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ACTION IO-19

INFO LOG-00 ACDA-17 ARA-01 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00
EUR-01 HA-09 H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01
P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00
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P 211710Z JAN 93
FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1833
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS PM
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY CARACAS
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REVIEW AUTHORITY: Oscar Olson, Senior
Reviewer

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 SAN SALVADOR 000616

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, MARR, PREL, UN, ES
SUBJECT: PUBLIC DEBATE OVER THE AD HOC REPORT CONTINUES

1. (LOU) SUMMARY: CONTRASTING RESPONSES TO PRESIDENT
CRISTIANI'S HANDLING OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AD HOC
COMMISSION'S REPORT UNDERSCORE THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE
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FMLN, AND BETWEEN THE FMLN AND OTHERS ON THE LEFT.
WHILE THE CONSENSUS FMLN RESPONSE HAS BEEN QUITE MEASURED
TO DATE (DESPITE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES), THE DEMOCRATIC
CONVERGENCE (CD) AND OTHERS ON THE LEFT HAVE STRUCK A FAR
MORE CONFRONTATIONAL STANCE. TO DATE, CALLS BY LEFTIST
PARTIES, UNIONS, AND ACADEMICS (INCLUDING A HARSHLY-
WORDED TWO-PAGE AD BY THE JESUIT-RUN UNIVERSITY OF
CENTRAL AMERICA) FOR STRONG ACTION HAVE FAILED TO ELICIT
MUCH PUBLIC OUTCRY, WITH AVERAGE SALVADORANS MORE
CONCERNED ABOUT CRIME AND THE ECONOMY. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) ON JANUARY 13, THE FMLN ISSUED A PRESS RELEASE
OUTLINING ITS POSITION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS. THE FMLN
STATED THAT IT AGREED WITH THE UN SYG'S APPRAISAL OF THE
PRESIDENT CRISTIANI'S ACTIONS WHICH RECOGNIZED POSITIVE
MOVEMENT, BUT OBSERVED THAT FURTHER ACTION (I.E., ACTION

ON THE OTHER 15 OFFICERS) WAS NECESSARY TO FULFILL THE PRESIDENT'S OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE PEACE ACCORDS. THE FMLN WENT ON TO CALL FOR CRISTIANI TO COMPLETELY FULFILL HIS RESPONSIBILITIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. FINALLY, THE FMLN OBSERVED THAT THE UN SYG'S DECISION CLOSELY FOLLOWS THE PEACE ACCORDS AND THE WILL OF THE SALVADORAN PEOPLE WHO DEMAND THE PURIFICATION OF THE ESAF.

3. (U) ON JANUARY 9, THE DEMOCRATIC CONVERGENCE (CD), NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (MNR), AND SEVERAL UMBRELLA LABOR ORGANIZATIONS SENT PRESIDENT CRISTIANI A LETTER DEMANDING FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS. THE LETTER CHARGED THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS VIOLATING THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF
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THE ACCORDS WITH HIS ATTEMPT TO SEND SOME OFFICIALS, SINGLED OUT FOR DISMISSAL, ABROAD AS DEFENSE ATTACHES OR TO KEEP THEM IN COMMAND POSITIONS. THE GROUPS CLOSED THE LETTER BY DEMANDING THAT THE PRESIDENT COMPLY STRICTLY WITH THE AD HOC COMMISSION'S REPORT.

4. (U) ON JANUARY 12, THE JESUIT-RUN UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL AMERICA (UCA) PUBLISHED A TWO-PAGE AD IN THE LOCAL PRESS ENTITLED "THE ARMED FORCES PURGE IS NOT NEGOTIABLE." THE AD SHARPLY CRITICIZED PRESIDENT CRISTIANI FOR HIS FAILURE TO CARRY OUT THE AD HOC COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE FMLN FOR ITS WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE THE PURGE WITH CRISTIANI. THE UCA AD ASSERTED THAT THE GOES' ATTEMPT TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE AD HOC REPORT VIOLATED THE PEACE ACCORDS. IT WENT ON TO CHARGE THAT TO LEAVE UNDEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS WITHIN THE ESAF REPRESENTED A SERIOUS DANGER TO THE FUTURE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. FINALLY, IT WARNED THAT THE FMLN'S CREDIBILITY WOULD SUFFER AS A RESULT OF ITS ATTEMPTS TO TRADE UPON THE AD HOC REPORT. ON JANUARY 19, A GROUP OF INDEPENDENT SALVADORAN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS INCLUDING THE NONGOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (CDHES), SOCORRO JURIDICO (LEGAL AID), AND THE UCA HUMAN RIGHTS INSTITUTE (IDUCA), AMONG OTHERS, PUBLISHED THEIR OWN AD ECHOING THE UCA'S ARGUMENTS.

