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Financing Terrorism in El Salvador:

The Secret Support Network for the FMLN

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by J. Michael Waller

Council for Inter-American Security

Washington, D.C.

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SHARE Foundation

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The SHARE (Salvadoran Humanitarian Aid, Research and Education) Foundation was founded in 1981 ostensibly as a fundraising organization to benefit Salvadoran refugees living inside El Salvador or elsewhere in Central America. Its first fundraising campaign took place in October, 1981, as part of a nationwide "Emergency Action Campaign" sponsored by CISPES to raise \$250,000. Lisa Tarver, a staffer at the national CISPES office, sent local activists letters announcing the campaign and SHARE's function in the solidarity movement.¹²⁰

In letter to activists dated 11 September 1981, Lisa Tarver described the new fundraising campaign, and spelled out how CISPES and SHARE comingle funds to be sent to the FMLN:

"All funds raised in the Emergency Aid campaign will be sent to the [CISPES] national office. The money will then be channeled through SHARE, which will have tax-exempt status that we will be able to utilize. SHARE sends all financial contributions for the refugees to Archbishop Sergio Mendez Arceo in Cuernavaca, Mexico, from where they are distributed to refugee camps throughout Central America. As for making out checks, they can still be made out to 'Emergency Aid to El Salvador' as before. However, [if] an individual or organization wants to receive the tax deduction or feels uneasy about giving money to CISPES, they can make the checks payable directly to SHARE."

SHARE's involvement with CISPES is not surprising; its original six-person board of directors included CISPES national coordinator Heidi Tarver, as well as representatives of two pro-Castro groups: Council on Hemispheric Affairs director Larry Birns, and Isabel Letelier of the Institute for Policy Studies (who helped Farid Handal when he visited Washington in 1980 to set up CISPES).

The FMLN uses refugee camps just over the Salvadoran border in Honduras as sanctuaries between battles.¹²¹ Several of these camps are operated by the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, which are tolerant of the FMLN's presence there. When Honduras proposed moving these camps further from the Salvadoran border and out of reach from the FMLN, the guerrillas' support groups in the United States, including SHARE, launched a political campaign against move, charging, "The Honduran and U.S. governments want the camps out of the way in order to carry out their military maneuvers in the vicinity without civilian observers," and adding this pitiful rationale: "The refugees believe that the infrastructure they have built in the camps will be turned into military bases for the U.S. intervention in El Salvador."¹²²

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THE MAIL

Your cover story about American mercenaries in Central America left out a major point: Americans are also serving the Marxist Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador. There is an extensive apparatus in the United States that channels material aid to the Sandinistas and the FMLN, and the many Americans who serve them constitute a major story that has yet to be told.

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Council for Inter-American Security

Washington, D.C.

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INTRODUCTION: The Salvadoran guerrillas' support apparatus and how it operates

The core of the political and financial support apparatus in the United States for the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador is the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), which was officially founded the day after the FMLN itself was formally inaugurated in October, 1980. CISPES openly states its support for the FMLN and its political branch, the FDR, but is often misperceived as a "peace" group. Over the years, CISPES has been firmly supportive of the FMLN, to the point of defending its assassinations of American businessmen and Marine embassy guards.

CISPES has a multifaceted approach in its FMLN support campaign. Its own propaganda line is completely coincidental with that of the FMLN, suggesting close coordination of political activities. Founded to protest the Carter Administration's policy of cautious support for El Salvador's reformist transitional juntas, CISPES has been consistent in its steadfast opposition to any U.S. government aid of any kind, including humanitarian, to El Salvador. A cutoff U.S. aid, CISPES reasons, would completely undermine El Salvador's economic, military and political infrastructure and therefore enable the FMLN to seize power as the Sandinistas did in Nicaragua.

In an effort to pressure Congress to reduce or end aid to El Salvador, CISPES functions as a component of the "Revolution Lobby," a loose movement of political and educational organizations which support Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movements in the Third World. CISPES constantly encourages and mobilizes its activists in more than 400 local chapters to write letters and call their elected officials in Washington, demanding that they vote against aid to El Salvador. In addition, CISPES generates letters to the editor of local newspapers, organizes demonstrations at the grassroots level and in Washington, and holds media events to dramatize opposition to U.S. policy in Central America. The national office sponsors speaking tours for FMLN-FDR representatives, but much of the time, local chapters conceal or downplay their support for the FMLN. CISPES gained further political legitimacy by winning the public support of several celebrities and Members of Congress.

The support group, or "solidarity committee," as it is referred to by the FMLN, works with genuinely pacifist church organizations and exploits their desire to avoid a war in Central America. Taking advantage of concerns for peace and human rights, CISPES uses many mainline Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and other clergymen to give it an appearance of legitimacy and to use their church collection boxes as a source of funds for the FMLN. More radical clergymen, many of whom espouse "liberation theology," work with CISPES out of their ideological support for the FMLN. They use the rhetoric of peace as a weapon for the FMLN's war.

solidarity committee

✓

Current CISPES national coordinator Angela Sanbrano is recognized by those who matter for her work in promoting the guerrillas. The September 1985 issue of the CISPES newsletter *Alert!* reported that she made an "unprecedented visit with members of the FMLN high command" in El Salvador (including Salvadoran Communist Party leader Shafik Handal), then went to Nicaragua where she and other members of her "peace delegation" accompanied Sandinista Interior Minister Tomas Borge at a mass rally in Leon. From there, Sanbrano went to Cuba, meeting with Fidel Castro. In October the following year, according to Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Soviet Communist Party's "Peace Committee" invited Sanbrano on an all expense-paid trip to Moscow. Although her seat had already been reserved on a New York-Moscow Aeroflot flight, Sanbrano was unable to go.

CISPES is also the core of a gaggle of "humanitarian" groups which raise money for medical aid, developmental and educational projects, and financial assistance ostensibly for El Salvador's poor. These "humanitarian" affiliates, which are recognized as charities by the Internal Revenue Service, likewise support the FMLN politically, but often mask their true position when soliciting funds. Up to seventy percent of the humanitarian funds raised through these organizations are diverted to the FMLN for military purposes, according to a high-level guerrilla defector.

Since 1984, the Council for Inter-American Security has argued that CISPES and its affiliates are agents for the FMLN, and should register with the Justice Department under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. However, repeated attempts over a two year period to persuade the Justice Department to act have been rebuffed by the Foreign Agents Registration Office.

While the support network for the anti-Communist resistance fighters in Nicaragua has been thoroughly investigated, exposed, and in some cases shut down by the Justice Department, the news media, and congressional committees, the secret U.S.-based supply network for the FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador has been virtually unscathed. While the Soviet bloc provides training, weapons, and logistics to the FMLN, it is unable or unwilling to supply the dollars needed to keep the guerrilla infrastructure alive. Since 1980, the FMLN has relied on private supporters in the United States to fill the gap.

re-writes { House Majority Leader Tom Foley said recently that he would favor a Congressional investigation of the Salvadoran guerrillas' private aid network in the United States if there was sufficient evidence to merit one. This study is only an outline of the FMLN's multimillion-dollar American support operation.

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The Ideology of the FMLN guerrillas

Before discussing the support apparatus for the guerrillas of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), their ideology must be addressed. While FMLN supporters, skeptics in Congress, and most journalists in the mainstream media balk at referring to the guerrillas as Communists, preferring the euphemistic terms "leftist" or "Marxist-led," the *Washington Post* and the *Miami Herald* have on occasion documented that the FMLN's entire leadership is indeed Marxist-Leninist.¹

Once the origins of the five FMLN factions are traced, it becomes self-evident that all have been ideologically Marxist-Leninist since their inception, putting to rest once and for all the myth that the guerrillas are agrarian reformers who were forced to embrace Communism in the course of their struggle.

The FMLN is an umbrella group composed of five guerrilla/terrorist factions, each of which has a military and political branch. The FMLN General Command is made up of the top commander of each of the five factions. Beneath the FMLN General Command is the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), a panel made up of three representatives of each of the five factions which is considered the actual decision-making body of the FMLN force.²

The first and oldest FMLN faction, from which three of the others are derived, is the Communist Party of El Salvador (PCS), which was founded by the Comintern in the early 1920s when it was led by the FMLN's namesake, Augusto Farabundo Martí. Shafik Handal is the PCS general secretary, and is the PCS representative on the FMLN General Command, as well as on the DRU. Some accounts identify Handal as leader of the General Command. While the five factions were in the process of uniting under the FMLN umbrella in 1980, Shafik Handal traveled to Vietnam, Ethiopia and the Warsaw Pact nations to procure arms for the guerrillas' anticipated "final offensive." Handal uses the code name "Simon." The PCS' strongest historical international ties are with the Soviet Union.

The second faction is the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), a PCS splinter group founded by Handal's predecessor in the PCS, the late Salvador Cayetano Carpio, known as "Marcial." The split was over the PCS' policy in 1970 which was insufficiently supportive of violence, in line with Brezhnev's peaceful coexistence policy at the time. Marcial, who was then PCS general secretary, stepped down and organized the FPL. (After the Sandinistas' success in 1979, the PCS adopted a policy of armed violence.) Shafik Handal succeeded him as PCS leader. Marcial died under mysterious circumstances in Managua, Nicaragua, in 1981. Currently, the FPL leader is Leonel Gonzalez, who sits on the FMLN General Command. The FPL's strongest historical international ties are with Cuba.

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A third faction in the FMLN is the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), commanded by Joaquin Villalobos. Like the FPL, the ERP is a spinoff of the Salvadoran Communist Party. Villalobos represents the ERP on the FMLN General Command. The ERP's strongest historical international ties were briefly with the People's Republic of China.

RN
Political
branch

The National Resistance, or Armed Forces of National Resistance (RN or FARN) is the fourth faction, led by Eduardo Sancho, who calls himself "Ferman Cienfuegos." The FARN is a splinter group which broke from the ERP in 1974. Cienfuegos is the FARN representative on the FMLN General Command.

8 The fifth faction is known as the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC), commanded by Francisco Jovel, alias "Roberto Roca." It emphasizes a regional revolution of a single Marxist-Leninist Central American political party/guerrilla movement, and is considered Trotskyist in orientation. Roca represents the PRTC on the FMLN General Command. It is the PRTC faction which led the June 1985 terrorist attack on four U.S. Marines eating dinner at a Salvadoran restaurant, an action which was supported by the entire FMLN. The PRTC's strongest historical international ties are with North Korea.

How these five factions united under the DRU and finally in October, 1980, into the FMLN is documented by R. Bruce McColm in *El Salvador: Peaceful Revolution or Armed Struggle?* published in New York by Freedom House. Further information about the FMLN's ideology, its supply of arms and training by the Soviet bloc, and its relations with other Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movements in the Americas can be found in the bibliography.

Of all the information on the FMLN's ideology, no single document is more telling than "Fundamental Programs for the Salvadoran Revolution," a guerrilla manifesto captured from Commander Nidia Diaz in April, 1985. A complete facsimile of the original document can be found in Appendix 2. The "fundamental programs" include:

- "1. To end definitively the politico-military-economic and social dependency of the country with respect to Yankee imperialism.
- "2. To liquidate definitively the politico-military and economic, social power of the bourgeois landowning oligarchy allied with imperialism, and to liquidate capitalist exploitation in general.
- "3. To establish economic, political, military, cultural, technical and social bases to build the construction of socialism.
- "4. The construction of socialism and communism.
- "5. Our organization is a working class party. Our ideology is Marxism-Leninism. . . .

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"6. We are militants of Proletarian Internationalism and Solidarity of the peoples.

"7. We struggle definitively against capitalism and dependency of the country, we struggle for victory of the revolution and the popular road of socialism.

"8. Our revolution and the national and international practice of our militancy forms part of and is squared inside the gigantic force of humanity to conquer. . . the edification of socialism and communism in the world."

"10. We recognize the World Socialist Camp, in the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of capitalist and imperialist countries for Social Revolution, as in the struggle for National Liberation, the three fundamental watersheds of the World Revolution.

"11. The World Socialist Camp is the vanguard of the World Revolution and constitutes our friend and fundamental ally. In the first stage embodying the USSR, Cuba and Vietnam as the strongest pillars in a concrete strategic sense.

"12. Fundamental in Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism is the duty of the revolutionaries to put all our efforts toward contributing to the consolidation of Unity in the International Revolutionary and Workers' Movement.

"13. Yankee imperialism is the historic fundamental enemy of humanity and the fundamental strategic enemy of our people. In consequence, we condemn and combat the aggressive policies of imperialism and world reaction, in whatever part of the planet, is our duty.

"14. We are unconditionally in solidarity with the anti-colonialist struggles and against neocolonialism of all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. From there we oppose all forms of class and racial oppression in the world, zionism and apartheid. . . .

"15. Our Revolution is inseparable from the Revolutionary Struggle of the brother peoples in the region, de ahí que contribuir a la Revolution in the Central American region and the support to victorious Nicaragua is our natural historical objective."

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LAYING THE GROUNDWORK OF CISPES

Farid Handal's trip to the United States, February-March 1980

Fidel Castro had told Salvadoran revolutionary leaders that if they wanted his complete support, they would have to set aside their differences and form a unified "national liberation front," much like the three Sandinista factions had done in 1977.³ While all five paramilitary factions were ideologically Marxist-Leninist, they had different doctrinal differences ranging from Stalinist to Trotskyist.

Only one revolutionary group had the total confidence of the Soviets, and that was the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) headed by Shafik Handal. Formed in 1925 by Salvadoran Comintern agent Augusto Farabundo Marti, the PCS was the only organization in El Salvador officially recognized by the Soviets. Like most Moscow-line Communist Parties, the PCS maintains party-to-party relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Three other guerrilla factions were splinter groups from the PCS (Popular Liberation Forces [FPL] and People's Revolutionary Army [ERP] broke from the PCS in 1970 and '72; the National Resistance [FARN] split from the ERP in 1975.)⁴ Logically from the Soviets' view, the PCS became the primary organ within the forming Salvadoran national liberation front.

The PCS began laying the groundwork for its military, financial and political support apparatuses in 1979 and knew from the successes of the Vietcong and the Sandinistas that they would fight their war on two fronts: One on the military battleground in El Salvador, and the other on the political battleground in the United States. Neither the Vietcong nor the Sandinistas won militarily, and neither would the Salvadoran revolutionaries.

The Sandinistas' recent victory against General Somoza and his National Guard was not a military one. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) had begun setting up its own U.S.-based solidarity apparatus in 1977, officially inaugurating it in February, 1979 with the support of prominent American political leaders.⁵ It promoted the FSLN as the sole legitimate representative of the Nicaraguan people, conducting political activities throughout the U.S. to help ensure that the FSLN and the FSLN alone would be accepted and recognized as the new Nicaraguan government. Washington had already turned its back on Somoza by slapping an arms embargo against his regime, and later engineered

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diplomatic isolation of his government through the Organization of American States.

