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U.S. Department of State
Office of Human Rights
Washington, D.C. 20520 (1975)

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ACTION 55-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 SSO-00 SVC-00 /000 W
-----212167 241634Z /48 37

O 241450Z JUN 88 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1062

SECTION 01 OF 03 SAN SALVADOR 08506

EXDIS

OPCEN PLS ALERT ARA/CEN/ES:JCALLAHAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.), PHUM, PGOV, ES
SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR SECSTATE

TO: THE SECRETARY

FROM: AMBASSADOR EDWIN G. CORR

SUBJECT: YOUR MEETING WITH THE SALVADORAN MILITARY
LEADERSHIP AT THE ESTADO MAYOR CONJUNTO,
JUNE 30, 1988

EXDIS REVIEW	
<u>Cat. A</u>	Caption removed; transferred to O/FADRC
Cat. B	Transferred to O/FADRC with additional access controlled by S/S
Cat. C	Caption and custody retained by S/S <i>ES</i>
Reviewed by:	Elijah Kelly Jr.
Date:	6/30/88 19

I. SETTING

-- THIS WILL PROBABLY BE THE MOST SENSITIVE MEETING YOU WILL HAVE IN EL SALVADOR. THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCE (ESAF) HAS ACCOMPLISHED A GREAT DEAL SINCE 1979 IN TERMS OF ITS CAPABILITIES AS A WARFIGHTING FORCE, IN HUMAN RIGHTS, AND IN ITS SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. YET I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENTS MAY HAVE LEVELED OFF AND THAT WE MAY EVEN BE SLIPPING BACKWARDS.

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-- THE ESAF IS IN A TURMOIL AT PRESENT OVER COMMAND

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Department of State IS/FPC/CDR El Salvador SP Date 9/21/88
Declassified under EO 12356 (✓) in full; () in part;
portions withheld: classified (); deliberative ();
law enforcement (); privacy (), statutory ();
not relevant to El Salvador ().

132764 CP 11 OF 14 PSC 104 3711

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CHANGES BEING FORCED BY THE COLONELS. THE NEW ASSIGNMENT LIST WILL BE ANNOUNCED ON JUNE 30 TO TAKE EFFECT THE FOLLOWING DAY. WITH DUARTE OUT OF THE COUNTRY AND THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE CORRUPTION SCANDALS INVOLVING CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT LEADERS COMING TO LIGHT IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THERE IS THE CHANCE THAT THE CIVILIAN-MILITARY BALANCE MAY BECOME UNRAVELED.

-- IT IS IMPORTANT THAT YOU NOT GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT YOU HAVE CALLED THE MILITARY LEADERS TOGETHER TO CHEW THEM OUT. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE MEETING NOT BE RUSHED.

-- THIS MEETING IS NOT MEANT TO BE A REPEAT OF THE 193 VISIT BY VICE PRESIDENT BUSH. WE DO NOT WISHTO THREATEN BUT, AS PARTNERS, TO DESCRIBE WHY ABUSES ARE WRONG AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

-- THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO GET THE ESAF TO INVESTIGATE CASES THOROUGHLY AND RAPIDLY AND TO PUNISH THE VIOLATORS.

-- I RECOMMEND THAT WE KEEP THE U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THIS MEETING TO A MINIMUM: YOURSELF, ELLIOTT ABRAMS, MYSELF, YOUR INTERPRETER, AND THE HIGHEST RANKING MILITARY OFFICER WE CAN FIND. USCINCSO GEN. WOERNER OR ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF VUONO WOULD BE GOOD CHOICES. GEN. WALTERS IS NO LONGER ON ACTIVE DUTY, BUT WOULD CARRY EVEN MORE CLOUT.

-- SHOULD THE HOLDING OF THE MEETING BECOME PUBLIC, I

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PROPOSE THAT IT BE DESCRIBED AS AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE WAR, NOT AS A SESSION TO BEAT UP ON THE ESAF FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.

