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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9864
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Oscar Olson, Senior
Reviewer

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PINS, PHUM, KJUS, UN, ES
SUBJECT: SALVADORAN CEASE-FIRE SITUATION REPORT 38

1. (C) SUMMARY: ON OCTOBER 14, ONUSAL PRESENTED THE UN PROPOSAL
ON LAND TO THE PARTIES. BOTH THE GOES AND THE FMLN HAVE ACCEPTED

THE PROPOSAL, THOUGH THE FMLN ONLY GRUDGINGLY. THE GOES DELAYED THE SCHEDULED OCTOBER 16 DEMOBILIZATION OF THE ELITE ATACATL COUNTERINSURGENCY BATTALION, CITING THE FMLN'S FAILURE TO DEMOBILIZE ITS FORCES. ON OCTOBER 11, FMLN FIELD COMMANDER GOYO WAS SHOT WHILE TRAVELING ON THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY IN SAN VICENTE. GOYO SURVIVED THE ATTACK AND THE FMLN IS CALLING FOR A FULL INVESTIGATION, CHARGING THAT GOYO IS ANOTHER VICTIM IN AN ALLEGED ESAF AND/OR RIGHT-WING DIRTY WAR AGAINST THEM. ON OCTOBER 13, THE EXHUMATION OF THE ALLEGED VICTIMS OF THE EL MOZOTE MASSACRE BEGAN; IT IS EXPECTED TO LAST THREE MONTHS. THE FMLN AND GOES' ACCEPTANCE OF THE UN LAND PROPOSAL REMOVES AN IMPORTANT OBSTACLE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS, BUT TENSIONS REMAIN HIGH. END SUMMARY.

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UN PRESENTS LAND PROPOSAL-REACTIONS FAVORABLE

2. (U) ON OCTOBER 14, ONUSAL DELIVERED COPIES OF THE LONG-AWAITED UN PROPOSAL ON LAND TO THE GOES AND FMLN. THE PROPOSAL, RATHER THAN SPLITTING THE DIFFERENCE ON PAST GOES AND FMLN PROPOSALS, IS THE RESULT OF A TECHNICAL ANALYSIS BY UN, FAO, IMF, AND WORLD BANK EXPERTS, AS WELL AS OUTSIDE CONSULTANTS. THE UN PROPOSAL RECOMMENDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LAND CZAR AND THE IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF LAND TO FMLN EX-COMBATANTS AND "TENEDORES," OR FMLN SUPPORTERS IN FORMERLY CONFLICTIVE ZONES WITH TRANSFERS TO BE COMPLETED BY JANUARY 1993. THE PROPOSAL OFFERS LAND TO 7,500 FMLN EX-COMBATANTS, 15,000 ESAF EX-COMBATANTS, AND 25,000 TENEDORES. THE SIZE OF THE PLOTS OFFERED VARIES ACCORDING TO QUALITY OF THE SOIL WITH A MINIMUM OF TWO MANZANAS AND A MAXIMUM OF SEVEN. AVERAGE PLOT SIZE IS ESTIMATED AT FIVE MANZANAS. THE TREATMENT OF TENEDORES HAS BEEN A CONTROVERSIAL POINT THROUGHOUT THE LAND NEGOTIATIONS AND THE UN PLAN DOES TREAT THEM DIFFERENTLY FROM OTHER RECIPIENTS. THEY WILL BE ELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE THE PLOTS THEY RESIDE ON AS LONG AS THE PLOTS DO NOT EXCEED THE MAXIMUM OR ARE NO SMALLER THAN ONE-HALF OF THE MAXIMUM PLOT SIZE.

3. (C) ON OCTOBER 14, CHARGE AND VISITING ARA/DAS JOHN MAISTO MET WITH PRESIDENT CRISTIANI, DISCUSSING THE UN LAND PROPOSAL. CRISTIANI'S INITIAL REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL WAS POSITIVE. THE PRESIDENT CONVEYED HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PLAN TO THE UN ON OCTOBER 15, AND PUBLICLY ANNOUNCED GOES ACCEPTANCE ON OCTOBER 16. CRISTIANI STATED THAT IT WAS HIS GOAL "NOT TO CHANGE ONE COMMA IF POSSIBLE" IN ORDER TO PUT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON THE FMLN TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL AND DEMOBILIZE BY OCTOBER 31. IT IS THE