By June, 1979, the United States had disarmed the National Guard by imposing a veritable blockade of Nicaragua. Two Israeli freighters bound for Nicaragua with a resupply of arms and ammunition for the National Guard were forced to turn back by the Carter Administration. Issuing an ultimatum, the U.S. forced Somoza to flee Nicaragua. Unarmed and leaderless, the National Guard dissolved, and the Sandinistas marched into Managua two days later.⁶

The PCS was working to form the Salvadoran national liberation front in the last year of the Carter presidency, planning a "final offensive" for late December 1980. For its military campaign to be successful, there had to be heavy political pressure in the United States to continue the arms embargo of El Salvador and to promote the emerging FMLN as the sole legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people.

PCS agent sets up support apparatus in United States

Farid Handal, brother of Shafik, was the PCS agent dispatched to set up the Salvadoran guerrillas' political and financial support apparatus in the United States. He arrived in New York in February 1980, just a few months before his brother Shafik was to go on an arms-shopping trip to the Soviet bloc. Farid's objective, according to his diary which was captured by the Salvadoran military, was "the creation of the International Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador."⁷

He wrote that while not an actual member of the PCS, "I accepted their line and collaborated to the extent of my possibilities." As a cover, he presented himself as a representative of the National Democratic Union (UDN), which in reality is a legal front of the PCS. During his two visits to New York, he said he made important contacts: A Cuban intelligence officer based at the United Nations and the leadership of the Communist Party USA.

Contrary to popular opinion, the CPUSA is not simply a leftist political party, but is an agent of the Soviet government for conducting political influence operations in the United States. While numerically very small, the CPUSA provides the Soviets with a disciplined cadre of operatives who receive their political directives from the International Department (ID) of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, led at the time by Comintern veteran Boris Ponomarev.⁸ Much of the funding for the

[The content of this report is the product of a confidential source who has provided reliable information.]

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CPUSA comes in the form of cash transfers from the KGB through the Soviet Mission at the U.N. and the Soviet Embassy in Washington.⁹

Meeting with "members of the Directorate of the CPUSA," Farid described the help he needed in setting up the "Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador." He said that the Communist Party leaders had invited him to the meeting (implying that they knew about his visit in advance), and that "in spite of the fact that I insisted that I did not represent the PCS, they insisted that they needed to meet with me, because they wanted information."

At first, the CPUSA leaders were skeptical of him, but after a while, Farid said, they "allowed me to speak and they began to behave more cordially and humanly; now they smiled and listened. . . . The meeting lasted several hours." His specific contact and translator on the CPUSA politburo was Sandy Pollack, an attractive and energetic activist who had been involved in promoting Third World revolutionaries for the Party since her days in Cuba with the Venceremos Brigades. A CPUSA National Council (politburo)-member, Pollack was also active in the United States Peace Council (USPC), a CPUSA front which served as the U.S. chapter of the World Peace Council, the leading Soviet international front organization which organizes and promotes "active measures" campaigns against the West. Farid identified her as the "person responsible for the U.S. Peace Council" and the "solidarity coordinator" for that organization. (See notes on the back [redacted]).

During his New York visit, Farid also met at the home of Alfredo Garcia Almeida, the fourth-ranking official at the Cuban Mission to the U.N. who has been identified as a Cuban intelligence officer under the control of the KGB.⁹ According to the diary, Garcia Almeida "recommended that I should carry out work of an informational nature about the situation in El Salvador with progressive Congressmen for the purpose of making the rest of my work more natural. And in that way to protect my visa. They offered to facilitate contacts in Washington. And they did that."

More on Handal's visit

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During his trip to the U.S., Farid Handal apparently passed himself off as a representative of the National Democratic Union (UDN) in order to disguise his appearance as an agent for the PCS. The UDN is the legal front of the PCS. Taking the guidance of Pollack and Garcia Almeida, Farid went to Washington for meetings arranged by the CPUSA. What follows is a verbatim transcript excerpted from Farid's diary:

"Surprise encounter with Veronica (Chilean) of the CPUSA charged by the Directorate of the CPUSA in Washington with arranging a meeting. Meeting with

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Mouris [sic; Maurice Jackson] president of CPUSA in Washington who informed that he had received instructions to give [me] any help that he might desire. . . . Pleasant meeting. The beginning of a valuable collaboration. . . . They played an important role in the arrangements for the meeting with Congressman Ronal Dellums [sic], Congressman from the state of California. Black, but very progressive.

"The comrades of the CP in Washington were the pioneers for the formation of the International Solidarity Committee that I took the advantage of forming in Washington.

"The comrades of the Cuban Mission had recommended Juan Ferreira, from Uruguay. I contacted him at WOLA [Washington Office on Latin America]. He helped me at WOLA and at the National Council of Churches. . . .

"I contacted Isabel Letelier who had prepared a seminar at the Institute for Policy Studies of Washington. The Seminar would be based on a talk by Napoleon Gonzalez, which had already been announced. Gonzalez was in Washington at the invitation of Amnesty International. . . .

"That same Monday at 4:00 PM the meeting with Congressman Dellums and his work team took place. At the beginning of the meeting which took place in the offices of the Congressman located in the Capitol building, his political counselor made known that my visit could not have arrived at a better moment. They were interested in better understanding the situation in El Salvador because they were ready to do battle against the Hawks who have today strengthened their position and influence in the Senate and Congress of the USA. My statement is transcribed in the attached summary. When the meeting was over they asked me to write it in the offices of Dellums and they gave me a typewriter to use. They explained that they needed it to translate into English and make a report to all of the group of black congressmen. . . . They invited me to participate in that report. At that time we agreed that I would let them know my whereabouts so that they could advise me as to the date and time of the meeting and so that they could bring me back to Washington. . . . For this meeting I prepared a folder with the program of the Government of Coordination. . . . The English translation was done by the comrades of the CP [Communist Party] in Washington. . . . All the arrangements and translations for the folders which we would give to the congressmen had to be

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done in Washington because it was there that we received information from WOLA. . . .

"Monday morning the offices of Congressman Dellums were turned into our offices. Everything was done there. the meeting with the [Congressional] Black Caucus took place in the liver of the monster itself, nothing less than the meeting room of the commission of the exterior [Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives]."

Farid's Second Visit to New York

Farid Handal's second visit to New York toward the end of his organizational tour described how CPUSA politburo member Pollack "proposed" a national conference to set up a permanent, centralized political and financial support apparatus for the Salvadoran revolutionaries. His notes state:

"Meeting with Sandy Pollak [sic], Solidarity Coordinator for the U.S. Peace Council. Sandy proposed a national conference under the auspices of the U.S. Peace Council, the National Council of Churches, Amnesty International, WOLA, and various important unions in the U.S. The objective of the conference would be to establish a support mechanism for the solidarity committees in those states where it does not already exist.

Handwritten:
Sandy Pollak / new info.

"The support that they proposed consisted in financing radio, TV and press programs, under its public patronage. They agreed to the idea of issuing a series of coupons worth one dollar that they would call Credit Bonds from the North American People to the Salvadoran People, as a counterpart to the credits given by the U.S. Government to the Junta of El Salvador. But all of these propositions had the following as conditions:

"1. That they would back the coordinator [the coalition of support groups] as they did not want to appear to be backing one organization in particular.

"2. That the diverse images of the movement should be eliminated and that the image of a Broad Solidarity Movement should be presented, without an ideological label. . . . Each of the representatives should have the power to express a single [political] line. . . .

"3. At this time they felt that it was indispensable that Monsignor Romero be present. . . . I let them know that it would be very difficult to convince the Monsignor to assume that role. [Note: Conveniently for the Left's propaganda purposes, San Salvador's Archbishop, Monsignor Romero, was assassinated by unidentified gunmen weeks

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after this meeting. Both the Left and the Right have been blamed for the killing, but the true assassins are unknown. While the Archbishop was mourned by nearly all Salvadorans, he was exploited as a martyr by the FMLN and its support groups.]

"4. That it would be agreed to call for the conference in no less than 30 days. . . ."

Handal Says Congressional Black Caucus Volunteered to Serve as Guerrillas' Mouthpiece in Congress

Farid returned a second time to meet with the Congressional Black Caucus, according to his diary. It was a fruitful get-together. The notes show that he was to meet with a group of 32 Black and Hispanic Members of Congress, and that the Caucus would "Maintain a close contact with us for information. They would be open to concrete petitions," and "were ready to undertake immediate tasks and establish a permanent climate in favor of the struggle in El Salvador."

"It is good to point out," Farid continued, "that these people have influence and prestige. In reality they are able to collaborate even in special promotions where their prestige could mean an effective support."

Also during his second stay in Washington, Farid met with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization through an individual named Rene Tensen. The PLO member, who is not named, "identified himself as a representative of one of the smallest groups which make up the PLO. He said that it was one of the smallest groups but that it represented the authentic Marxist-Leninist line. . . . At the end I told him that I did not have the authority for representations at the levels which corresponded to a conversation of this type. And that I would limit myself to carrying the news of their good intentions for helping us. He spoke about help in scholarships [training] for use of arms. He spoke of other types of help."

The Handal brothers would quite naturally have an affinity for the PLO, as they are of Palestinian descent. It is believed that the PLO and some Salvadoran communists first met in 1966 at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana, where a resulting international network known as the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America (OSPAAAL) was set up. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) leaders also met the PLO for the first time at the Tricontinental Conference, which led to FSLN members being trained at PLO camps in Lebanon as early as 1969.

Shafik Handal has known ties with various PLO leaders, including Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) chief George Habash, and PLO leader Yasser Arafat. In March 1981,

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Shafik met with Habash in Lebanon, and the two issued a joint communique stating that an arrangement had been made to continue already existing PLO military aid to the FMLN. A month later, Arafat was publicly supporting the FMLN-FDR. He proclaimed,

"We are a great revolution that can never be intimidated. We have connections with all the revolutions throughout the world, in El Salvador, in Nicaragua--and I reiterate Salvador--and elsewhere in the world."¹⁰

Farid's brother shopped for the guns *[show how arms found from Vietnam through CIA. N. P. & some deliveries]*

convinced that his

Backtracking to 1980 as the FMLN was being built: Three months after Farid Handal successfully organized the base for the guerrillas' solidarity committee in the United States, Shafik made a trip to the Soviet bloc in search of weapons and supplies.¹¹ His *copy* first stop was Hanoi, on 9 June, where he met with Vietnamese Communist Party leader Le Duan and received a "friendly and enthusiastic reception." They agreed to provide him with American-made weapons left behind after the U.S. pulled out of Southeast Asia; the first shipment, Shafik noted, weighed 60 tons. Weapons deliveries were expected to be made from Ho Chi Minh City, formerly Saigon. *(Shafik's copy of notes)*

In East Germany, Shafik was notified that that government had already shipped first-aid kits, cameras and other equipment to Nicaragua for the use of the Salvadoran guerrillas. East German leader Erich Honecker personally approved additional aid and military training to the revolutionaries, pending their detailed requests. No weapons were offered, as the East Germans had no western-made arms on hand, and did not want to give the guerrillas any East-bloc guns. Shafik then went to Czechoslovakia, where he learned that the Czech government had already decided "to send a quantity of weapons of Czech manufacture," types already available on the open market, which would be shipped in coordination with the East Germans.

A four-day stop in Bulgaria was next on Shafik's trip, where he met with Bulgarian Communist Party Secretary for International Affairs Stanichiev, who said that the Bulgarian government would give him 300 reconditioned Nazi submachine guns from World War II, as well as 200,000 rounds of ammunition, 10,000 uniforms, and 2000 medical kits. Shafik noted in his diary that the Bulgarians praised the conduct of the Salvadoran Communist Party.

From Bulgaria, Shafik went to Hungary, and met with Communist Party leader Janos Kadar. The Hungarians offered medicines and first aid kits, and 10,000 uniforms, but had no non-Soviet bloc guns. They did say that they "would be willing to participate in a deal with Ethiopia or Angola" for weapons. Shafik Handal met several times with Soviet officials about receiving military training, weapons, explosives, ammunition, and currency. The

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Soviets said that Vietnam would be the best source of weapons, and arranged for higher level meetings with the Salvadoran that autumn.

Shafik's last stop was Ethiopia, in early July, where he was received by dictator Haile-Mariam Mengistu. The Salvadoran was promised "several thousand weapons," including M-1 and M-14 rifles and some 790,000 rounds of ammunition.

The setting in the summer of 1980

*Wanted to do
- was trying to
the Republic
- administration.*

Jimmy Carter was in the White House, locked in a bitter primary battle with Ted Kennedy for his party's presidential nomination. Already, an apparatus had been organized to mobilize U.S. public opinion against Carter's controversial policy toward El Salvador: His "human rights" campaign focused excessively on anti-communist military regimes, ignored the crimes of the Castro government in Cuba, and overlooked the hundreds of executions underway by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, which were being documented at the time by the State Department.

The Carter Administration was aware of intelligence reports indicating that the Sandinistas were already sending supplies and other forms of assistance to the guerrillas in El Salvador. Cautious support was given to the transitional civilian-military juntas governing that country, while conservative and anti-communist figures in El Salvador were excoriated by U.S. Ambassador Robert White. Indeed, many Salvadorans as well as Americans believed that White was supporting El Salvador's extreme left. From the viewpoint of the Handals, Ambassador White must have been quite an encouragement.

That spring, Farid had organized a successful base for the guerrillas' support apparatus in the United States, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. With a grass-roots movement underway to terminate all American aid to El Salvador, Shafik must have been confident during his trip to the Soviet bloc in search of military assistance. The first guns would arrive in September. Meanwhile, the difficult and delicate process of unifying the five guerrilla groups into the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) was moving along well, with the guidance of Fidel Castro. The new guerrilla alliance would be announced formally in October, coinciding with the unveiling of its American solidarity committee, CISPES.

Things looked good for the guerrillas' planned "Final Offensive," to take place before the inauguration of the next U.S. president in January 1981. The Salvadoran government was so corrupt and inept, its army so poorly motivated, trained and equipped, that the Final Offensive could be a pushover. On the other hand, the guerrillas were prepared to become engaged in a prolonged war, which would be fought on the Salvadoran battlefield, but won or lost in Washington.

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Profile of the "leading architect"
of the FMLN support apparatus

According to Farid Handal's journal of his February-March 1980 organizational trip to the United States, it was CPUSA politburo member Sandy Pollack who was his most important contact in setting up the Salvadoran guerrillas' support apparatus that was to be known as the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPE).

Scholars of the strategy and tactics of Soviet-financed active measures in the United States can find a wealth of information on how the CPUSA operates to influence American foreign policy in a 90-page volume, honoring Pollack's accomplishments published in 1986 by the U.S. Peace Council. Titled *Sandy Pollack: Her Life*,¹² this remarkable little book is a candid story of one of the top CPUSA organizers in the United States, tracing her political career as she developed from a college student to a professional agent who oversaw the implementation of active measures operations under the direction of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. What follows is adapted from that publication.

