

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 /000W
-----A70A6C 311713Z /38

P 311702Z OCT 91
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1846

RELEASED IN PART
B1,25X1,25X6

SECRET SECTION 01 OF 03 SAN SALVADOR 13755

NODIS **DECAPTIONED**

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Oscar Olson, Senior Reviewer

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINS, PTER, ES
SUBJECT: [REDACTED] SEES RISING
- CORRUPTION IN ARENA, ESAF

B1
25X1

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. THE AMBASSADOR MET OCTOBER 25 [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WHO PAINTED
A DISTURBING PICTURE OF RISING CORRUPTION WITHIN ARENA
AND THE GOES, WHICH [REDACTED] WHITE HATS ON
CRISTIANI'S TEAM SEEM WEARY AND FEARFUL OF FIGHTING.
[REDACTED] ARENA'S NEW NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
(COENA) AS A LACKLUSTER BUNCH WHO WILL DO NOTHING TO
STEM THE CORRUPTION AND FEARS FOR THE PARTY'S
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ELECTORAL FORTUNES IN 1994 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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25X1
25X6

REPORTEDLY SUSPECT THE SEPTEMBER ROBBERY OF AN ARMORED
VEHICLE (WHICH NETTED AN ESTIMATED THREE MILLION U.S.
DOLLARS) WAS THE WORK OF RIGHT-WING DISSIDENT ELEMENTS
OF THE ESAF AND NOT THE FMLN, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] WITH SIMILAR SUSPICIONS
OF OCHOA PEREZ OR OTHER RIGHT WING INVOLVEMENT IN THE
BILLY SOL KIDNAPPING [REDACTED] FEAR IS THAT THE
CRAZIES ON THE RIGHT ARE COMMITTING SUCH CRIMES TO
FINANCE FUTURE POLITICAL MOVES, I.E. TO BUY THEIR WAY
INTO POWER VIA BRIBERY, INTIMIDATION OR A MILITARY

Classification Extended on : 10/07/2014 ~ Class: SECRET ~ Reasons: 25X1,
25X6

COUP. END SUMMARY.

RISING CORRUPTION IN ARENA

3. THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 25, THE AMBASSADOR,
ACCOMPANIED BY POLOFF, MET [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] RETURNING TO THE
THEME OF CORRUPTION [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE AMBASSADOR SAID THAT THE SIGNS
CONTINUED NEGATIVE AND THAT OFFICIAL CORRUPTION, IF
ALLOWED TO PROSPER, COULD BE THE ACHILLES HEEL OF THE
ARENA DRIVE FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN 1994, PARTICULARLY
IRONIC SINCE IT WAS THE ISSUE THAT TURNED THE VOTERS

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AGAINST THE DUARTE REGIME IN 1989. [REDACTED] WITH
THE ANALYSIS AND LAMENTED THAT CORRUPTION WITHIN THE
GOES AND ARENA CONTINUES TO GROW. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SAID HE SUSPECTED A CORRUPTION NETWORK WAS BEING BUILT
BY MALEVOLENT FORCES WITHIN ARENA WHICH WOULD SWING
INTO ACTION WHEN D'AUBUISSON'S ILLNESS KNOCKED HIM OUT
OF THE PICTURE FOR GOOD. THEY WOULD FINANCE THEIR
QUEST FOR POWER WITH THE ILL-GOTTEN GAINS OF
CORRUPTION AND OTHER CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES. [REDACTED]

STATED, "WITH A FEW MILLION DOLLARS, THE BAD GUYS
WOULD HAVE THE MEANS TO BRIBE, INTIMIDATE AND CORRUPT
THE ENTIRE SYSTEM."

4. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] IF THE CORRUPTION CONTINUES, ARENA CAN
EXPECT THE SAME FATE AT THE POLLS THAT THE CHRISTIAN
DEMOCRATS MET IN 1988 AND 1989. [REDACTED] THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (COENA) OF ARENA, ELECTED

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AT THAT CONVENTION, AS A LACKLUSTER BUNCH, SAYING "ADD
THEM ALL TOGETHER AND YOU DON'T COME UP WITH ONE
COMPLETE CREATIVE MIND." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV PINS PTER ES
SUBJECT [REDACTED] SEES RISING

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25X1

[REDACTED] SAID THE 1991-93 COENA
IS NOT NEARLY AS IMPORTANT AS THE COENA WHICH WILL
TAKE OFFICE IN 1993 AND SELECT ARENA'S CANDIDATE FOR
PRESIDENT. THE AMBASSADOR OPINED SUCH SHOULD BE OF
SMALL COMFORT.

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5. TURNING TO ARENA'S 1994 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE,

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARENA,
PRIMARILY FOR REASONS OF PARTY UNITY, WOULD CONTINUE
TO PLAN ON NOMINATING ARMANDO IN 1994. HOWEVER,
[REDACTED] IF PLAN A--NOMINATE
ARMANDO--RUNS INTO TROUBLE, PLAN B IS TO NOMINATE
BOBBY MURRAY MEZA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B1
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25X6

DID RENEGADE ESAF ELEMENTS ROB THE WELLS FARGO VAN?

6. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SEPTEMBER 26 ROBBERY OF AN ARMORED WELLS FARGO VEHICLE
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BELIEVING RENEGADE ELEMENTS OF THE ESAF--NOT THE
FMLN--HAD COMMITTED THE CRIME (AND MADE OFF WITH AN
ESTIMATED THREE MILLION U.S. DOLLARS). [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] DID NOT RULE OUT
THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE ESAF ELEMENTS APPARENTLY
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ROBBERY OF SUCH A HUGE SUM OF CASH
WERE IN CAHOOTS WITH THE EXTREME RIGHTWING TYPES, WHO
MIGHT BE PUTTING TOGETHER THE RESOURCES TO TAKE ON THE
GOVERNMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT ANYONE WITH USD THREE
MILLION WOULD BE ABLE TO BUY, THREATEN AND CAUSE A LOT

OF TROUBLE FOR THE CRISTIANI GOVERNMENT BETWEEN NOW AND 1994. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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25X6

DID OCHOA PEREZ CONSPIRE WITH THE FMLN TO KIDNAP BILLY SOL?

7. IN A FINAL TWIST, AFTER THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED CRISTIANI'S BELIEF THAT THE FMLN HAS BILLY SOL, [REDACTED] THAT HE DOES NOT RULE OUT A CEL PRESIDENT SIGIFREDO OCHOA PEREZ CONNECTION WITH THE SOL KIDNAPPING. HE EVEN DOES NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT OCHOA CONSPIRED WITH THE FMLN. OCHOA, [REDACTED] HAS TIES TO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FMLN, AND OCHOA'S PEOPLE SPEAK TO THE FMLN AT ALL LEVELS.

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[REDACTED] THE MOTIVE IS NOT JUST MONEY BUT ALSO POLITICS, AND THAT BY HOLDING BILLY SOL FOR OVER TWO MONTHS, THE KIDNAPPER(S) MADE SURE SOL WILL HAVE NO INTEREST IN TAKING OVER THE CEL PRESIDENCY WHEN HE IS RELEASED, THEREBY LEAVING OCHOA IN PLACE WITH CEL'S ENORMOUS BUDGET AND ENDLESS PATRONAGE POSITIONS.

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COMMENT

8. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
READ-OUT IS CLEARLY CAUSE FOR CONCERN THAT THE ARENA GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS FUNCTIONED SO WELL UP TO NOW MAY BE SUCCEEDING TO THE LURE OF CORRUPTION WHICH CRIPPLED THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AS WELL AS THE SALVADORAN ECONOMY.

WALKER

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