first acts of the new police was to allow the escape of an army major who ran a kidnapping ring. Recent discoveries of illegal weapons trafficking by the army and 'concealment of weapons by rebel forces have made

implementation more difficult.

- V. "Salvadorans Clash on Peace Deadlines," The Christian Science Monitor, May 8, 1992.

The government and the rebels have failed to implement two of the accord's key provisions: the government's abolition of the security forces and the start of the demobilization of the guerrilla army. Security forces' central garrison remain occupied, and people in outlying areas report that security force members still occupy posts there. A more serious setback is the passage of a legislative bill which, instead of eliminating the National Guard and Treasury Police as required by the agreement, states only that they cannot function as security forces. These forces therefore continue to exist. The FMLN has failed to move all of its troops to the specified sites and to demobilize 20% of its combatants.

- VI. "FMLN Talks of a State of Crisis," Latin America Regional Reports, May 7, 1992.

Vice President Jose Francisco Merino admitted the implementation of the peace accord has run into "some difficulties." An FMLN commandante stated that the peace process was in a "state of crisis" because the government was not fulfilling its terms of the agreement. He also said that any attempt by the government to remove peasants from lands within the areas which were under FMLN control will be taken as a breach of the February 1 cease fire.

The government accused the guerrillas of not complying by stockpiling caches of arms. President Cristiani stated that this confirms that the guerrillas are "not sincere" in their commitment to the peace treaty.

- VII. "May is a Key Month for the Future of the Peace Process," Notimex, May 2, 1992.

The FMLN and Cristiani government have called on the U.N. to help find solutions to the problems of implementing the peace accord because of the impossibility of resolving their differences. Army planes flew over rebel positions at the beginning of the week, a violation of the Agreement.

- VIII. "El Salvador: FMLN Communique Reported Airspace Violations," Summary Of World Broadcasting, May 2, 1992.

In a communique, the FMLN condemned the recent violation by the government of the peace agreement when military planes violated FMLN airspace numerous times last week. The FMLN warned that their forces are on alert and they have orders to defend themselves if necessary. The FMLN also accused the military of continually harassing their forces, including attacks by ground infantry and flight maneuvers.

- IX. "Salvador Rebels Condemn Joint U.S. Maneuvers," Reuters, April 25, 1992.

FMLN leaders condemned a series of joint U.S.-Salvadoran military maneuvers, planned for May 2-18, as an open violation of the peace accord.

- X. "El Salvador: FMLN Opposes Joint U.S. Military Exercises," Inter Press Service, April 24, 1992.

FMLN spokesman Roberto Canas said the proposed U.S.-Salvadoran naval exercise was contrary to the spirit of the peace agreement and a "perilous" development that was causing concern.

- XI. "Leftist Rebels Warn Salvador on Peace Plan," The Washington Times, April 24, 1992.

The FMLN threatened to postpone demobilization of their forces unless the government completed the concentration of its troops at U.N.-monitored sites and took immediate steps toward overhauling the country's security apparatus.

- XII. "Peace Process In Jeopardy, FMLN Warns," Notimex Mexican News Service, April 23, 1992.

The FMLN warned that the cease-fire was jeopardized by the military moving to new posts in northern parts of the country, calling the move an "overt violation of the peace accords."

- XIII. "El Salvador: FMLN Threatens Not To Demobilize If Peace Agreement Not Observed," British Broadcasting Corporation, April 23, 1992.

FMLN Commander Gregorio Pena threatened that the FMLN would not demobilize the first 20 percent of its members if the government did not allocate land for them and implement other aspects of the peace accords.

- XIV. "Salvadoran Rebels Threaten to Suspend Demobilization," The Reuter Library Report, April 23, 1992.

Citing a failure of "political will," FMLN spokesman Roberto Canas said that the government has failed to push through political reforms, dissolve two paramilitary security forces, and begin dismantling its army run intelligence agency.