5. (U) IN RESPONSE, ON JANUARY 16, THE FMLN ISSUED A SEVEN-PAGE PRESS RELEASE, SIGNED BY FERMAN CIENFUEGOS, DETAILING ITS POSITION. THE FMLN COMMUNIQUE STATED THAT THE UCA'S CHARGES WERE MADE WITHOUT ACCESS TO ALL THE FACTS. THE FMLN ASSERTED THAT 87 OF 102 OFFICERS HAD
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BEEN REMOVED WHICH CONSTITUTES A GOOD FIRST STEP.
FURTHERMORE, THE PRESS RELEASE POINTED OUT THAT THE PURGE
BEING CARRIED OUT WAS UNPRECEDENTED IN LATIN AMERICAN
HISTORY. THE FMLN COMMUNIQUE ALSO WARNED THAT TO PUSH
THE IMPASSE TO CRISIS LEVELS COULD LEAD TO A DISASTROUS
CUTOFF OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNIQUE,
THE FMLN STRESSED THE BENEFITS OF NEGOTIATION OVER
CONFRONTATION. CALLING THE UCA AD DOGMATIC, THE FMLN
PRESS RELEASE ARGUED THAT ITS CLOSED-DOOR NEGOTIATIONS
DID MORE TO CHANGE THE COUNTRY THAN OPEN DEMONSTRATIONS
WOULD HAVE.

6. (U) IN HIS JANUARY 10 HOMILY, SAN SALVADOR ARCHBISHOP
ARTURO RIVERA Y DAMAS CALLED ON PRESIDENT CRISTIANI TO
FULLY IMPLEMENT THE AD HOC COMMISSION'S RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR THE "GOOD OF THE PEOPLE." HOWEVER, RIVERA Y DAMAS
CONCEDED THAT HE WAS NOT OPPOSED TO A LENGTHENING OF THE
IMPLEMENTATION PERIOD IF IT WAS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN
THE PEACE PROCESS. POLITICAL DEBATE ON THE QUESTION OF
AD HOC IMPLEMENTATION HAS FALLEN PREDICTABLY ALONG PARTY

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SUBJECT: PUBLIC DEBATE OVER THE AD HOC REPORT CONTINUES

LINES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ARENA MAVERICK COL.
SIGIFREDO OCHOA PEREZ (RET.), THE MAJORITY OF ARENA
POLITICIANS AS WELL AS THEIR WORKING COALITION PARTNERS--
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THE NATIONAL CONCILIATION PARTY (PCN) AND AUTHENTIC
CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT (MAC)--HAVE DEFENDED THE PRESIDENT'S
NEED TO MAINTAIN STABILITY IN THE ESAF AS WELL AS HIS
REQUEST FOR MORE TIME TO COMPLY. OCHOA, ON THE OTHER
HAND, CRITICIZED THE AD HOC COMMISSION FOR NOT PLACING
THE BLAME ON THOSE TRULY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ESAF'S
CONDUCT--THE HIGH COMMAND AND THE BRIGADE COMMANDERS,
INSTEAD OF ON LOWER RANKING OFFICERS WHO WERE "JUST
FOLLOWING ORDERS." (APPARENTLY, OCHOA'S DIVERGENCE FROM
THE PARTY LINE COST HIM DEARLY, AS REPORTS INDICATE HE
WILL BE SENT INTO GOLDEN EXILE AS AN AMBASSADOR.)

7. (LOU) COMMENT: THE FMLN'S DIVISION OVER THE AD HOC
ISSUE HAS NOT IMPEDED A MEASURED OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO THE
UN SYG LETTER. THIS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH THE STRONG
DEMAND FOR ACTION FROM OTHERS ON THE LEFT. TO DATE,
CALLS BY LEFTIST PARTIES, UNIONS, AND ACADEMICS FOR
STRONG ACTION HAVE FAILED TO ELICIT MUCH PUBLIC OUTCRY ON
THE ISSUE, WITH AVERAGE SALVADORANS MUCH MORE CONCERNED
ABOUT CRIME AND THE ECONOMY. (CF-153) ROMERO

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