Those who knew her said that Pollack was a talented and energetic Party organizer who was responsible for building coalitions between the Communist Party and "peace" and religious groups, trade unions, solidarity and human rights organizations, and old New Left activists through the 1970s and early 1980s. Pollack's career was brought to an end in January, 1985, when she was killed in a plane crash near Havana, Cuba.

A native of Queens, New York, Alexandra "Sandy" Pollack was born in 1948 to Cecilia and Harry Pollack, two leftist activists. In 1967, Sandy Pollack joined the Communist Party and was part of a cell at Boston University, where she was a transfer student. At B.U., she got her first experience in coalition building, where she worked with leftists of varying tendencies in the movement against American involvement in Vietnam. She became a leader in the local Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In the words of the U.S. Peace Council biography, "For two years, she met almost daily with her friends in the Communist Party group at B.U. . . . Sandy organized openly as a Communist. She had a fundamental commitment to the mass anti-war movement that defined student and political life in Boston, and to the Communist Party's role within that movement. She maintained this commitment, this *modus operandi*, for the rest of her life."

She was an organizer of a mass demonstration at B.U. the day after Martin Luther King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, and was a participant in the riots at the Democrat National Convention in

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Chicago that summer. In November 1969, Pollack was a participant in the first Venceremos Brigade to Cuba, where she spent a month working in the Aguacate camp cutting sugar cane and experiencing the Castro revolution.

Pollack became a leader of the Venceremos Brigade's New York committee and office manager of the national office of the CPUSA's youth branch, the Young Workers Liberation League. She set up a New York defense committee for Angela Davis, a CPUSA functionary who was arrested for murder in 1970.

In 1971, Pollack went back to Cuba as a national Venceremos Brigade leader. The Venceremos Brigades were created to inculcate revolutionary fervor among American radicals, to train some of them in terrorist and guerrilla tactics, to gather intelligence, and to recruit some participants as agents to operate back in the United States. All Venceremos Brigades activities were overseen by Cuba's DGI intelligence agency, a body under the control of the Soviet KGB. Pollack directed the finances of the Venceremos Brigades.

note

Pollack and her husband, fellow CPUSA staffer Terry Cannon, founded the Tricontinental News Service in 1972 to disseminate news about "progressive" movements in the Third World such as the Vietcong. Much of the materials disseminated by TNS were verbatim political tracts and documents from the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Hanoi and Havana.

When Chile's Marxist President Salvador Allende was ousted in a military coup in September, 1973, Pollack "became a seminal figure in the Chile solidarity movement," according to the U.S. Peace Council.

Pollack's mentor in the mid-1970s was Alberto Moreau, who, the USPC said, was "a life-long Communist and had been instrumental in helping to create and nurture several Latin American communist parties."

When the U.S. Peace Council was formed in 1979 as the American chapter of the World Peace Council, Pollack became associate director, in charge of international solidarity. Her biography says that at this time, "she helped sow the seeds of what would soon become the National Network in Solidarity with Nicaragua, the parent organization of most of the Central American solidarity activities today." (This organization is also known as the Nicaragua Network.)¹³ During that year, she was busy at work in other areas: Organizing three national speaking tours for a group from South Africa, for future Sandinista Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal, and for a radical Chilean musical group called Quilapayun. She also organized celebrations during the 20th anniversary of Castro's seizure of power on July 26, helped arrange the CPUSA national convention in Detroit in August, and set up a speaking tour for Cannon who had just returned from Vietnam and Cambodia. Additionally, she laid out the basic plans for an

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international forum, in support of the Marxist-Leninist Puerto Rican separatist movement, in Mexico City, "and finally, the practical and political groundwork for the official founding conference of the U.S. Peace Council that year in Philadelphia."

In 1980, the biography said, "she helped to found CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, sat on its national advisory council, and served as one of two U.S. representatives on the world body in solidarity with El Salvador."

After President Reagan was elected in 1980, Pollack "was instrumental in organizing mass protests against U.S. troops in Lebanon, the Sabra and Shatila massacres of Palestinians, the U.S. invasion of Grenada, the [Big] Pine I and [Big] Pine II military exercises in Central America, and U.S. participation in numerous international peace congresses," said her biography. Perhaps the most noteworthy mass protest Pollack helped organize was the June 12, 1982 rally in New York City's Central Park, where some 700,000 people (the biography says "close to a million") gathered to demand a U.S. nuclear freeze. The USPC recalled, "as much as anyone, and more than most, she made it possible."¹⁴

Pollack went to El Salvador in 1983 to go out with the FMLN guerrillas. Her biography stated, "If the government authorities had known of her quiet visit, this leading architect of U.S. support for the Salvadoran guerrillas likely would have been tortured and killed. But she eluded the armed forces and the death squads." (emphasis added)

Pollack's last act was to attend a "peace" conference in Havana, Cuba, in January 1985, where she released an essay called "Reaganomics: Cornerstone of U.S. Aggression." Instead of returning to the United States as she had planned, she decided to fly to Managua instead. The plane crashed just after takeoff, killing all aboard.

She was buried in Cuba. Fidel Castro personally laid a wreath at her grave which said, "To Sandy, from the Commander-In-Chief." Two weeks later, a memorial service was held for Pollack at the Riverside Church in New York. Diplomats and United Nations officials from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Vietnam, Cuba and Nicaragua, as well as representatives of the FMLN, the PLO, the African National Congress, Communist exile leaders from Chile and Grenada, CPUSA officials and members of the many non-Marxist church groups and trade unions who had formed coalitions with the Party attended the service, which was conducted by the Rev. William Sloane Coffin.

In his eulogy, Coffin noted that Pollack was an atheist, but praised her work as godly: "Sandy may not have believed in God, but God believed in Sandy."

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Eulogies for Pollack at the Riverside Church

Pollack's work was recognized from around the world. Among those sending letters of tribute published in her biography were Sandinista directorate member Bayardo Arce, Cuban Politburo member Jesus Montane Oropesa, Rene Mujica of the Cuban Interests Section at the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington, East German Ambassador Gerhard Herder, World Peace Council President Romesh Chandra, Soviet Peace Committee leader Yuri Zhukov, Mfanafuthi Makatini of the African National Congress, and Zehdi Labib Terzi of the PLO.

American citizens sending eulogies included those from Digna Sanchez of the Marxist-Leninist Puerto Rican Socialist Party, David Dyson and Paul Filson of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), Dan Cantor of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, Sr. Marjorie Tuite of Church Women United; CPUSA chairman Henry Winston, CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall, and CPUSA Secretary of the Central Committee James E. Jackson; Congressman Ronald Dellums (who wrote, "Sandy Pollack accomplished. . . much more than most who shared her vision of a better and more just tomorrow for all."), former Grenadian ambassador Dessima Williams, Isabel Letelier of the Institute for Policy Studies, Leslie Cagan of Mobilization for Survival, Kathy Engel and Digna Sanchez of MADRE, Berkeley mayor and USPC co-chairman Gus Newport, Arnold Braithwaite of the N.Y. Peace Council, Libby Frank of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, Secretariat of Solidarity with Chile President Victor Frias, and U.S. Peace Council executive director Michael Myerson.

Messages from the FMLN, East Germany and CISPES

The FMLN and its political front, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN-FDR) sent this message:

"Since the struggle began for peace, justice and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, Sandy worked to give solidarity to our struggle. When the unity was formed and the alliance of the FMLN-FDR started to consolidate, Sandy worked to support the process in every aspect, and to build the non-U.S. intervention struggle. . . ."

"In 1982, with the formation of the first worldwide solidarity organization, the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, she became part of the bureau along with representatives of other solidarity movements and worked not only to guarantee its existence but to ensure that it had a strong position against U.S. intervention. . . ."

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East German Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
Gerhard Herder left this message:

"Many people in the GDR [German Democratic Republic] and in our Embassy got to know her as a true internationalist, as a dedicated fighter for peace and national liberation. In her work as a founder and a leader of the U.S. Peace Council, Comrade Pollack made an immeasurable contribution to develop, broaden, educate and unify the peace movement in this country and all her short life she was in the front row of the ever growing movement in solidarity with Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, Grenada and Puerto Rico."

And CISPES national relations coordinator Suzanne Ross had this to say:

"We in CISPES who knew Sandy, and who with her lived through the very stormy early stages of building an El Salvador solidarity movement, came through a rather convoluted path to respect and love her very deeply. . . .

"Our ability to grow together politically, to establish a unified perspective and to collaborate as we have in the past couple of years, was a source of real inspiration to us. . . . Sandy's loss is irreparable. We honor and celebrate her precious life and will remember her for years to come as our companera and sister, a beautiful revolutionary. We also know that the responsibility we now carry, given how few of us there are, is that much greater because she is no longer with us to carry the tremendous weight she did."

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CISPES Founding Conference, October 1980

" . . . do everything possible and even the impossible to reinforce the pacifist wing of the bourgeoisie and increase, however feebly, its chances of success at the polls--that is the first task; the second task is to split up the countries united against us--this is our double task. . . . In no way must Communist opinions be elaborated."

--V. I. Lenin
16 February 1922.

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador was formally founded in October, 1980, just a day after the FMLN announced that it had become the umbrella group of the five Marxist-Leninist guerrilla factions in El Salvador.

There were two founding conferences, one on the east coast, and one on the west. The resulting document from the eastern conference, which was organized by Heidi Tarver and Sandy Pollack, was called the "Work Plan for the Salvadoran Solidarity Movement," part of which is reproduced on the following pages. It resolved to pressure Congress through letter-writing campaigns, visits to the offices and public appearances of elected officials, promotion of local government resolutions concerning El Salvador, demonstrating broad-based opposition to the Carter Administration's policy by taking out newspaper ads, and organizing "fact-finding" trips to El Salvador "which can return and generate publicity and support."

Influencing the media was another objective of CISPES' founding conference, by applying "pressure" on journalists and developing "alternative channels of communication and information sharing." Discrediting U.S. policy meant comparing it to Vietnam, denouncing as a "CIA front" the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) which was promoting agrarian reform and free trade unions, and publicizing Salvadoran government human rights violations, as well as aiding refugees and illegal aliens in the U.S. (the beginnings of the Sanctuary Movement).

Making sure the FMLN received material aid was key. On the bottom of the first page of the work plan we find this interesting entry:

"Pressure the governments of the U.S. and El Salvador to assure the neutrality and protection of humanitarian

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relief efforts, including in particular refugee centers and medical relief personnel."

In other words, aid to areas under FMLN-dominated areas or to the FMLN itself should be guaranteed passage to its destination unimpeded by government restraints. Just below this entry, CISPES recommended the establishment of "a nationally coordinated fund-raising campaign to support the people of El Salvador, including sale of 'Free El Salvador' certificates."

The entire second page of the work plan was dedicated to working with religious groups in El Salvador and the United States. These religious organizations would become one of the most important transmission belts for FMLN propaganda, and channels for direct financial and material aid to FMLN forces fighting inside El Salvador.

Within weeks of this meeting, CISPES was putting out a regular newsletter, *El Salvador Alert!*, circulating other literature on El Salvador, including a forgery of a State Department document, working with the news media and church groups, and raising money for "the people."

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Distribution of Forgery of State Department Document

CISPES was a prime distributor of a forged State Department document concerning El Salvador. At times when State Department personnel disagree with official government policy, they may voice their opinions through the "dissent channel" established for that purpose. This serves as a productive mechanism to keep U.S. foreign policy in check within the executive branch. State Department employees differing with official policy often distribute their "dissent papers" throughout the government bureaucracy and the media.

Soon after it was organized, CISPES disseminated a reprint of a State Department "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America." This unsigned document outlined concerns of many "current and former analysts and officials" in the National Security Council, State Department, Defense Department, and Central Intelligence Agency, and admitted that a "key objective" of American foreign policy toward Central America was "to limit Cuban and Soviet bloc influence throughout the region." The paper warned that further military aid to El Salvador would eventually force the United States to intervene militarily in the region. At the same time, however, the dissent paper noted that "a consensus in favor" of the FMLN's political front, the FDR.

The dissent paper considered the FMLN-FDR as "a legitimate and representative political force in El Salvador," and portrayed the FDR as a moderate, non-Marxist organization with wide popular support. It recommended that the United States officially recognize the FDR.

Document a forgery attributed to KGB

However, there was one problem with the document CISPES was circulating: it was pronounced a forgery by the State Department, and attributed by intelligence experts to Service A of the First Chief Directorate of the Soviet KGB. Service A is the division responsible for conducting active measures against the West.¹⁵

CISPES distributed this forgery to the media, and succeeded in getting it accepted as a genuine dissent paper. It first surfaced in an article by the Pacific News Agency on 19 November 1980. Stephen Kinzer of the *Boston Globe* reported on the document in a front-page article on 28 November. The forgery was publicized by small movement publications, like the November-December 1980 newsletter of the Religious Task Force on El Salvador, a pro-FMLN organization which is represented on CISPES' national board; the December 1980 issue of *Revolutionary Worker*, the publication of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP); and the December 1980 issue of *El Salvador Alert*, the CISPES newsletter.

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The first major journalist to report on the forgery as a legitimate document was liberal *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis.¹⁶ A second *New York Times* columnist, Flora Lewis (no relation), quoted from the forgery in her 6 March 1981 column as though it were authentic. The next day, the *Times* reported in a news article that the State Department had denounced the document as a forgery, and Flora Lewis apologized to her readers in her 9 March column, admitting that she had been fooled. Anthony Lewis never recanted.

Despite the wide publicity surrounding the denunciation, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) treated the paper as genuine in the 18 March edition of its publication *In These Times*.

A leader of the FBI's Intelligence Division testified before the House Select Committee on Intelligence that "There are certain similarities of this operation with other forgeries. It is known that the Soviets attempted to surface this document in Central America through clandestine means."¹⁷

CISPES continued to distribute forgery

The forgery continued to be advertised for sale from the CISPES national office in El Salvador Alert. Other items sold by CISPES at the same time was the political platform of the FDR, copies of the Philip Agee-related anti-intelligence *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, a publication by EPICA leader and *Counter-Spy* magazine contributor Philip Wheaton on agrarian reform, and issues of *NACLA Report on the Americas*.¹⁹

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CISPES decertification campaign

In compliance with a law passed by Congress in the midst of the aid to El Salvador controversy, the President must certify every six months that El Salvador's government is making progress in the area of human rights. The law states that Congress must receive this certification before it will permit any military aid from being sent to El Salvador. In addition, the law states that the U.S. President must certify that the land reform program is moving forward, and that the Salvadoran military is sufficiently controlled by the civilian government. This law does not apply to Marxist dictatorships such as Zimbabwe, for example, which receives U.S. military aid without any human rights certification.

CISPES anticipates these regular certification reports by holding nationwide "educational" events, press conferences in conjunction with church organizations, and meetings with congressional staffers. Also in anticipation of certification, CISPES organizes letter-writing campaigns to Congress, urging Members to cut off El Salvador as a military aid recipient. For example, the 25 January 1984 *Guardian* reported that CISPES called for a week-long "campaign of letter writing and phone calls urging Congress to vote against military aid to El Salvador."