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PRESIDENT'S VIEW THAT IF THE FMLN DOES NOT DEMOBILIZE BY OCTOBER
31 THEY MUST BE MADE TO PAY A "POLITICAL PRICE." ACCORDING TO
ONUSAL CHIEF IQBAL RIZA, FMLN COMMANDER SCHAFIK HANDAL HAS
SIGNALLED THAT THE FMLN WOULD GRUDGINGLY ACCEPT THE UN PLAN, BUT
HAS SOME QUESTIONS THAT IT WOULD LIKE CLARIFIED. NEVERTHELESS,
THE COMANDANTE DECLINED RIZA'S OFFER TO SETTLE THE ISSUES FACE TO
FACE, INSISTING THAT FMLN LEADERSHIP WOULD RESPOND TO THE UN
PROPOSAL IN WRITING SHORTLY. ON OCTOBER 16, FPL LEADERS TOLD THE
CHARGE THAT THE FMLN WILL ACCEPT THE PLAN.

GOES DELAYS BIRI ATLCATL DEMOBILIZATION

4. (U) THE GOES DELAYED THE DEMOBILIZATION OF THE ATLCATL
IMMEDIATE REACTION BATTALION SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 16 (PREVIOUSLY
REPORTED AS SCHEDULED FOR THE 26TH) ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE FMLN
HAS FAILED TO DEMOBILIZE ITS FORCES. THE MOVE COMES IN THE WAKE
OF COMMENTS BY PRESIDENT CRISTIANI AND OTHER GOES OFFICIALS
WARNING THAT THE GOES WOULD CEASE ESAF REDUCTION, AS WELL AS THE

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LEGALIZATION OF THE FMLN POLITICAL PARTY, IF THE FMLN FAILED TO DEMOBILIZE ITS FORCES. SALVADORAN VICE PRESIDENT FRANCISCO MERINO DEFENDED THE MOVE, CITING THE GOES' RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT THE POPULACE AND THE FMLN'S FAILURE TO DEMOBILIZE OR TURN IN A CREDIBLE ARMS INVENTORY, LEAVING OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF ANOTHER FMLN OFFENSIVE. IN A BIT OF REVERSE PSYCHOLOGY, FMLN COMANDANTE SALVADOR SAMAYOA AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC DEPUTY GERARDO LE CHEVALLIER WELCOMED THE DECISION, SAYING IT VALIDATES THE FMLN POSITION OF NOT CONTINUING WITH COMPLIANCE WHILE THE OTHER SIDE FAILS TO DO SO.

ARENA GIVES HARDLINE ON FULL DEMOBILIZATION

5. (C) IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS, ARENA LEADERS HAVE BECOME
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INCREASINGLY OUTSPOKEN ABOUT THE NEED FOR FULL FMLN

DEMOBILIZATION BY OCTOBER 31. THIS WAS THE MAJOR THEME AT ARENA'S ELEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS ON OCTOBER 11. ARENA PRESIDENT AND SAN SALVADOR MAYOR ARMANDO CALDERON SOL CALLED ON THE FMLN TO LAY DOWN ITS ARMS AND JOIN THE LEGITIMATE POLITICAL MILIEU. CALDERON SOL STATED THAT ARENA WOULD GLADLY FACE AN FMLN/CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT ALLIANCE IN THE NEXT ELECTIONS, BUT WOULD NOT TOLERATE CONTINUED FMLN DELAYS IN DEMOBILIZATION OR FURTHER RECALENDARIZATIONS. HE ADDED THAT FMLN MEMBERS RETAINING THEIR ARMS AFTER OCTOBER 31 SHOULD BE TREATED LIKE COMMON CRIMINALS. ARENA DEPUTY AND FORMER ELECTRIC COMPANY PRESIDENT COLONEL SIGIFREDO OCHOA PEREZ RULED OUT FURTHER GOES RENEGOTIATIONS OF THE CEASE-FIRE CALENDAR OR REDUCTIONS IN THE ARMED FORCES UNTIL THE FMLN DEMOBILIZES. ON OCTOBER 15, ARENA DEPUTY MARIO VALIENTE CALLED ON THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE TO DEMAND THE FMLN'S IMMEDIATE DISARMAMENT AND DEMOBILIZATION, SAYING NO ONE COULD REST EASY UNDER THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES. FINALLY, VALIENTE OPINED THAT IF THE OCTOBER 31 DATE IS NOT RESPECTED IT WOULD MAKE A MOCKERY OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