- XV. "Guerillas Pushing For Police Jobs," The Reuter Library Report, April 21, 1992.

The first National Civilian Police (PNC) agents are scheduled to begin work in October but the FMLN's threatened postponement of demobilization could derail this plan.

- XVI. "Salvador Opposition Says U.N. Peace Pact in Danger," Reuters, April 21, 1992.

Contending that the government was behind schedule on all its commitments, the FMLN wanted the United Nations to establish new dates for these sections of the peace plan that have fallen behind schedule. FMLN leader Schafik Handal also warned that few programs, such as land grants, had been enacted, thereby making it impossible for demobilized guerrillas to lead productive lives.

- XVII. "Salvador Rebels To Press U.N. Chief for More Help," The Reuter Library Report, April 19, 1992.

After the FMLN and the government failed to meet deadlines for the concentration of their military forces in U.N. monitored zones, the FMLN, claiming that the United Nations is not doing enough to enforce El Salvador's peace accords, will meet with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to urge a hands-on U.N. role in transforming

the country.

- XVIII. "Salvadoran Rebels To Seek U.N. Chief's Help," Chicago Tribune, April 12, 1992.

Announcing that a top-level FMLN delegation will visit the U.N. Secretary General, Octavio Martinez of the FMLN's political commission told reporters that the FMLN will not demobilize the first 20 percent of its members by May 2, as laid out under the peace accord, unless the government disbands two paramilitary police forces that formally were dissolved last month but continue to exist under new names.

- XIX. "Salvadoran Guerrillas Ready to Demobilize One-Fifth of Forces," Xinhua General Overseas News Service, April 11, 1992.

FMLN leaders reiterated their desire to comply with commitments under the peace accords, but noted several factors which could derail the planned demobilization. These obstacles included the fact that the Treasury Police and National Guard had not yet been eliminated as security forces and the possibility of forced eviction of field workers from zones under guerrilla control.

- XX. "Peace Process Delayed," Inter Press Service (PeaceNet), April 5, 1992.

Experts say the peace process has been delayed by the refusal of both government and rebel forces to fully implement the terms of the peace accord signed in January. The creation of the new national Civilian Police Force has been delayed. There have been bloody encounters in places where lands, which have been abandoned by their owners during the war, are to be given to farmers who have been tilling them all these years. Additionally, the country has been beset by strikes in government establishments.

- XXI. "FMLN Arms Said Seized at French Aid Center," The Washington Times, April 1, 1992.

A cache of guerrilla weapons was uncovered yesterday at a former refugee center owned by the French aid organization. FMLN rebels left the arms there in January, days after the signing of the peace treaty which forbids such stockpiling.

- XXII. "El Salvador: Peace Accords and Rising Crime Worry Government," Inter Press Service, March 23, 1992.

President Alfredo Cristiani expressed concern with the failure of the FMLN to comply with the peace accords. According to the peace accords, the FMLN should have assembled all its forces in specially-designated areas by March 2, but the former rebels have issue communiqués claiming that logistical problems have delayed the process.

- XXIII. "Dissolution of the Salvadoran Security Forces Urged," The Xinhua Overseas News Service, March 20, 1992.

The political committee of the FMLN urged the dissolution of all security forces in compliance with the peace accords and criticized continued operations by these security forces. On the same day, the Social Christian People's Movement denounced the extreme right-wing organizations for regrouping to carry out political and violent activities contrary to the peace accords. The Social Christian People's Movement identified the Civic Coordinating Front for the Defense of Democracy as an underground organization

embracing paramilitary death squads which were guided by the security forces but are now directed by the extreme right-wing.

- XXIV. "Salvadoran Government Accused of Obstructing U.N. Mission," The Xinhua Overseas News Agency, March 19, 1992.

Opposition leader Hector Silva accused the Salvadoran government of obstructing the work of the United Nations observers. Mr. Silva stated that his party would present an appeal to the government on its attempt to expel a U.N. observer who was to speak to a seminar for representatives of the legislative assembly.