II. ESAF FRUSTRATIONS

-- MANY IN THE ESAF ARE FRUSTRATED, AND THERE IS A MISTAKEN TENDENCY TO BLAME THE PROLONGATION OF THE WAR ON A U.S. (***) "LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT."

-- MANY IN THE ESAF BELIEVE THAT HUMAN RIGHTS IS USED

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TO TIE THEIR HANDS WHILE NO ONE COMPLAINS ABOUT FMLN
DEATH SQUADS AND TERRORIST ACTIONS.

-- THE ESAF BLAMES THE CIVILIAN POLITICIANS FOR
LETTING THE STATE OF EMERGENCY DECREE EXPIRE IN
JANUARY 1987. SUSPECTED TERRORISTS CAN NOW BE HELD
FOR NO MORE THAN 72 HOURS BEFORE THEY MUST BE
PRESENTED TO A JUDGE. AND THE ESAF IS CONVINCED THAT
THE CIVILIAN JUDGES, EITHER FEARFUL FOR THEIR LIVES OR
BOUGHT OFF BY THE LEFT, FIND TECHNICALITIES TO RELEASE
THOSE WHO ARE TURNED OVER TO THE COURTS.

-- THE FRUSTRATIONS WERE EXACERBATED BY A SERIES OF
VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS BY FMLN NOT-SO-FRONT GROUPS.
THE POLICE HAD ORDERS TO STAND BY AND MAKE NO
ARRESTS. SO THE ESAF SEES THE FMLN MOVING BACK INTO
THE CITY WHILE ITS OWN HANDS ARE TIED.

NOTE BY DC/T: (##) OMISSION IN PARA II, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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SECTION 02 OF 03 SAN SALVADOR 08506

EXDIS

OPCEN PLS ALERT ARA/CEN/ES:JCALLAHAN

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.), PHUM, PGOV, ES
SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR SECSTATE

-- THE ESQUIPULAS II AMNESTY AND DIALOGUE ONLY MADE MATTERS WORSE. DITTO FOR GOES AGREEMENTS THAT HAVE ALLOWED ABOUT 400 SEVERELY WOUNDED GUERRILLA COMBATANTS LEAVE THE COUNTRY FOR CUBA, WHICH THE OFFICERS BELIEVE RELIEVED THE GUERRILLAS OF A TREMENDOUS LOGISTICAL, OPERATIONAL, AND MORALE BURDEN.

-- THE RESULT IS THAT THE OFFICER CORPS BLAMES ITS OWN LEADERS, THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT, ESQUIPULAS II, TI - U.S., AND THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMUNITY FOR ITS INABILITY TO END THE WAR. THIS IS BEHIND THE COMMAND CHANGES ANNOUNCED THE DAY OF YOUR MEETING, AND IT MAY VERY WELL BE BEHIND THE APPARENT DETERIORATION IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

ENCLOSURE: TALKING POINTS

TALKING POINTS



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THE WAR

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-- YOU SEE ME BEFORE YOU AS THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES. BUT 45 YEARS AGO I WAS A MARINE LIEUTENANT TAKING FIRE AND LOSING TROOPS UNDER MY COMMAND. I WELL REMEMBER WHAT COMBAT IS, AND I UNDERSTAND ITS FRUSTRATIONS.

-- I COMMEND THE ESAF FOR YOUR TREMENDOUS ACHIEVEMENTS. YOU HAVE PROFESSIONALIZED. YOU HAVE EXPANDED THE SIZE OF YOUR OFFICER CORPS AND TROOPS.

-- WITH BETTER TRAINING, EQUIPMENT, AND MOBILITY, YOU HAVE MORE THAN HALVED THE NUMBER OF FULLTIME FMLN COMBATANTS.

-- WITH A SMALL MILITARY GROUP, WE HAVE ASSISTED WITH MONEY, EQUIPMENT, AND TRAINING, BUT IT IS YOU WHO ARE FIGHTING AND WINNING THIS WAR. AS SECRETARY OF STATE AND AS A FORMER MARINE, I SALUTE YOU.