These decertification activities include acts of civil disobedience, which uniformly received local and national media attention. On 24 January 1983, for instance, CISPES organized a "Decertification Blockade Task Force" in front of the State Department in Washington. Of the more than 700 protestors at the event, 126 were arrested. CISPES national director Heidi Tarver spoke at the beginning of the demonstration, as did a speaker from the pro-ANC South Africa Support Project and from the National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (NISGUA), the CISPES equivalent to the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas there. Two U.S. congressmen appeared at a pro-CISPES news conference that evening.

Anti-decertification efforts also took place that day in New York, Tallahassee, Detroit and Boulder. As one observer noted,

"The CISPES demonstrations indicate a shift in both its political and tactical policies. Support for the FMLN in El Salvador has been broadened to a regional concept with the revolutionary movements of Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras presented as 'targets of U.S. imperialism.' Tactically, the demonstration showed that CISPES could mobilize a significant group on a working day (Monday) prepared to take part in a direct illegal, although peaceful, protest. . . . Obviously, fanaticism either by

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U.S. FMLN supporters or by Salvadorean [sic] FMLN members legally or illegally in the U.S. could be escalated to non-peaceful actions."²⁰

When the next certification was due to Congress six months later, a group of "Salvadoran refugees" marched for 17 days from New York to Washington "against repression and war in Central America." A pro-FMLN flyer issued by "Salvadoran Refugees Against Certification," a CISPES front group, cried, "NO to the lie of certification!" and urged people to "Join Salvadoran refugees in protest against U.S. intervention in Central America." On 21 July, a march and rally was held at the White House, followed by an ecumenical service; the next day, the dreaded "Day of Certification," the CISPES-organized "refugees" held a press conference.²¹

One of their flyers blamed "U.S.-sponsored terror" as the culprit of their "refugee" status, and echoed the FMLN line that "elections held during a state of civil war are unacceptable." (Of course, CISPES and its supporters had no such objection to the Sandinista elections which were to be held the following year in the midst of Nicaragua's civil war).

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The FMLN and American Politics:

Changing the Composition of the U.S. Congress
for Permanent Change of U.S. Policy Toward El Salvador

Public pressure and lobbying to influence legislation was not enough to increase the chance that Congress would cut or even further restrict aid to El Salvador. CISPES and the other FMLN support groups became actively involved in electoral politics, backing candidates and incumbents who were against aid, and trying to defeat those who were for it.

The first two years of CISPES' existence were spent on building grassroots opposition to American aid to El Salvador, with a focus on lobbying Congress. By 1982, the CISPES leadership saw another opportunity to influence Congress--this time by working for or against congressional candidates or incumbents.

CISPES was especially involved in the 1982 and 1984 campaigns, trying to project the image that President Reagan and the Republicans were warmongers bent on getting the country involved in "another Vietnam." Groping for an issue with which to attack the President, many liberal candidates grabbed the question of U.S. "intervention" in El Salvador. CISPES and the broad coalition of old anti-Vietnam protestors, nuclear freeze activists, pacifists and radicals were there to provide instant cheerleaders and workers for those candidates' campaigns.

In El Salvador and Managua, the FMLN leadership also recognized the need to influence the American electoral process if their war against the Salvadoran government was to succeed. As revealed in captured documents, the FMLN worked to create incidents inside El Salvador which supporters and political opportunists could use in the United States during the heated 1984 campaign.

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The 1982 Electoral Campaign

That summer, the CISPES national office mailed its local chapters an eight-page "Fall Electoral Strategy," accompanied by a detailed two-page questionnaire for congressional candidates. Mobilization of its activists, outreach and fundraising for CISPES itself and the FMLN were the leading items on the fall agenda, but eyes were on the congressional campaign. Nationwide demonstrations were organized for October 16, two weeks before the vote, as part of "a wide variety of tactics to demonstrate the breadth and strength of opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador," *according to the strategy document.*

CISPES committees "targeted the elections as a major area of emphasis," according to the strategy paper." Below is a summary of that document. The first section gave a background to the fall, 1982 campaign in the context of its "overall electoral strategy":

MAC

"The electoral campaign is one tactic within the overall approach to mass mobilizations. Traditionally, CISPES has used 'legislative work' as an outreach, movement-building tool, and as a way of helping to limit military and economic aid to El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras."

CISPES wanted to undermine the economic as well as the military strength of those three pro-western countries. The strategy document assessed CISPES' past success at influencing certain Members of Congress. It continued,

MAC

"Although we have never seen legislative work as a primary focus, we have always considered it to be important. Our letter-writing, delegations, petitions, etc., have helped make some congresspeople take better positions on some votes than they otherwise would have. The effectiveness of these tactics has depended to a large degree on how we back them up with visible opposition in the streets-- demonstrations, pickets, leafletting, bannering, civil disobedience, etc. We recognize the role of Congress as the primary mechanism for stopping [U.S.] intervention but we are also clear that it is only an increasingly strong and broad mass movement that can force that mechanism to act. The Fall elections provide us with an opportunity to use the fanfare that surrounds the campaigns as a forum for raising our opposition to U.S. intervention in a very public way to very wide audiences." (emphasis in original)

The CISPES strategists then showed how their actions aimed at undermining U.S. support for the Salvadoran government were being done in concert with the FMLN's military actions inside El

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Salvador:

"While our degree of focus on this type of work will vary, it is important to understand its direct relations to the present needs of the war. The popular victory in El Salvador will be won by the Salvadoran people themselves, but as the FMLN continues to make advances, the U.S. is dangerously raising the technical level and regionalization of the conflict. Anything we can do to limit [U.S.] military aid [to the Salvadoran government] in the coming months will have a direct impact on the war." (Emphasis added)

Successfully pressuring Congressman Lantos

Encouraging activists that their work counts, CISPES strategists gave an example of successful direct action by a local chapter. Congressman Tom Lantos (D-CA), they said, was targeted by the Palo Alto CISPES chapter and as a result cosponsored House Joint Resolution 552, declaring President Reagan's certification of progress in El Salvador as "null and void," and calling for suspension of U.S. military aid to that country.

Questioning the candidates

The CISPES national office provided local activists with a detailed two-page questionnaire to be filled out by congressional candidates during the 1982 campaign. The questionnaire's purpose was to get the specifics on the candidates' stance toward various Central America issues, and to "force" the candidate to define any vague positions he may have. Candidates who indicated in their answers that they knew little about Central America were to be given "correct" information so that they would learn "the facts."

Candidates were then to be urged to take a "pledge" on his stance on Central America, to the point where CISPES activists were to "'haunt' the candidate with different people asking questions at every one of his/her public appearances about when he/she will sign the pledge."

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The FMLN's Attempts to Influence
the 1984 U.S. Elections

The "1984 CISPES National Administrative Committee Strategy Proposal," took into consideration the Central America policies of the Reagan administration and how those policies could be used against the President and his congressional allies during the campaign. The proposal noted that the President's policy had "worked in Congress--so far. . . . Most sectors of the Democratic Party have avoided the debate for fear it will weaken their possibilities for re-election and divide the Party as the issue of Vietnam did in 1968 and 1972."

At the time, the Administration was trying to forge a bipartisan consensus for a coherent policy to foster democracy and roll back communism in Central America through the special commission headed by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. In the CISPES 1984 agenda proposal, CISPES called this bipartisan commission "an attempt to undercut the remaining Democratic opposition." *(CISPES also provided the illustration, -the agent)*

The most popular theme around which the President's political opponents rallied was that involvement in Central America would result in "another Vietnam." CISPES leaders observed in the 1984 proposal, "People fear prolonged Vietnam-type involvement," a fear which they determined to exploit. CISPES and other leftist groups such as the Institute for Policy Studies had already begun attacking the Kissinger Commission and its findings.²² The 25 January 1984 *Guardian* reported that CISPES called for nationwide protests to coincide with the 11 January release of the Kissinger Commission, saying that the actions were "protesting a panel of millionaires and ex-CIA agents." *(CISPES also provided an illustration of a protest to the United Nations, the UN Security Council, the UN General Assembly, and the UN Economic and Social Council, while back)*

CISPES leaders observed, "The Democrats have no apparent strategy around Central America, and are divided internally on the issue. They seem unsure of the strength of public opinion," the strategy proposal continued, noting that most Democrats wanted to combat communism in some way, yet had to be responsive to the highly vocal U.S.-out-of-Central America movement: "A Democratic 'anti-intervention' position would be tactical rather than genuine. It can, however, weaken the support Reagan needs at a critical time for intervention. . . ."

The proposal continued, "We need to make U.S. intervention a high-visibility presence as a key anti-Reagan issue." Six lines further, it was reiterated--"We can use this expanded public opposition to:

- "Make opposition to intervention a key issue in the anti-Reagan movement;
- Pressure Democrats to take a clear position;
- Isolate Reagan politically and disrupt

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his political alliances."

During the first CISPES national conference, held in Washington on 28-30 January 1984, "intense debate erupted over a proposal from Mid-Atlantic region affiliates that the defeat of Reagan be made a fundamental goal of 1984," according to the Guardian. Many conference delegates "argued that CISPES should contribute to removing Reagan through raising consciousness about Reagan's Central American policies." A resolution was passed calling on CISPES to "contribute to the defeat of Reagan and his allies in Congress through focusing on their Central American and Caribbean policy."

A resolution was passed almost unanimously to support Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition." Jackson was to be utilized by the FMLN to inject its agenda into the mainstream debate of the Democrat party during the campaign.

**Captured FMLN documents show
preoccupation with U.S. election**

Captured FMLN documents reveal that guerrilla leaders were intensely concerned with the outcome of the 1984 U.S. presidential elections. They had good reason to believe that their forces would not be able to survive if President Reagan won a second term. The war in El Salvador was to be won or lost in Washington, and the FMLN knew that its actions on the ground could be used by the President's political opposition against him during the campaign. By projecting an image that the Salvadoran government was unable to govern, that it had lost popular support, that it was systematically abusing the people, or that the U.S. was being dragged into "another Vietnam," the FMLN created situations for propaganda purposes that were utilized by their allies such as CISPES and by President Reagan's political opponents in the United States. The success of these propaganda measures depended heavily on American politicians playing into their hands.

As students of revolutionary history, FMLN strategists drew on successful precedent, most notably on Vietnam. In doing so, they kept in constant contact with their U.S. solidarity committees, through quarterly meetings and at other gatherings. Vietnam was a useful model, as many of those leading the anti-intervention/solidarity movement in the United States at the time did the same thing for the Vietcong a decade earlier. Captured documents from the FMLN leadership provide insight into their methods.

One FMLN document focused on the issue of exploiting the internal divisions of the enemy, in this case, the United States. Their model was the Vietnamese Communist Party (PCV) which, during its war against the U.S.-backed government and the U.S. itself "always sought to win through political work." The FMLN's analysis went as follows:

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"The PCV profits from the enemy's contradictions: One has to combat the enemy in every sense, from front- to rear guard, from outside to inside, one must profit from the individualist and competitive character of the enemy, creating fissures inside, exploiting internal disputes. The revolutionary forces have the obligation to profit from the enemy's internal divisions. . . . Profiting from these contradictions has a tactical value and also a strategic value. . . ."23

The FMLN analysis went on, "To wage an effective diplomatic struggle one must make use of the enemy's contradictions," observing, "The foreign policy of Reagan is the weak flank of his reelection campaign." It also noted that "The White House policy toward El Salvador has been one of the most constant points of rejection by public opinion since 1981. . . ."

"Policy toward El Salvador," it continued, "is one of the areas where the most relevant confrontations [exist] with Congress and the Democrat Party against Reagan, and includes a group of Republican congressmen throughout his presidential term."

Great emphasis was placed on helping President Reagan's opposition in Congress, and utilizing the Democrat national convention in San Francisco. Those actually carrying out the FMLN's policies, the documents show, would be American leftists working within the Democrat party to influence U.S. public opinion. Success depended on political opportunists to seize upon the letter-writing campaigns, demonstrations and other publicity stunts.

However, an unexpected event--the successful and extremely popular U.S. incursion into Grenada in October 1983--boosted Reagan's support among the electorate and dealt a crushing blow to the morale of the FMLN, the Sandinistas, and their American supporters. Fearing a subsequent U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, the Sandinistas abruptly cut off all clandestine arms shipments to the FMLN, in order to take away any possible excuse by the Reagan administration to do a repeat performance there.²⁴ Although the action ended up being only for show, the FMLN was very concerned.

In a memorandum from the FMLN General Command to the National Directorate of the ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) in Managua dated 24 November 1983, the Salvadoran guerrillas acknowledged the Sandinistas' new diplomatic offensive in the wake of the Grenada operation.²⁵ The memorandum stated that the upcoming presidential campaign was "a favorable moment to meet with the North American [U.S.] electorate," adding, "For this reason we support the current diplomatic initiatives of the FSLN to buy time, to help Reagan's opposition in the United States and to isolate internationally his aggressive plan toward Nicaragua and El Salvador." (Emphasis added.)

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Dialogue would be the tactic to be used to demonstrate the FMLN's flexibility and good faith, and to put the Reagan administration on the defensive. The key phrase here is "to help Reagan's opposition in the United States," a clear reference to the Democrat party which had found the President's Central America policies to be an important political issue. Party leaders in Congress--Robert Byrd in the Senate and Tip O'Neill and Jim Wright in the House--were bitterly denouncing the Administration's policy in El Salvador (demanding that the Salvadoran government negotiate with the FMLN) and in Nicaragua (demanding either a complete U.S. shutoff of aid to the contras or bilateral U.S.-Sandinista negotiations exclusive of either the Soviets or the Nicaraguan resistance).

A 22 November 1983 report on FMLN leaders' talks with the Sandinista directorate states, "We see the urgency of taking political measures. . . to strengthen political opposition to Reagan in the U.S." ²⁶ (Emphasis added.) The objective here was, again, to buy time, given the Sandinistas' fear of a U.S. invasion. Sandinista aid to the FMLN was temporarily halted in order to "put off intervention until February," which was the beginning of the "U.S. electoral campaign."

Also in November 1983, the Salvadoran guerrillas drew up their "Directives for the Political Struggle of the FMLN in This New Phase of the War Process."²⁷ Part of this document discussed staving off greater U.S. "intervention" in El Salvador. The FMLN directives discussed how the American political system would determine whether the U.S. 'intervened' directly on behalf of El Salvador's government, stressing the upcoming "presidential electoral process in the United States."

The Directives explained that President Reagan had to portray his first term in office as a success in domestic and foreign policies. What the FMLN had to do in the meantime was to deliver harsh blows to the Salvadoran government and thereby undermine the success of the Reagan agenda in Central America. In formulating the FMLN propaganda strategy for 1984, the Directives outlined the use of refugees, human rights, religious groups, and other issues on which to focus. The Directives summarized, "We should extend special interest to North American political personalities, the church, the UCA [Central American University] and the UPD."