- XXV. "Salvadoran Army Accuses FMLN of Not Abiding By Peace Accords," Notimex Mexican News Service, March 17, 1992.

Defense Minister Rene Emilio Ponce accused the rebels of hiding arms to resist demilitarization and illegally occupying lands in areas of their control.

- XXVI. "Salvadoran Peace, Agreements: U.N. Envoy Seeks to Resolve Non-Compliance Claims," British Broadcasting Corporation, March 16, 1992.

During a visit by U.N. envoy Marrack Goulding, the government expressed its concern with FMLN land inventories, saying the guerrillas had encouraged land takeovers in violation of the peace agreement. The government also complained of the FMLN's non-compliance with troop concentration dates and the under-reporting of arms and troop inventories. On behalf of the FMLN, Commander Juan Ramon Medrano of the group's political directorate expressed concern about the "imprecise interpretation of the National Guard issue as set out in the agreements."

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES CONTINUE

HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES BY SALVADORAN SECURITY FORCES AND DEATH SQUADS

- XXVII. "Bishop Says Salvador Peace in Jeopardy," United Press International, May 3, 1992.

El Salvador's Catholic Church's second ranking official, Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez, said that the peace process is "plagued by mutual recrimination and I fear that the peace process will fail." The bishop also said that a church investigation into the rape, torture and murder of three women and an eight year old girl last week implicated the military, former rebels and right wing death squads connected with the military. In a fourth case of the death of a woman last week, tire tracks show that it was the work of the death squad.

- XXVIII. "Despite Peace Accords in El Salvador, 'Abominable Crimes Continue'," Excelsior, March 19, 1992.

Salvadoran prosecutor for the defense of human rights, Carlos Mauricio Molino admitted that despite the signing of the peace accords in El Salvador, "abominable crimes" continue to be committed. Molino based his statement on the assassination and torture in the capital of a unionist, as well as the brutal manner in which a member of the National Police acted against a taxi driver two weeks earlier, which caused the taxi driver to lose

an eye.

Additionally, the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador (CDHES) announced that the government wants to throw out the advisor to the U.N. Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). According to a representative for the Nationalist Democratic Union (UDN), the plan to throw out the ONUSAL advisor comes after "a series of attacks on ONUSAL, ever greater following a third report by this organization on matters of human rights." In this third report, ONUSAL harshly criticized the State's and army's negligence in guaranteeing enforcement of human rights.

XXIX. "Catholic Church Says Salvador Death Squads Still Active," Notimex Mexican News Service, April 13, 1992.

San Salvador archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas charged that "impunity continues in the army," citing the escape from prison of an army major who was part of a gang of kidnapers in 1986. Major Jose Alfredo Jimenez escaped from military prison a day before the judge investigating his case could pass sentence. The archbishop further charged that death squad threats against ONUSAL personnel and Defense Minister Rene Emilio Ponce are sidetracking the peace process.

XXX. "El Salvador: FMLN Accuses Government of Non-Compliance with Peace Agreements," British Broadcasting Corporation, March 18, 1992.

FMLN communique, issued on March 14 strongly condemned the kidnapping and murder of Jorge Alberto Martinez, member of the Committee of Dismissed and Unemployed Workers of El Salvador, by individuals identified as members of the National Guard. The FMLN charged that the focus of government resistance to the peace accords had shifted from attempts at renegotiation to specific actions, such as murders, evictions and repression. In an effort to contribute to the reconciliation process, the FMLN announced that it would turn over two members accused of murdering U.S. advisors in January 1991 when they shot down their helicopter.

XXXI. "Rebels Accuse Salvador Forces Of Murder Campaign," The Reuter Library - Report, March 14, 1992.

An FMLN statement accused National Police members of kidnapping and killing a member of an organization representing unemployed and sacked workers. His bullet-riddled body was found on the outskirts of San Salvador.