HUMAN RIGHTS

-- I AM CONCERNED BY REPORTS THAT THE ESAF AND THE SECURITY FORCES ARE COMMITTING AN INCREASING NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. I DO NOT PRESUME TO JUDGE THAT THESE CHARGES ARE NECESSARILY CORRECT.

-- THE PROBLEM IS THAT WITHOUT GENUINE INVESTIGATIONS
[REDACTED]

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OF THESE CHARGES THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY -- AND MANY IN THE U.S. CONGRESS -- WILL ASSUME THAT THE CHARGES ARE TRUE. AND THAT WORRIES ME PROFOUNDLY.

-- WE MUST FIND SOME WAY TO MAKE A "STRATEGIC LEAP" ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

0 I ASSUME IT IS OBVIOUS WHY SUCH ACTIVITIES ARE MORALLY WRONG.

0 EXPERIENCE HAS TAUGHT US THAT MISTREATING CIVILIANS OR CAPTURED COMBATANTS CREATES MORE GUERRILLA

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SYMPATHIZERS THAN IT ELIMINATES.

0 THERE IS A BI-PARTISAN CONSENSUS IN THE U.S.
CONGRESS IN FAVOR OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO
EL SALVADOR. THAT CONSENSUS IS UNLIKELY TO CHANGE
REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME OF THE U.S. ELECTIONS THIS
NOVEMBER. I SEE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES AND
EXTRA-CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES OF THE CIVILIAN
GOVERNMENT AS PROBABLY THE ONLY ISSUES THAT COULD
UNDO THAT CONSENSUS.

-- THOSE PERSONS WHO ARE BREAKING THE LAW MUST BE
BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

-- OBSERVING HUMAN RIGHTS DOES NOT MEAN THAT YOU MUST
ENDURE A STATE OF ANARCHY IN THE CITIES OF EL SALVADOR.
NO ONE WILL BLAME YOU FOR ARRESTING VIOLENT
DEMONSTRATORS WHO ARE DESTROYING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
PROPERTY. BUT THEY MUST BE ARRESTED -- APPLYING THE

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EXDIS

OPCEN PLS ALERT ARA/CEN/ES:JCALLAHAN

E.O. 12356: .DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM FOR SECSTATE

APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF FORCE -- AND BROUGHT BEFORE A COURT
OF LAW.

-- I HAVE ASKED AMBASSADOR CORR TO WORK WITH YOUR
LEADERS AND WITH THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT TO FACILITATE
SUCH CHANGES AS ARE NEEDED IN LEGISLATION AND IN THE
COURT SYSTEM.

CONGRATULATIONS

-- AGAIN I WISH TO CONGRATULATE FOR ALL THAT YOU HAVE
ACCOMPLISHED. YOU HAVE WON MY RESPECT; YOU ARE WINNING
THE WAR; YOU HAVE BECOME AN APOITICAL FORCE, AND YOU
HAVE RESISTED THE ENTICEMENTS OF THOSE WHO WOULD USE YOU
TO CHANGE THE CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT IN CONTRADICTION TO
YOUR CONSTITUTION.

-- CIVILIANS ARE A FRACTIOUS LOT. DEMOCRACY IS

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INEFFICIENT. YOUR NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY WILL
UNDOUBTEDLY ENCOUNTER MORE CRISES BEFORE EL SALVADOR

EXDIS REVIEW
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ACHIEVES THE MINIMUM OF CONSENSUS WHICH WILL ALLOW
SALVADORAN DEMOCRACY TO BECOME SELF-SUSTAINING.

-- DEMOCRACY BRINGS WITH IT A LOT OF PROBLEMS, BUT IT IS
WITHOUT A DOUBT BETTER THAN ANY OTHER SYSTEM OF
GOVERNMENT.

CORR

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