An annex to these Directives elaborated on one point: "This situation [Reagan's reelection] obliges him to buy time and to try to profit the most by realizing successes of political character which serve as propagandistic sustenance to his reelection campaign. . . ."

The PRTC faction of the FMLN, from which most of these documents were recovered, held a meeting in April, 1984, and examined the American presidential campaign at great length. The

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guerrilla leaders repeated a common point: "Keep into account that the contradictions between the Democrats and the Republicans are well-centered on U.S. international politics. . . ." They further noted the erosion of American prestige due to the sharp political differences in Washington: "North American imperialism is losing credibility as a strategic ally as much with governments of

underdeveloped countries as with governments of developed countries (Israel, South Africa, Holland, etc.), as important elements of contradiction persist. . . ."

At that meeting, the PRTC resolved to: "Develop a politico-military plan which would force the Reagan government to decide between intervention or for negotiations [with the FMLN] in the most critical months of the electoral campaign in the U.S. (September, October and November). Apart from the development of strategic operations, change to great importance military and political strikes in the metropolitan zone [San Salvador]."²⁸ In other words, make the war more visible by bringing it into El Salvador's capital city, projecting the image that the people had risen up against the government and that it was incapable of maintaining order.

Meanwhile, the FMLN should do all it could to tie up U.S. aid currently in the pipeline. Further during the PRTC meeting, the following was resolved:

"We should work before the U.S. Congress so that it condition the military 'aid' to the Salvadoran regime toward the realization of negotiations as a form of solution to the conflict. . . . In the work plans for the U.S., we should not forget that in November there will be elections for all members of the Lower House and for one-third of the Senate."²⁹

It was agreed that the PRTC would focus on working with the solidarity committees in the United States through 1984 recalling that "*solidarity activities produce repercussions in the U.S., especially in Congress.*" (Emphasis added.)

The PRTC leaders reiterated their strategy again and again: to "intensify propaganda work before the U.S. Congress, with the goal that it not authorize, that it reduce, that it delay and/or condition military aid to the Salvadoran government." It also urged that pressure be brought upon Guatemala and Honduras so that no actions would be taken against FMLN bases in those countries. Additionally, it sought to utilize the Contadora group (Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela) to work for a negotiated solution to the El Salvador conflict, to "present motions before the North American Congress," and even to murder Americans in El Salvador for their propaganda value. Such killings doubtlessly would prompt U.S. politicians in Washington to demand a reduction or withdrawal

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of the 55 U.S. military trainers working with the Salvadoran army. Specifically, the idea was to multiply the death of U.S. Navy Commander Albert Schaufelberger, who was assassinated by the FMLN in 1983, by a factor of four. The PRTC did exactly this in June, 1985, when its terrorist Mardoqueo Cruz Urban Guerrilla Command killed four U.S. Marine Embassy guards at a San Salvador restaurant, two American businessmen, and seven other civilian bystanders.³⁰

Jesse Jackson was to play an interesting role in the injection of FMLN positions into the U.S. political campaign. With CISPES taking part in the Rainbow Coalition, the FMLN had a direct voice. In a 5 June 1984 memorandum from the FMLN General Command to the FMLN Managua office, a ceasefire proposal was planned to coincide with the Democrat national convention.³¹ The memorandum indicated that the ceasefire proposal was for purely propagandistic purposes, to be aimed at the U.S. public to show the FMLN's willingness to resolve the war peacefully, and to portray the Reagan administration as intransigent (and therefore, anti-peace).

The ceasefire was to be announced at the San Francisco Democrat convention by Jesse Jackson. The FMLN General Command told the Managua office that a letter would be sent to the convention "in the name of the FMLN-FDR," which would describe the guerrillas' "disposition to realize a real dialogue with the Salvadoran government and army" for a political settlement. Such a settlement would be initiated by an FMLN ceasefire in order to establish a mutual accord, according to the document. The FMLN letter would then ask the Democrats to recognize Guillermo Ungo, the leader of the FMLN's political front, the FDR, to present the peace proposal to the U.S. Congress.

The FMLN General Command memorandum said that the entire campaign would be coordinated with the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

This optimistic plan to get Ungo recognized by mainstream Democrats and have a forum in Congress did not get far, although Jackson and his Rainbow Coalition did what they could to promote the FMLN's cause. Their political work had a marked influence even on the Democrat party candidates' positions, however, probably out of fear of alienating the huge bloc of minority voters who followed Jesse Jackson.

In analyzing the American political scene just weeks before the convention, a 1 June report by the FMLN-FDR Politico-Diplomatic Commission referred to "the influence of the North American electoral campaign on U.S. policy toward Central America," and noted "the growing Democratic opposition" to such policy.³² The FMLN (as opposed to the PRTC faction as noted earlier) made what to them was an encouraging notation: "The Democrat candidates have already included the theme of Central America in the electoral

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debate and have distanced themselves from the position of the President."

One American activist working with the FMLN on its ceasefire proposal, according to a captured FMLN document, was Dick McCall, an aide at the time to retiring Senator Paul Tsongas (D-MA). McCall and a colleague, retired Army Colonel Ed King, held a secret meeting on 22 June with FMLN leaders after meeting with top Salvadoran army officers. The document indicates that McCall assured the FMLN that he thought El Salvador's democratic elections were a sham, and that there could be no solution aside from power-sharing between the government and the FMLN. It also indicates that he may have passed to the FMLN potentially sensitive political and military intelligence gleaned from his conversations with army leaders, including information on the armed forces of Honduras and CIA activity in Honduras.³³

(After Senator Tsongas retired from politics in 1984, McCall was hired by Tsongas' successor, fellow Democrat John Kerry, who in 1986 began a highly political probe of the Nicaraguan resistance and its private support network. McCall played a key role in that investigation. At the time of this writing, McCall was back working in Democrat party electoral politics as Kerry's staff director of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Also at the time of this writing, King was the Senate Democrats' official representative on a four-person commission to monitor the progress of the Nicaraguan resistance and peace prospects there. King was the personal choice of Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd. These secret meetings with the FMLN raise serious constitutional, legal, and ethical questions and merit close investigation by appropriate Senate committees, the Justice Department, and the media).

Recalling what CISPES said

"a campaign of political support is needed. . . . to provide a forum for the FMLN-FDR in the U.S. . . ."

--1984 CISPES National Administrative Strategy Proposal

It is easy to see how CISPES's own strategy for agitation and propaganda inside the United States coincided with the FMLN's armed propaganda plans for 1984. With U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan contras as one of the biggest foreign policy issues, CISPES also integrated anti-contra activism with its anti-El Salvador program.

The "1984 CISPES National Administrative Strategy Proposal" explicitly stated that CISPES would continue to "provide political and material support for the FMLN-FDR in El Salvador," and would "Defend the Sandinista revolution" in Nicaragua.

Diplomatically, the United States was succeeding in isolating

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the FMLN which, just a year or so earlier, had been enjoying international support from much of the world's democratic left. The CISPES strategy document noted that its efforts and those of the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador would have to be redoubled: "U.S. attempts internationally to isolate the FMLN-FDR also require a world-wide effort to give political and material support." Ideologically supportive of the Sandinistas and knowing that the demise of that regime would spell the practical end of the FMLN as a successful insurgency, CISPES leaders said,

"Our defense of the Sandinista revolution will directly contribute to the Nicaraguan people's efforts to consolidate their revolution. It will also undermine Reagan's

attempts to build a 'strategic consensus' in the U.S. for intervention in all of Central America."³⁴

To polarize the American public during this important election year was the reasoning behind this strategy. The document continued,

"The administration's key vulnerability in 1984 is its ability to build a bipartisan and popular consensus for long-term intervention. . . . Therefore, we propose as the basic political strategies for 1984:

- "1. Disrupt Reagan's alliance for intervention with the Democrats.
- "2. Make opposition to intervention in Central America a central anti-Reagan issue.
- "3. Prepare for and initiate effective, powerful and popular responses to greater escalations of U.S. intervention in Central America."

In order for this to succeed, CISPES leaders took a chapter from the New Left's anti-Vietnam strategy of building a coalition, or broad front, of ideological, social, ethnic and religious organizations and trade unions disaffected by the Reagan Administration's policies. CISPES planned to "make opposition to intervention a key issue of the anti-Reagan movement, by participating actively in anti-Reagan coalitions" (emphasis in original), to "use emergency situations to mobilize and expand the active participation of new sectors," and to "Develop strategic relations with organizations of the religious sector, Blacks, Latinos, peace movement, etc." (emphasis added) This was the same grouping which formed the "San Francisco Democrats."

CISPES had, of course, been active in politics since it was founded in 1980, and vowed at the time to keep El Salvador a political issue. A *Guardian* article published 9 May 1984, headlined "Intervention as an Election Issue," described "the 1984 political strategy of the Central American anti-interventionist

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solidarity movements" and their different ways and means. The article said, "two main goals are emerging in a national strategy. The first is to organize immediate and effective antiwar protests against the Reagan Administration's step-by-step escalation of the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. The second goal is to put opposition to such U.S. intervention on the agendas of the Democratic and Republican presidential nominating conventions this summer and to make it an issue in national and local election campaigns this fall."

According to the *Guardian*, CISPES (like the FMLN) considered Jesse Jackson as its main ally in the Democrat party. CISPES leader Suzanne Ross was quoted as saying, "Jackson is in a different league from Hart and Mondale, who equivocate about withdrawing all U.S. military personnel from Central America and other key issues." Ross said that CISPES was taking an active part in Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. The *Guardian* reported that Ross "predicted that Jackson would take the movement's peace platform to the Democratic convention." This is in line with the FMLN leadership's plan to use Jackson as a means of injecting its position into the Democrat party.

CISPES then set up its own political action committee, CISPES-PAC, during the summer. Activists were told that the PAC would not contribute directly to candidates, but would produce literature to be used in political campaigns "that call for defeating Reagan."

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The FMLN's International Support Apparatus

Working with and through foreign Communist parties and international Soviet front organizations, the FMLN has a worldwide support apparatus claiming over 300 member organizations in at least 42 countries, including the Soviet bloc. Founded in Mexico City in March, 1982, the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador serves as the international version of CISPES.

The World Front coordinates international events to be conducted simultaneously as part of the solidarity movement for the FMLN, holding meetings every three months. In addition to generating political support for the guerrillas and opposition to the Salvadoran government, the World Front also gathers funds for the FMLN forces which are deposited in a bank account at the Banca Serfin administered by Monsignor Sergio Mendez Arceo, former bishop of Cuernavaca.

The FMLN and FDR maintain offices in Mexico City, which serve as diplomatic headquarters (in contrast to central operational headquarters in the Managua offices). The Mexican government has extended diplomatic support to the FMLN-FDR, and has very close ties to Cuba, enabling Cuban and FMLN-FDR operatives to travel freely between Havana and Mexico City.

The Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), the central political and military planning center for the five Salvadoran guerrilla factions which evolved into the FMLN in 1980 "called for the establishment of solidarity committees in Western Europe, Latin America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to serve as propaganda outlets, conduits for aid, and organizers of solidarity meetings and demonstrations," according to an interagency intelligence study published in hearings before the House Select Committee on Intelligence in 1982.³⁵ Those hearings also revealed that the FDR and the DRU "collaborate closely but not always openly with the Soviets, Cubans and East Europeans. Nevertheless they represent themselves as indigenous, independent organizations in an effort to conceal the Soviet and Cuban role in planning and supporting their activities."³⁶

Prior to the formal founding of the World Front, FMLN solidarity committees around the world, "in cooperation with local Communist parties and leftist groups, organized some 70 demonstrations and protests that took place between mid-January and mid-March 1981 in Western Europe, Latin America, Australia and New Zealand. The Cubans and some other Communist parties provided significant support to this DRU effort and to some demonstrations," according to the published report. It continued,

"Through front and solidarity groups, the Soviets and Cubans tried to assist the Salvadoran leftists in

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manipulating a range of international operations to gain political legitimacy, support, and humanitarian aid for the insurgents. They specifically targeted the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the Non-Aligned Movement, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Catholic Relief Services. The DRU, through the socialist party of El Salvador, also tried to influence the socialist parties in Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and other countries to exploit the Socialist International mechanisms as a means of waging a concerted campaign on behalf of the Salvadoran insurgency. The active measures campaign was buttressed by intense diplomatic activity on behalf of the insurgents."

In January, 1981, an "El Salvador Will Win" conference was held in Managua, Nicaragua, where 270 participants--including solidarity committee representatives from over 43 countries--attended. In addition to 70 Americans representing the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People (Nicaragua Network), the Sandinistas' counterpart of CIPSES, "numerous delegations" from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe participated, according to official Sandinista sources, which said that "the central theme of the conference was the solidarity of the progressive peoples of the world with the Salvadoran struggle." A highlight of the event was the appearance of FMLN and FDR representatives."³⁷

On the diplomatic end, the ruling PRI party in Mexico was instrumental in mustering support for the FMLN within the Socialist International. Traditionally very hostile toward the United States in international politics, Mexico has long cooperated with Castro in supporting Soviet-backed insurgencies in Nicaragua and Guatemala, as well as in El Salvador. Mexico was crucial in getting the support of France, the Socialist International, and liberals in the U.S. Congress to support the FMLN initially. Writer Max Singer said that at one point 100 U.S. congressmen urged the State Department to pay greater attention to Mexico's diplomatic initiatives toward El Salvador, and that in the summer of 1980 Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo "reportedly promised Castro that when the [FMLN's] planned final offensive in El Salvador was carried out the following January, the Mexican army would conduct maneuvers near the Guatemalan border to discourage the Guatemalan army from interfering" on behalf of El Salvador.³⁸ A representative of the International Relations Commission of the PRI participated in a World Front event in August, 1983.³⁹ The PRI's foreign policy was enunciated quite bluntly by Mexican Interior Secretary Manuel Bartlett Diaz, who declared upon his arrival to Moscow leading Mexican delegation to Soviet Premier Konstantin Chernenko's funeral, "The policies of Mexico and the Soviet Union toward Central America coincide."⁴⁰

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The World Peace Council: Guardian of the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador

The World Peace Council is the major force behind the coordinated international "peace" movement, or in the words of its president, Romesh Chandra, it is the "vanguard of the world peace movement."⁴¹ It was a major force behind the international campaign to extract the United States from Southeast Asia, the nuclear freeze movement of the early 1980s, and the current international active measures campaign to end U.S. "intervention" in Central America.⁴²

The World Peace Council supports every foreign policy position of the Soviet Union, according to Chandra. At its most recent conference, which was held in October, 1986 in Copenhagen, Denmark, World Peace Council leaders endorsed the USSR's nuclear weapons positions, threw its weight behind the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the African National Congress (ANC), the Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Irish National Liberation Army, the POLISARIO guerrillas of the Western Sahara, the Puerto Rican Macheteros, and the Salvadoran FMLN. The organization also supports the governments of Libya, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Nicaragua, Syria, Cuba, and other revolutionary/communist states.⁴³

In the past, the WPC has influenced, led and often controlled international campaigns against the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Europe and has worked through the democratic systems of NATO nations in an attempt to sow discord within the alliance. The WPC has also publicly supported the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. Chairman Chandra is a politburo member of the Communist Party of India who has been described as "slavish" in his loyalty to Moscow. Chandra has publicly stated that "the World Peace Council. . . positively reacts to all Soviet initiatives in international affairs."⁴⁴

It should come as no surprise, then, that the World Peace Council is funded and controlled by the Soviet government. As one of 13 major international fronts which are directed and financed by the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the KGB, the WPC has chapters in 130 countries. Its 1980 budget was estimated at \$50 million. National WPC chapters are controlled by the local Moscow-line Communist parties.⁴⁵

The U.S. branch of the World Peace Council is the United States Peace Council (USPC), based in New York. The USPC was founded in 1979 and is under the immediate control of the KGB-funded Communist Party USA (CPUSA).⁴⁶ Its co-chairman is Eugene "Gus" Newport, the former mayor of Berkeley, California, who is also a vice president of the World Peace Council.⁴⁷ (For more

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information on Newport's work in support of the FMLN, see the section on New El Salvador Today [NEST], and the section on the May 14, 1986 hearings on El Salvador chaired by Congressman Michael Barnes).