XXXII. "U.N. Peace-Keeper Cites Difficulties In Salvador Peace Pact," The Reuter Library Report, March 14, 1992.

Marrack Goulding, head of U.N. peace-keeping forces in El Salvador, said difficulties remained in implementing the peace accords, while leftist rebels accused the authorities of "selective murder" aimed at scuppering the peace process. A rebel statement issued on the day of Goulding's departure accused National Police members of kidnapping and killing a member of an organization representing unemployed and sacked workers.

Separately, the Jesuit religious order protested the deportation of one its priests following his arrest by government forces as they dislodged peasant families from land they had seized in the east of the country.

XXXIII. "El Salvador: Workers Concerned At Human Rights Violations," Inter Press Service, March 10, 1992.

Twenty workers' organizations have called on the government of El Salvador to respect human rights in accordance with the peace accords. They also demanded an investigation into the torture and killing of Nazario Garcias. The director of the Catholic archbishop's legal office stated that the crime was the work of right wing death squads seeking to undermine the peace process.

VIOLENCE AGAINST THE MILITARY, OR BY THE FMLN

XXXIV. "Clandestine Right-Wing Group Reappears in El Salvador," The Xinhua Overseas News Service, March 19, 1992.

The right-wing group, The Coordinating Front In Defense of Democracy, surfaced with the accusation that the FMLN had killed a union leader earlier in the month.

THE ACCORD IN EL SALVADOR IS FRAGILE: DISPUTES OVER LAND AS WELL AS HISTORICAL SUSPICION AND ANIMOSITY MAY IMPERIL THE FULFILLMENT OF THE ACCORD

DISPUTES OVER LAND HAVE CREATED A VOLATILE ATMOSPHERE IN EL SALVADOR

XXXV. "Government Will Meet with FMLN to Resolve Agrarian Problem," Notimex, May 13, 1992.

Land tenure has been a source of controversy since the peace agreement was signed. The preferential transfer of lands should have begun May 1, 1992, according to the terms of the peace agreement, but has not. The solution of the agrarian conflict is closely linked to the demilitarization of the FMLN. Solving the land problem is simultaneous to applying the package for the total reinsertion of FMLN combatants into civilian life.

XXXVI. "Salvadoran Guerrillas Present Plan for Re-Entry into Civilian Life," Xinhua General News Service, May 13, 1992.

If the reincorporation of FMLN members into civilian life and the redistribution of land is not guaranteed, the guerrillas will not begin the demilitarization process due to have begun May 1, 1992.

XXXVII. "FMLN Rebel Group Warns Salvadoran Peace Process is At Risk," Notimex Mexican News Service, April 20, 1992.

FMLN leader Shafik Handal said that the Salvadoran Army has refused to reduce its numbers simultaneously with the demilitarization of the rebels. He also warned that extreme right wing groups want the land the rebels control returned to its original owners.

XXXVIII. "Church Demands Greater Participation to Quicken Peace Process," Notimex Mexican News Service, April 20, 1992.

Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas identified the agrarian problem as one of the major points of contention in the implementation of the peace accords. The issue, he stated, "is one of justice and legality, and since both the government and the rebels clash on that issue, this means the parties are not cooperating, but rather complicating things."

XXXIX. "Salvador Peace Snags on Land Issues," San Francisco Chronicle, March 28, 1992.

There has been a dramatic increase in land disputes, leading to delays in implementation of the Peace Accord. Farm cooperative are laying claims to abandoned land. The peace accords, however, clearly stipulate that if landlords want to reclaim their land they can. Officials of the government land bank concede that there will never be enough land to go around.