MID LEVEL FMLN COMMANDER SHOT, FMLN CHARGES DIRTY WAR

6. (C) LATE IN THE EVENING OF OCTOBER 11, FMLN-FPL FIELD COMMANDER PABLO ANTONIO PARADA ANDINO (AKA GOYO) WAS ATTACKED BY SEVERAL HEAVILY ARMED MEN WHILE TRAVELING ON THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY IN SAN VICENTE. THE MEN, WHO WERE ARMED WITH M-16'S, STOPPED GOYO'S CAR AND ASKED HIM TO ACCOMPANY THEM. GOYO RESISTED AND WAS SHOT FOUR TIMES BEFORE THE ASSAILANTS FLED. GOYO SURVIVED THE ATTACK, WAS TAKEN TO A SAN SALVADOR HOSPITAL BY ONUSAL, AND IS RESTING IN STABLE CONDITION. NONE OF GOYO'S
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BELONGINGS WERE TAKEN BY THE ATTACKERS AND UNCONFIRMED REPORTS INDICATE THAT ONE OF THE ATTACKERS WAS A MEMBER OF THE ESAF. THE FMLN HAS CALLED THE ATTACK PART OF A DIRTY WAR AND CALLED FOR A COMPLETE INVESTIGATION. THE FMLN'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MUTED IN COMPARISON TO PAST INCIDENTS, BUT THE FPL TOLD THE CHARGE THAT IT IS CONVINCED THIS IS A POLITICAL ASSASSINATION, AND ASKED THE USG TO URGE A COMPLETE INVESTIGATION.

EL MOZOTE EXHUMATION BEGINS

7. (LOU) ON OCTOBER 13, THE JUDGE OF THE FIRST INSTANCE COURT OF SAN FRANCISCO GOTERA, MORAZAN BEGAN THE EXHUMATION OF VICTIMS OF AN ALLEGED SSACRE BY THE ATLCATL BATTALION OF THE SALVADORAN ARMED FORCES (ESAF) IN DECEMBER, 1981, IN THE HAMLET OF EL MOZOTE. FIVE OTHER HAMLETS IN THE REGION WERE ALLEGEDLY ATTACKED IN THE SAME FOUR-DAY DRIVE BY THE ATLCATL BATTALION INTO FMLN STRONGHOLDS. THE THREE MONTH EXHUMATION SEEKS TO CONFIRM THE

TRUE EXTENT OF THE SLAYINGS. THE GOES HAS REQUESTED USG

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ASSISTANCE IN PROVIDING FORENSIC EXPERTISE IN THE HIGH VISIBILITY CASE.

OTHER ISSUES

8. -- (U) ONUSAL RESOLVED THE FMLN SEIZURE OF A FARM IN CIUDAD BARRIOS, SAN MIGUEL, NEGOTIATING THE DEPARTURE OF THE FMLN EX-COMBATANTS AND SUPPORTERS OCCUPYING THE LAND.

-- (C) FMLN FRONT GROUPS THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE FOR NATIONAL DEBATE (CPDN) AND THE UNTS LABOR FEDERATION LED A PROTEST CALLING ON PRESIDENT CRISTIANI TO REVEAL THE NAMES OF THOSE ESAF OFFICERS IN THE AD HOC COMMISSION'S REPORT AND TO COMPLY WITH THE GOES' OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE ACCORDS.

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-- (U) ON OCTOBER 10, THE FMLN CELEBRATED THE 12TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF ITS FIVE FACTIONS INTO A UNIFIED FRONT.

COMMENT:

9. (C) THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE UN LAND PROPOSAL BY BOTH PARTIES PAVES THE WAY FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. CRUCIAL TO FURTHER MOVEMENT IS CONVINCING THE FMLN THAT PROGRESS ON OTHER ISSUES WILL CONTINUE DESPITE THEIR DEMOBILIZATION AND CONVINCING OPPOSITION PARTIES TO STOP PLAYING PARTISAN POLITICS WITH THE PEACE PROCESS. ONUSAL HAS TOLD US THAT IF FMLN DEMOBILIZATION WERE PUT BACK ON TRACK, FINAL DEMOBILIZATION WOULD TAKE BETWEEN FOUR TO SIX WEEKS. HOWEVER, CONTINUING UNCERTAINTY OVER THE AD HOC COMMISSION'S REPORT, RIGHT-WING RHETORIC, THE LIKELIHOOD OF A DELAY IN FMLN DEMOBILIZATION, AND THE GOYO SHOOTING HAVE ALL RAISED TENSIONS. END COMMENT.

(SIT38) ROMERO

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