U.S. congressmen who have promoted the World Peace Council in Washington include John Conyers (D-MI), Ron Dellums (D-CA), Don Edwards (D-CA), Charles Rangel (D-NY), George Crockett (D-MI), Mickey Leland (D-TX), and Mervyn Dymally (D-CA). In January 1978, Conyers, Dellums, Edwards and Rangel were part of a WPC leadership meeting in Washington, the first time the WPC had had such open access to the U.S. Capitol. It regarded this access as an "outstanding landmark in WPC history." The WPC delegation included Chandra, Oleg Kharkhardin of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and KGB Colonel Radomir Bogdanov.⁴⁸

Congressman Edward Boland (D-MA), in his capacity as chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, covered up for his colleagues in hearings on Soviet active measures in July, 1982.⁴⁹ As evidence of Soviet active measures operations in Washington, the Committee reprinted a 48-page brochure published by the WPC to publicize its visit to Congress. However, before the Intelligence Committee staff reprinted the document, they doctored it to erase any evidence of involvement by Boland's liberal colleagues in Congress and other liberal political leaders and activists. The reprint appeared in the published hearings as Exhibit XI, but pages 3, 4, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21, 23, 45, 46, 47 and 48--which mentioned work with Congress--had been omitted. In order to disguise this from the public, Boland's staff cut out the page numbers from the remaining pages.⁵⁰ To someone who had never seen the original document, nothing appeared unusual in the Committee reprint.

In May, 1981, Conyers, Edwards, Crockett, Weiss, Leland and Dymally organized a meeting in the Rayburn House Office Building for WPC Chairman Chandra to lobby Members of Congress.⁵¹ In January, 1982, Conyers flew to Copenhagen for a WPC meeting, and in June, 1983, Leland flew to Prague, Czechoslovakia for another WPC conference.⁵² Congressman Crockett sponsored the WPC's 1986 "People's Peace Treaty" for a Soviet-initiated nuclear test ban proposal.⁵³ In October that year, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) and Congressman Dellums extended public greetings to the WPC's World Peace Congress in Denmark.⁵⁴ Dellums and Congressman Gus Savage (D-IL) were to have attended that event, but legislative priorities prevented them from going. Dellums' administrative assistant Carlottia Scott did attend as part of the U.S. delegation.⁵⁵

The founding of the World Front

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FMLN-FDR leaders and their core of international supporters sponsored a conference in Mexico City to form the World Front in

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Solidarity with the People of El Salvador from March 26-28, 1982, to coincide with the constituent assembly elections in El Salvador.⁵⁶ The FMLN-FDR had refused to participate in those elections. (Note: It is of interest that the founding of the World Front coincided with the date of the elections; the day after the FMLN had been founded in October, 1980, CISPES held its founding conference). In the course of the FMLN-FDR's election boycott, its guerrillas attempted to disrupt the voting process by attacking polling places and intimidating the population.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, over 80 percent of the population participated in the elections in repudiation of the FMLN-FDR, and several people were shot by the FMLN as they stood in line to vote.⁵⁸

CISPES organized a nationwide series of demonstrations against the Salvadoran elections on March 27, 1982, and coincided with the World Front's founding conference. A brochure against the Salvadoran elections captioned, "March 27: At The Crossroads," featured on its cover a group of CISPES demonstrators carrying a banner which proclaimed, "FDR is the only representative of the Salvadoran people." Inside, CISPES called the elections "just one of a series of smokescreens that the U.S. has used to justify its intervention in El Salvador." The other two "smokescreens" were land reform ("more peasants were getting assassinated than receiving titles to land"), and "alleged 'Soviet/Cuban/Nicaraguan interference,'" which "has turned into a mockery."⁵⁹

The CISPES literature noted the founding of the World Front:

"People all over the world are organizing against U.S. intervention in Central America and in favor of peace and self-determination. Solidarity networks from countries in several continents are meeting this week- and in Mexico City to forge a world-wide front against U.S. intervention and in solidarity with the people of El Salvador."⁶⁰

CISPES used the Mexican position to add credibility to its own propaganda: "Most European countries, and many in Latin America, have criticized Reagan's El Salvador policy, and are supporting Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo's peace plan calling for negotiations with the FMLN-FDR and separate negotiations to defuse U.S. tensions with Cuba and Nicaragua."⁶¹

American CISPES leadership in Mexico City joined with officials from the Cuban Communist Party, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and others to form the core of the World Front. Among the members of the Permanent Bureau of the World Front were, at the time, Alexandra "Sandy" Pollack of the politburo of the Communist Party USA and on the CISPES advisory board, and CISPES national director Heidi Tarver.⁶² It will be recalled that Salvadoran Communist Party agent and CISPES organizer Farid Handal identified Pollack as the "solidarity coordinator of the U.S. Peace Council," and his main contact in New York.

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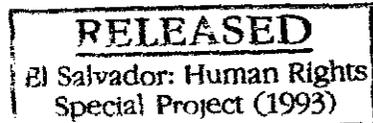
The founding President of the World Front was Bill Zimmerman,⁶³ who also chairs Medical Aid for El Salvador (MAES), a CISPES affiliate which raises money and medical supplies in the United States which is funneled through Mexico City for the FMLN. (See section on Medical Aid for El Salvador). Zimmerman led a similar group called Medical Aid for Indochina to channel aid to the Vietcong during the Vietnam war.⁶⁴

Other board members of the World Front included Monsignor Sergio Mendez Arceo of Cuernavaca, who manages FMLN bank accounts in Mexico City; Massoun Kassawat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAL), a Soviet front based in Cuba which was organized at the 1966 Tricontinental Conference in Havana serves as a support apparatus for international terrorist and subversive organizations supported by Cuba; Jorge Gallardo of the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP), a front for the Americas Department of the Cuban Communist Party; Jesus Escandel, a Cuban representing another Soviet front, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU); Ahmad Zobeh, the PLO's representative in Mexico, as well as Andres Fabregas of Mexico, Josefina Finders of the Netherlands, Antonio Silva of Portugal, Julio Escalona of Venezuela, Lucia Pavletich of Peru, Willy Rosenbaum of France, Hans Aalborg of Denmark, and Bob Morgan of Great Britain.⁶⁵

This meeting marked the creation of the specific international front in support of the FMLN. However, coordination of worldwide activities on behalf of the FMLN predated the Mexico conference, as anti-U.S. and pro-FMLN demonstrations were held around the world on March 27, 1982: In Berlin, Frankfurt, Rotterdam, Mexico City, Bern, Stockholm, Luxembourg, Toronto, Calgary, London, Sao Paulo and Tel Aviv, in addition to those organized by CISPES in the United States. All were officially sponsored by local "Committees for Solidarity with the Salvadoran People."⁶⁶ The interagency study published by the House Intelligence Committee concluded, "The decidedly anti-U.S. cast to these demonstrations, their timing, and their international scale suggest that the Soviet Union or one of its fronts was behind the protests."⁶⁷

The World Front executive committee holds quarterly meetings to monitor, organize and coordinate international campaigns. These meetings are attended by the CISPES national coordinator or a personal representative of the coordinator. The World Front's second executive committee meeting was held in Managua, Nicaragua, in September 1982. CISPES activists are urged to send triplicate copies of their literature to the national office so that the national CISPES office can send progress reports and information packets to the World Front meetings.

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International Campaigns of the World Front

The official newsletter of the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, *Frente Mundial*, says that there are national chapters in 42 countries, and informal networks in no less than 13 other countries, including within the Soviet bloc and in Third World Communist states allied with the USSR where political organization can function only with official party approval.

As of September, 1983, the World Front reported that it had formal campaigns in Albania, Angola, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Great Britain, Greece, Grenada, Hungary, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Mozambique, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States, Venezuela, Vietnam, West Germany, and Yugoslavia. Countries listed as having an existing "solidarity movement with the people of Central America" but which did not have formal members of the World Front were Bulgaria, Egypt, Guyana, Libya, Morocco, New Zealand, North Korea, Philippines, Poland, Romania, South Yemen and Suriname.⁶⁹

World Front's role in Soviet active measures strategy

The activities of the World Front and its cast of actors fit the description of objectives of all Soviet active measures operations, which are best summed up by Tufts University Professor Richard Shultz and Georgetown University Professor Roy Godson in their book *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy*:⁶⁹

- "1. To influence American, European, and world public opinion to believe that U.S. military and political policies are the major cause of international conflict and crisis.
- "2. To demonstrate that the United States is an aggressive, militaristic, and imperialistic power.
- "3. To isolate the United States from its friends and allies (especially those in NATO), and to discredit those states which cooperate with the United States.
- "4. To discredit U.S. and NATO military and intelligence establishments.
- "5. To demonstrate that the policies and objectives of the United States are incompatible with those of the under-developed nations.
- "6. To confuse world public opinion concerning Soviet global ambitions, creating a favorable environment for Soviet

foreign policy."

On the international scale, the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador serves to promote the FMLN worldwide and to discredit El Salvador's fledgling democratic government. More than that, it falsely portrays American policy in the region as a brutal one of propping up corrupt dictators without any regard for human rights. In turn, this discredits U.S. foreign policy in general, at a sensitive time when U.S. nuclear missiles were being placed to counter Soviet missiles already aimed at Western Europe, and currently as the United States is cultivating international support for its Strategic Defense Initiative. Most NATO allies are critical of U.S. policy in El Salvador.

Attention is thus centered on U.S. policy, while Soviet and Cuban subversion there and elsewhere is discounted or unnoticed. Leftist political leaders also point to alleged U.S. transgressions which they use to put Washington on par with Moscow.

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Guerrillas Proposed Raising Money Through Humanitarian Fronts

Even before uniting under the FMLN umbrella, the guerrillas set up humanitarian front organizations through which cash and supplies could be raised from foreign relief organizations. Documents captured from the FMLN and released by the State Department in 1981 reveal a sophisticated and successful plan to raise private funds from the West. Their Soviet-bloc allies, it turned out, gave the guerrillas plenty of military supplies and training, but were cheap when it came to giving them badly-needed dollars. (See footnote 11)

Before beginning this section, it is necessary to point out that the U.S. groups in question, aided by CIA defector Philip Agee, denounced the captured documents as forgeries. However, the State Department has consistently defended their authenticity, and revelations over the past six years confirmed the genuine nature of their contents.

In 1979, the Salvadoran Communist Party set up a front called the Ecumenical Committee of Humanitarian Aid (CEAH), raising over half a million dollars over the following seven months. The documents show that the PCS front received \$170,575 from the World Council of Churches, \$154,254 from the Catholic Relief Service, \$62,230 from Oxfam-America, and \$16,351 from "United Churches." In October, 1980, the month the FMLN was formed, the World Council of Churches approved another \$500,000 grant for CEAH, according to a note signed by Angel V. Peiro, the World Council of Churches' subsecretary for American Aid and Caribbean [Affairs] of the Commission for Inter-Ecclesiastical Aid of the Refugees and World Service.⁷⁰

After the FMLN unified the guerrilla groups, the FPL faction drew up an expanded aid proposal which was considered and approved by the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), the decision-making body of the FMLN.⁷¹ The proposal sought "to capture the maximum help for humanitarian purposes in benefit of the revolutionary process," and proposed the merger of CEAH and another humanitarian front into a body called the "Salvadoran Ecumenical Committee of Humanitarian Aid," or CESAH.

The contents of the document

The document speaks for itself, implying in the opening paragraph that some of the humanitarian aid would be used for the purchase of weapons: it would be a "single, 'apolitical,' ecclesiastical-humanitarian group that will guarantee the international financial agencies good administration [of funds] for victims of repression and will appear to such agencies to be incapable of using any of the funds to purchase arms."⁷²

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"This group should appear to be directed by persons who are not publicly identified with any revolutionary organization and who inspire confidence among ecclesiastical institutions such as the Archbishopric, Protestant churches, Catholic schools, orders of nuns and priests, etc. This would make it possible for such institutions to participate in the group and make available their many facilities (premises, vehicles, etc.) that might be used in connection with shelters, storehouses, hospitals, etc.

"This group should not only serve the revolutionary process but should be under the control of the DRU.

"The foregoing conditions may be met by creating a structure that is under the control of the DRU subcommittee on obtaining international funds. Control over the humanitarian group will be ensured by the subcommittee's direct contact with those who are in charge of the aid or who occupy key positions in carrying out the group's activities. All these must be militants of revolutionary organizations, but not known as such. In addition, an effort will be made to influence indirectly those who appear, on the surface, to be the highest authorities. This must be done with a good deal of tact so that those less progressive institutions of persons whose participation is desirable because they attract much foreign and domestic aid will not cease to participate."

The document then proposed that CEAH merge with the Salvadoran Ecumenical Council (CES) into CESA, in part because it would resolve conflicts between the two groups and thereby enable more funds to be drawn from abroad. It would be ecumenical in order to attract contributions from the widest number of religious and other organizations. CESA's sole role, the proposal said, would be to raise money for humanitarian purposes; it would issue no denunciations of the Salvadoran government in order to appear non-political and thereby maintain appeal while avoiding negative attention. The political statements, said the document, would come from the Non-Governmental Human Rights Commission (CDHES) and *Socorro Juridico*, the Legal Aid office of the Archdiocese--two groups that would later be revealed as FMLN fronts themselves.⁷³

Care would be taken to mask CESA's true connections. This would be done through using unwitting individuals in various churches by giving them high-level positions which really had little power. Leading CESA's bureaucracy would be an assembly consisting of two representatives of each member organization.