XL. "Land Tenure Threatens Peace," Latin American Newsletters, Ltd., March 26, 1992.

The inventory of land occupied by the FMLN has become the first major problem in the implementation of the peace accord. Under the peace accord, the government will help keep the land in the hands of the occupiers by offering to buy it from its original owners. In the event they refuse to sell, the government will resettle the peasants within the area. The FMLN has expressed the fear that, once their fighters are assembled in the 15 concentration points defined by the ceasefire agreement, the original owners of the land will resort to forcible evictions of the unprotected tenants. The government charges that the guerrillas has been staging new illegal land occupations in order to boost the inventory of affected land in the conflict areas which it was to deliver to authorities on February 18. The FMLN has acknowledged that some illegal occupations may have taken place, but has insisted that defending the peasants' rights is paramount, as the question of land was one of the main causes of the recently ended war.

SUSPICION AND ANIMOSITY STILL EXIST BETWEEN THE LEFT AND THE RIGHT AND THIS MAY LEAD TO HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

XLI. "Salvadoran Government, Guerrillas Asked to End Mutual Accusations," The Xinhua Overseas News Service, April 23, 1992.

The National Peace Consolidation Commission of El Salvador, made up of representatives of the government, FMLN and political parties, issued the call for the end of mutual accusations and urged both sides to solve existing problems concerning the implementation of the peace accord.

XLII. "FMLN Asks United Nations To Pressure Respect For Peace Agreement," Notimex Mexican News Service, April 22, 1992.

FMLN leader, Shafik Handal, asked the United Nations to strengthen its verification of the peace accord and prevent its failure. Handal said that the U.N. must convince the Salvadoran government, and particularly the Salvadoran army, to comply with the peace accord to avoid its breaking up.

XLIII. "Salvadoran Teachers End Five-Day Strike," The Reuter Library Report, April 3, 1992.

President Alfredo Cristiani accused the FMLN of being behind a wave of strikes in El Salvador in a bid to upset the peace process.

- XLIV. "El Salvador: Relations with the United Nations Enter a Critical Period," Inter Press Service, March 19, 1992.

The Salvadoran Foreign Ministry demanded the immediate departure of ONUSAL member Rodolfo Mattorollo, a distinguished Argentine jurist who works for the U.N. Agency's Human Rights Division, alleging he is a left-wing sympathizer and lacking objectivity. The protest was based on Mattorollo's left-wing viewpoints in his country in the past, the fact that he prepared three ONUSAL reports about human rights violations in El Salvador, and his advising of the Jesuit order at the trial of military personnel charged with the November 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests.

THERE ARE PEOPLE EXPERIENCED WITH THE SITUATION IN EL SALVADOR WHO DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES THERE WILL CEASE

- XLV. "Church Says Exhumation of Massacre Victims Blocked," The Reuter Library Report, April 9, 1992.

Top officials of the Roman Catholic Church released a hard-hitting report detailing the alleged delaying tactics used by government and judicial authorities to prevent forensic experts from digging up the victims of the infamous "Mozote Massacre", in which the U.S. trained Atlacatl Battalion murdered more than 1000 civilians over three days during a counter-insurgency operation in and around the eastern village of Mozote in December 1981. San Salvador Auxiliary Archbishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez said: "Peace cannot be solid if we close our eyes to the great injustices of the past."

- XLVI. "Interview with President of El Salvador, Alfredo Felix Cristiani," Die Welt, March 30, 1992 (translated from the German by Hildegard M. Spolsky).

Cristiani states: "Before peace can come to El Salvador, there is much hard work to be done. We have to put to reality the agreements, peace has to be consolidated. Among the problems we face is the attitude of the FMLN. The illegal occupation of land is also a problem, because it creates unrest among the Campesino population. Since the peace treaty was signed, we face another wave of territorial occupation. Almost every day new cases are reported. There are other problems with fulfilling the terms of the agreement. The FMLN troops have not presented a full listing of their arms. There are reports that they secretly deport arms abroad. Right extremist groups remain a danger. They committed a murder since the peace treaty was signed, and make threats."