The document explained, "According to the bylaws, the assembly would be the highest authority and would have no organic connection with the DRU. In practice, inasmuch as it is a very large bureaucratic group that meets every three months, its influence would be minimal. It would only provide general guidance. The importance of this assembly, which will be as numerous as possible, is to provide effective cover for the committee that will generate

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confidence, both in El Salvador and abroad, and will make it difficult for the government to prevent the receipt of foreign aid (medicines, food, money, etc.)."

In the results of the CISPES founding conference in Washington, the same concern was expressed. The "work plan" outlined earlier stated that CISPES would "pressure the governments of the U.S. and El Salvador" to "assure the neutrality and protection of humanitarian relief efforts," indicating concern that there would be a crackdown on private groups sending aid destined for the FMLN.

Similarly the CESAHA board of directors, to have ranked below the assembly in the hierarchy, would also consist of well-known, respectable people who had little actual power within the organization. "The board of directors," the proposal said, "will consist of representatives of institutions that are best known abroad and thus make it easier to gain the confidence of funding agencies. . . . These representatives should also be persons who have the trust and respect of the bishops; the bishops will then refrain from interfering in CESAHA policy or, if they should interfere, the representatives would be able to stop the interference without having to break with the bishops." But while the board would have the ability to hold concerned bishops at bay, it would have no real influence within CESAHA. The document continued, "Although the board members will appear to occupy key positions in the bylaws, . . . they will not be the persons who, in practices, wield the real power in CESAHA; they will be very busy persons who can only consider CESAHA matters every couple of weeks. . . . The importance of the board of directors is also to provide cover and decoration for CESAHA, to make it trustworthy and attractive without obstructing its real function."

Politically reliable candidates on the board were important. The designated guerrilla contact in the Archbishopric was Father Octavio Cruz. The proposal said, "We see no need to question this appointment since he sympathizes with the revolutionary organizations without being organized [without being an official member of an organized revolutionary group?], and he would let us act in CESAHA without protesting." In 1987, Father Cruz was identified by former FMLN member Luz Janet Alfaro as a member of the FPL guerrilla faction and as the chief point of contact for the FMLN inside the Archbishopric. Father Cruz, to have been named chairman of CESAHA, would have an important role to play in the FMLN fundraising apparatus.

While San Salvador's Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas was highly critical of the government, he never supported the guerrillas. An additional impediment to his possible interference was to be the inclusion of the Protestant churches. This presence, the document said, "ensures that Monsignor Rivera cannot act fully in CESAHA policy and that the Protestant funding agencies will cooperate more readily."

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Representatives of the Confederation of Religious Orders and the local Catholic schools would also be on the CESAHA board. The schools, especially the Universidad Centroamericana (UCA), were hotbeds of pro-FMLN faculty. The guerrilla proposal noted, "It is important that CESAHA attract and incorporate this sector of the Catholic Church because it has a great deal of infrastructure and a certain autonomy from the Archbishopric." The director of the Sacred Heart school, whom the guerrillas identified as a supporter, was to become public relations director for the fundraising front, because "she sympathizes with the revolutionary movement without being a member of any organization and she is capable of opposing any effort by the Archbishop to change CESAHA." It was suggested that she oversee a CESAHA bulletin to be distributed to "collaborators and solidarity committees. The bulletin will point the increasing and specific needs for greater aid, particularly international aid."

The individual to have actual power within CESAHA would be the executive secretary, who would also be the only board member to work full-time at the CESAHA office: "He will be greatly responsible for channeling the aid to the revolutionary process. To accomplish this, it will suffice for him to submit exact reports to them on what has been distributed, always stating that it has been distributed to the people, the victims of the repression." (emphasis added) In other words, the executive secretary would prepare false financial reports to deceive the board of directors, while channeling the money to the FMLN. It would be a sensitive position, and "should be held by a tested militant, a member of a revolutionary organization who is in constant contact with the DRU subcommittee for obtaining international funds, and a member of that subcommittee," the document said. "His political militance should not be publicly known."

There would be several committees to oversee certain CESAHA projects. The leaders of most committees, the proposal went on, either would be "militants" of revolutionary groups, "or at least proven sympathizers" who "will work full time with the CESAHA. They will directly organize distribution of the aid. Their militance must not be publicly known."

These committees would be centered around health and social welfare, to include a Pharmacy Committee to bring in medicines, a Medical Assistance Committee for building clinics, a First Aid Training Committee, a Stores Committee to gather and distribute clothing and supplies, a Shelters Committee, and an Indemnization Committee apparently supporting family members of the guerrillas. The document was plain about the purpose of these committees:

"The economic aid, clothing, food, medicines, etc., will be channeled through these committees to the combatants. However, we should not ignore persons who seek refuge in the shelters or request aid and who are not members of an organized group since it will be part of our cover to provide such assistance."

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"Funds will be channeled to the revolutionary organizations through contact between the CESAHA committees and the health and social welfare coordinators, in accordance with the rules established by the DRU subcommittee on obtaining funds. Care should be taken that the coordination between the committees and the collaborators does not become publicly known." (emphasis added)

For this operation to succeed over the long term, the document continued, the "internal structure" of the fundraising organization had to function in a disciplined manner and would be completely under the control of the FMLN's DRU governing body. The internal structure was described as follows:

"The subcommittee for the acquisition of international funds shall be composed of the leaders of these subcommittees or teams of the various organizations that make up the DRU.

"Its purpose will be to administer the acquisition and channeling of the funds obtained by the CESAHA so that they will benefit the DRU and the FDR. In a word, it will be responsible for the financing of the revolution." (emphasis added) Over time, the subcommittee members would attempt to win over non-committed members of the powerless board of directors "and incorporate them as soon as possible, until at least a majority of them will be following subcommittee policies."

Actual refugees in need of assistance were to be CESAHA's last priority, according to the planners. The revolutionary units came first, and would have to submit requests to CESAHA for funds. The document warned, "It is very important that the revolutionary organizations endeavor to channel their petitions to the CESAHA only through the coordinating units, because that is the only way in which the distribution of foreign humanitarian assistance can be centralized and carried out in proportion to the organizations' actual needs.

"These coordinating units will also expedite and enhance the effectiveness of CESAHA's service to the revolutionary organizations and will prevent CESAHA from giving preferential assistance to fleeing segments of the population, to the detriment of the fighting segment."

A specific section of the proposal was reserved for dealing with American support groups. As a large resource of money and supplies, solidarity groups in the United States would have to set up specialized fundraising campaigns, along the lines of refugee subsistence, family support, medicine, food, hospitals and support for "exiles." "Collections made abroad in churches and solidarity committees for the purpose of meeting the urgent need [of] humanitarian assistance for the Salvadoran people" were one method of fundraising, the proposal said. "Such collections shall be encouraged by CESAHA by disseminating information about the needs

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and nature of CESAII"; however, it should be "information that does not compromise too deeply persons who cooperate with CESAII, but which is likely to promote international solidarity."

Transfer of cash from the U.S.

Under the subheading "Mechanisms for transferring donations from abroad," the document explained,

"There shall be two dollar checking accounts in the name of CESAII in Panama or in Mexico. One of the accounts shall be used to channel cash from the [humanitarian] agencies. The number of the latter account shall not appear in literature distributed during the conduct of the collections. In contrast, the other account number shall be used precisely to channel donations made by people abroad. The account number shall be disseminated widely. Both accounts shall be in the names of renowned persons and institutions who are completely trustworthy to the donors and who guarantee that they will transfer to CESAII the cash deposited in the accounts in its entirety. It is recommended that the accounts be in the name of famous bishops or pastors who are committed to serve the people. In short it should be Mendez Arceo in Mexico for the public account."

Sergio Mendez Arceo is the former bishop of Cuernavaca, Mexico and a longtime supporter of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary causes. He is a member of the directorate of the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and is an honorary president of the World Peace Council.⁷⁴ Mendez Arceo was denounced by the leader of the Mexican Catholic Bishops Conference as misrepresenting the position of the church.⁷⁵ As will be outlined, it is through Mendez Arceo that funds raised by CISPES and its affiliates are channeled to the FMLN.

The fundraising proposal explained how the money would be laundered from the accounts to the FMLN: "The manner in which the cash deposited in these two accounts shall be transferred to El Salvador shall be by bank drafts of about ten thousand dollars each made out to members or collaborators of CESAII. A different name shall be used each time. These drafts should preferably be hand-carried by trustworthy persons."⁷⁶

This document and the Farid Handal diary created quite a controversy when they were made public in 1981. UPI wrote an article about the documents which appeared in the 26 April 1981 *Boston Globe* under the headline, "Did aid funds go to Salvador rebels?" The article and the State Department were denounced in several press conferences and public statements by the groups named in the documents, such as Oxfam, the World Council of Churches, Church World Services (an arm of the National Council of Churches) and Catholic Relief Services. It was subsequently reported that

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UPI editor in chief H. L. Stevenson publicly apologized for UPI's not having contacted the groups in question when writing the article.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, UPI did not retract the story.

However, despite the protests of the groups involved, at least three of them, the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches and Oxfam, were supporting the FMLN politically at the time. To add further doubt to the credibility of claims that the documents were false is the fact that one of the most prolific attackers of the documents was Philip Agee, a former CIA operative who defected and has since dedicated his life to discrediting the U.S. government and destroying American intelligence operations. One of the West's top experts on Soviet active measures, former Czech disinformation chief Ladislav Bittman of Boston University, says that Agee has actively "participated in Soviet disinformation campaigns" against the U.S. intelligence community.⁷⁸ Agee was quoted by the *New York Times* as saying, "I aspire to be a Communist and revolutionary,"⁷⁹ has praised the Soviet KGB,⁸⁰ and publicly acknowledged in his first anti-CIA book *Inside the Company: CIA Diary* that he relied on the Communist Party of Cuba for source material.⁸¹

This notwithstanding, subsequent statements over the next few years by Oxfam, CISPES, the U.S. Peace Council and other aid groups have proven beyond reasonable doubt that those documents were genuine. These statements have been used as source material throughout this study and are a matter of public record. While critics of the 1980 Farid Handal document denied any CPUSA involvement in the formation of CISPES, for example, the 1986 U.S. Peace Council biography of CPUSA operative Sandy Pollack confirmed the relationship. CISPES and Oxfam-America promote each other's material and cosponsor the same pro-FMLN and pro-Sandinista demonstrations and political events, bringing into question the veracity of Oxfam's denials.

In October 1981, Oxfam's Central America Task Force chairman Laurence R. Simon angrily challenged an article which mentioned Oxfam's aid to the guerrillas. "Oxfam is not named in any captured document describing guerrilla activity," Simon snapped, and followed up with, "the U.S. State Department is not making that claim. . ."⁸² Perhaps despite Oxfam's official political support for the FMLN, Mr. Simon honestly believed that his group was not financing the guerrillas. This seems reasonable, as the fundraising system designed by the FMLN was elaborately designed to conceal its true function, even from its own board of directors and Archbishop Rivera y Damas. Simon finished, "Our funds in El Salvador are committed and used for the care of persons displaced by the civil war [sic]. The refugee organizations we are funding have the strong and continuing backing of acting Archbishop Rivera y Damas." Simon sent a copy of his letter to Oxfam's attorneys. But the reporter made no retraction, and Oxfam took no legal action.

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One of the reasons given for believing that the document was false was that nobody had ever heard of a group called CESA. The document, though, was a proposal, and the final result was subject to change. Rev. Paul F. McCleary of the United Methodist Church and an officer of the Church World Service said that in January 1981, CEAH merged with the "much larger official Catholic relief group," CES. This merger was known as ASESAN, through which "nearly all worldwide relief efforts" were being coordinated in early 1981.⁸³

An evangelical group from Texas visited the ASESAN office in late 1981, and reported that it was managed by Fr. Octavio Cruz in the archbishopric.⁸⁴ This evidence shows that the document in question was accurate:

1. CEAH and CES did merge into a new group.
2. The merger took place in January 1981, less than a month after the guerrilla proposal was written.
3. The new group was based in the archbishopric and managed by Father Cruz, who had been designated as such in the guerrilla proposal.

(ASESAN changed its name shortly after. Oxfam reported in its Spring 1983 newsletter that it gave \$50,000 to DIACONIA, which it says was "formerly ASESAN." See section on Oxfam-America.)

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Development of the FMLN's private fundraising system

[Author's note: This chapter is a copy the text of a diplomatic cable from the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador to the Secretary of State in Washington. The cable number is SS10059, and is dated 18 July 1986. Its title is "Guerrilla Finances--Where Does The Money Come From?" It was originally classified "Confidential," but was declassified by the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador. The bureaucratic sections of the cable, including the numbering of each section, have been deleted for ease in reading as a text. The author made the editorial decision to insert certain items for clarity; these additions are plainly marked in brackets. All other information contained herein, including subheadings, is from the original cable].

Since 1980, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) has conducted a widespread guerrilla war that has proved costly in human and material terms. The FMLN receives most of its arms through Nicaragua and other Communist bloc countries. However, the bulk of its funds come from donations collected in western democracies as well as funds channeled to it by sympathetic human rights groups, unions, and elements in the Catholic church. The FMLN supplements this income with contributions from the socialist bloc and local Salvadoran collaborators and income obtained from kidnappings and the collection of "war taxes." Western donations have declined in the last two years, while the support of socialist states remains static. To cover the resulting budgetary shortfall, the FMLN has increasingly resorted to banditry, extortion, and kidnapping, the primary funding sources of the 1970s. In the absence of new sources of funding, we may expect these activities to increase substantially in the near future.

Much of the information for this report came from an interview with former FMLN guerrilla leader Miguel Castellanos, who served on the finance committee of the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL) in 1978 [a major faction of the FMLN] and defected from the movement in 1985. Additional information was provided from the documents captured in April 1985 with Nidia Diaz, comandante of the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (PRIC)--another of the five organizations making up the FMLN. Salvadorans who were victims of guerrilla extortion also provided firsthand accounts of guerrilla fund-raising efforts. . . .

Guerrilla Finance in the Seventies.

During the seventies, the Salvadoran insurgency was a small urban-based force which relied on terrorizing the political and economic elite for most of its funds. Due to its small size, guerrilla financial

requirements for food, housing, and other recurring costs were

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modest; however, the guerrillas had to purchase their arms on the high-priced world market. The guerrillas acquired most of their funds from kidnappings conducted in San Salvador. This enabled them simultaneously to support themselves and to terrorize the urban rich.

The Transformation to Guerrilla Warfare:
An Expensive Proposition.

Spurred by government and right-wing repressive measures, the FMLN was transformed from a self-sustaining urban force into a large, rural-based guerrilla army. This dramatically altered the nature of their fiscal requirements. From 1980 onward, the guerrillas no longer had to worry about financing the purchase of arms and ammunition. Munitions flowed in quantity from Nicaragua and other Communist bloc countries. The FMLN had only to guarantee the safe passage of the weapons. At the same time, however, guerrilla leaders found themselves confronted with millions of dollars of expenses to provision their rapidly expanding army.

Where does the money go?

The documents captured in April 1985 with PRTC comandante Nidia Diaz included a number of financial documents, among which was an estimated budget for 1984. Projected annual expenditures for 19845 for the PRTC alone were about \$580 thousand. Housing, food, and health-related expenditures accounted for the bulk of the projected outlays. The PRTC also budgeted \$10,200 yearly for trips to obtain external financing, \$15,200 to cover overseas subscriptions to newspapers and magazines, and \$300 for international phone calls. Funds were also required to purchase and fuel vehicles and buy other provisions and supplies.

Support From the East--Let Them Eat Rifles

The guerrilla organizations originally planned to obtain the bulk of their funds from "fraternal" socialist states. To their dismay, although weapons were provided, only Cuba, Libya, and to a lesser extent, Nicaragua were responsive to requests for money. According to Castellanos, Facundo Guardado, a member of the FPL and of the finance committee of the FMLN, visited Libya in 1981. During his visit, Col. Muamar Gaddafi [sic] offered the FMLN \$4 million in direct assistance. By 1984, at least \$2 million had been delivered. East Germany, in contrast, offered only uniforms and medicine to the guerrillas. The Soviet Union ignored all direct requests for help, preferring to channel its assistance through Cuba. The extent of past (and current) Soviet assistance to the FMLN is therefore very difficult to estimate.

Direct Fund-Raising Efforts in the West.

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The Western Democracies became the largest source of cash for the guerrilla[s] during the 1980s. The various constituent fronts of the FMLN and its political ally, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) set up "solidarity" organizations in western Europe, the United States, Canada, and other Latin American countries. In churches and town halls, on campuses and street corners, these support groups painted a horrific picture of government oppression and portrayed the FMLN-FDR as a force for positive change. The resulting funds soon became the most important source of income for the FMLN, raising millions of dollars in hard currency. In 1982, for example, the "Arms for El Salvador" campaign in West Germany raised approximately \$2 million for the Popular Forces of Liberation (FPL).

From FMLN Records.

The documents captured with Nidia Diaz clearly reflect the dominant role of external funding as a source of guerrilla financing. One of the documents, dated April 10, 1984, provided a complete accounting of PRTC dollar and colon [local Salvadoran currency] accounts in 1983. During 1983, 93 percent of the PRTC's total annual revenues came from direct dollar donations. According to the captured financial records, total dollar receipts came to \$389,954. The PRTC during 1983/84 was the smallest of the guerrilla armies, and probably represented less than 10 percent of the total guerrilla combatants in El Salvador. Assuming other guerrilla organizations received similar levels of direct dollar contributions from western sources relative to the size of their groups, we conservatively estimate that at least \$4 million was donated to the FMLN in 1983.

Development Projects--To Feed Hungry Guerrillas.

In addition to the direct contributions which were openly associated with the leftist cause, the FMLN-FDR set itself up in the economic development business, then proceeded to siphon off the bulk of the project assistance to FMLN combatants. Former FMLN comandante Castellanos has provided a detailed explanation of how these organizations function. In 1981, Guillermo Ungo's National Revolutionary Movement (MNR--one of three parties belonging to the FDR) founded the Social Action Investment Center (CIAS) [Centro de Investigacion y Accion Social]. The CIAS collected donations from humanitarian organizations and the general public specifically to support FMLN projects in El Salvador. The projects were in areas of strong FMLN persistence and directed to their "masas" support base. A typical project involved the purchase of seed and fertilizer for peasant followers of the FPL. According to Castellanos, many of the projects were fictitious, created to impress westerners with the FPL's technical sophistication, compassion, and economic need. Only about 30 percent of these donations actually reached the projects; the FPL used the other 70 percent to maintain its combatants.

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The success of the CIAS-FPL effort encouraged other FMLN groups to tap private development assistance funds to support their war efforts. The proliferation of these groups and the FMLN's greed to mine this rich and easy vein was counterproductive. So little care was taken to maintain the facade of requesting funds for legitimate development projects that, in at least one case, two different guerrilla groups presented virtually identical project proposals to the same international group. The CIAS and the other "development" front groups eventually lost credibility in the West. Donor agencies began to require detailed accounting of the use of their funds, including photographs of the projects and copies of receipts. The ability of the CIAS to collect funds for the FPL diminished in 1984, and it was eventually disbanded.

More From Nidia Diaz.

The Nidia Diaz documents reflect that the PRTC also milked the development projects as a source of finance. The colon account shows receipts of \$21,998.50 from "projects" in 1983, or five percent of total PRTC revenues. The same April 1984 report projects a budget for 1984 and lists as a method to obtain funds "an increase in projects proposed to CIAS, DIACONIA, and other sources." The picture had clearly changed by 1985. In a section entitled "The Humanitarian Source," a document explaining financing sources dated 16 March 1985 and addressed to front commanders cynically states that "in the last few years a good quantity of funds from these agencies has been received by presenting projects that need developing in various zones. . . . It is essential to develop the projects in an effective way since reports have to be furnished in case of a visit from the agencies. Not being able to show proof, we lose credibility and cut ourselves off from the possibility of receiving more resources."

The Church Steps In.

With the discrediting of CIAS and other guerrilla-front development agencies, the Catholic church, through DIACONIA, became a leading management agency for funneling private development donations to qualified projects. According to Castellanos, the church's involvement brought with it much tighter controls over the use of the funds. For example, the church-sponsored projects required the approval of local parish priests. The closer controls effectively stymied widespread guerrilla appropriation of the project funds. Castellanos said there were constant complaints within the FMLN because the church allowed too little for FMLN projects.

[Note: A central organization in El Salvador called DIACONIA collects funds raised through international churches and private groups such as Oxfam. DIACONIA, which has been described as "the central reserve bank of the FMLN," is directed by church activists

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who are members of various FMLN factions and is considered an FMLN front. Not all church groups within DIACONIA are Marxist, but non-Marxists exercise no control over the body. (see chart)

[According to a study of FMLN "human rights" fronts based on evidence provided by former FMLN members Luz Janet Alfaro and Dora Angelica Campos, the DIACONIA leadership is as follows:

"The Lutheran Church, with Reverend Medardo Gomez, who belongs to the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS), as one of its representatives; the Emmanuel Baptist Church, with Brother Juan Sanchez, who is a militant in the Resistencia Nacional (RN); the Catholic Church, its representative Father Octavio Cruz, also a militant in the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL); the Episcopal Church with its representative Brito Bertiz, who does not aid any specific organization, but all of them considered 'democratic'; and finally the Federation of Cooperatives called FUNFROCOP, led by Dimas Vanegas, militant of the Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS)."⁸⁵

[Apparently, most international organizations donating to DIACONIA are either unaware of its FMLN ties or have no objection to such ties. DIACONIA reportedly prepares false invoices to show to officials of foreign donor organizations to justify expenses, and presents supposed recipients of such aid who are, in reality, FMLN members or supporters. It is estimated that only 10 percent of the funds given to DIACONIA are utilized for genuine relief purposes, with the remaining 90 percent going directly to the FMLN-FDR.]⁸⁶

The "Human Rights" Link.

As a consequence of the diminution of project funding, the FMLN fronts were forced to create new, more credible fund-raising organizations in the West. Some of these groups--CRIPDES (Christian Committee for the Displaced of El Salvador), CDHES (Non-Governmental Human Rights Commission of El Salvador), COMADRES (Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Disappeared and Assassinated of El Salvador Monsignor Oscar Romero), and CONIP (National Coordinating Conference of the Popular Church) were essentially reconstructed versions of the CIAS--they solicited funds for humanitarian efforts and channeled the funds to FMLN fronts. Some of these groups have recently lost credibility as well--particulaly since the recent defection and public testimony of two of their members in June [1986]--and they will likely be reincarnated under new names, according to Castellanos.

Labor Organizations Channel Funds to [the] Guerrilla[s]

The guerrillas have found that they can obtain a substantial amount of capital from donations from labor unions which they control. Groups like FENASTRAS (National Federation of Workers'

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Unions), FUSS (United Federation of Salvadoran Workers), ASIES (Independent Union Association of El Salvador), ANDES (National Association of Salvadoran Educators--21st of June), and COACES (Confederation of Cooperative Associations of El Salvador) all channel western donations to the FPL. As "representatives" of the Salvadoran working class, these organizations attract sympathy and support from many westerners who would not consciously assist a communist insurgency. Castellanos stated that the wife of French President Francois Mitterrand provided ANDES with \$40,000 in 1984, much of which found its way to the FPL's coffers. Castellanos estimates that the FPL receives about 50 percent of the funds donated by the West to labor groups like ANDES.

Auxiliary Funding Sources.

Assistance from abroad, though substantial, has never provided enough money to fund the guerrilla effort completely. The guerrillas have thus found it necessary to supplement their income with local means of support. Relying on local sources for each month's revenue is not possible, as a memo which accompanied the PRTC's 10 April 1984 financial report noted. Flows may be relatively strong one month, then dry up completely the next. Unlike the external financing and the project financing, which are centrally controlled by each guerrilla organization, auxiliary funding sources are managed independently at the front or sub-front level. Cash is also sent from Nicaragua. In 1985, for instance, a Lada [automobile] from Nicaragua crashed in Honduras. A search of the vehicle revealed secret compartments which contained arms and \$27,400 in cash. Castellanos said this was not destined for the FPL, and he considered it "amateurish."

Collaborators.

The guerrillas prefer, of course, to obtain funds through donations offered by collaborators. This is a painless, easy way to procure money, but it is not lucrative, because FMLN collaborators are few and generally relatively poor. A letter dated March 13, 1984, which was captured with Nidia Diaz discusses recent progress in generating resources: "The ranch will be ready shortly and will be handed over to some collaborators. We have thought about sending Victor to the front. His wife will remain in Santa Tecla and help set up a small business."

Kidnappings.

Another guerrilla fund-raising technique involves kidnapping. The FMLN does not discriminate in the selection of its victims; it kidnaps small cotton farmers in Usulután and big businessmen in San Salvador. A survey of recent incidents shows that ransoms range from as little as \$20 to more than \$50,000, with the bulk in the \$4000 to \$5000 range. By early 1985, the need for money had driven

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the guerrillas to seek to rebuild their capability to conduct large-scale kidnapping activities. The FMLN conducted kidnapping operations in Costa Rica and Honduras; Castellanos attributes the kidnapping of a Japanese businessman in Costa Rica in the early 1980s to the FPL.

Although potentially far more lucrative than contributions from collaborators, this strategy is problematic. It is difficult and expensive to create urban commando units which are capable of carrying out successful kidnappings. The task is all the more difficult now, because the urban infrastructure of the guerrillas is in shambles as a result of the government's thorough investigations of the Inez Duarte kidnapping and the [June 19, 1985] Zona Rosa massacre [of four U.S. Marine Embassy guards, two U.S. businessmen and seven others]. Although in need of additional professionalism, the security forces have improved their anti-terrorist capabilities. The kidnappings of wealthy members of San Salvador's elite would prove both ideologically satisfying and remunerative to the FMLN, but the guerrillas do not now appear to be in the position to carry out many of these operations.

As a result, FMLN groups direct the bulk of their operations against small farmers in rural--and generally impoverished--areas. This places the self-proclaimed "representatives of the people" in the uncomfortable position of victimizer. The victims rarely have anything to do with the government and are often individuals of modest means. Indeed, those kidnapped by one guerrilla front are sometimes sympathizers of another; on more than one occasion, says Castellanos, this type of mistake has strained relations between allied guerrilla bands. This kind of infighting has also been revealed in numerous captured documents.

War Taxes.

"War taxes" provide another means of guerrilla finance. This is the guerrilla term for the banditry and blackmail which they perpetrate. Guerrillas sometimes stop buses and rob or "solicit" money and watches from the indigent, working-class passengers. They also demand extortion payments (often a combination of cash and provisions) from farmers and businessmen who work in areas of guerrilla activity. Because of FMLN weakness in Salvadoran cities, urban dwellers and businesses usually are not subject to war taxes. According to Castellanos, the FMLN leadership does not like to rely on these activities, because they reveal the guerrillas as enemies of the people and make it difficult for the leadership to prevent their groups from deteriorating into bands of common thieves.

Two typical examples of war taxes follow. The manager of a small coffee farm received a form letter in late 1985 from the FMLN informing him that if he wished to harvest his coffee in peace, he had to:

- (A) Comply with the salary schedule endorsed by the FMLN;

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- (B) Pay 10,000 colones in cash (\$2,000);
(C) Deliver 10 pounds of aluminum oxide, 10 pounds of potassium chlorate, 10 meters of slow wick, and 10 flares.

The manager was given 17 days to purchase and deliver the cash and the goods.

Another grower, who received a similar form letter, faced much stiffer demands. This time the guerrilla demanded 250,000 colones (\$50,000), 100 pounds each of aluminum oxide and potassium chlorate, 200 blasting caps, and a rotary multicopier. The coffee grower had only 11 days to respond.

Guerrillas also ask for boots, materials for uniforms, and knapsacks, as well as money.

Nonetheless, as foreign funding sources diminish, some fronts increasingly rely on war taxes. Castellanos says that since 1984 the San Vicente front of the FPL has received much of its funds from war tax collections. Property owners in a village in the western shadow of the San Vicente volcano report that guerrilla harassment over the past year has been at its highest level in years. A middle class resident of the village was kidnaped and ransom notes were distributed not only to his family, but a dozen of the leading villagers as well. (Although many of the villagers did not accede to the extortion demands, the victim eventually was released.) The guerrillas also prevented property owners from harvesting from the higher elevations. Posing as small farmers, they harvested the coffee themselves and sold it to INCAFE [the state-controlled coffee monopoly]. Transportation interruptions and collections of war taxes have greatly increased in frequency in this area.

Current Trends in Guerrilla Finance.

Finances are a grave problem for the FMLN. Castellanos estimates the FPL's monthly non-military expenses in 1985 at 800,000 colones; its monthly income from external donations had dropped from 300-400,000 colones in earlier years to 200,000 in 1985. It had to collect the rest from its union allies and through auxiliary measures. The crux of the shortfall lies in the increasing difficulty of raising funds for the Salvadoran guerrilla movement in the West. Past donors are no longer convinced of the inevitability of the guerrilla victory, and they have turned their attention to newly urgent areas of "struggle" like Chile and South Africa. Barring spectacular FMLN military triumphs or severe political or human rights deterioration in El Salvador, the decline in western contributions to the guerrillas will accelerate.

Unless the guerrillas manage to convince the socialist bloc to increase its financial assistance to their cause, they will find it necessary to deepen their reliance on auxiliary measures. Because

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potential increases in collaborator donations are marginal, the FMLN will have to collect more war taxes and conduct more kidnapping operations, especially of wealthy targets. The financial exigencies of the FMLN guerrilla warfare will subject Salvadorans to heightened levels of extortion, blackmail, and terror.

[End of text. Document concludes with bureaucratic language.]

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CISPES as the nerve center

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"In the U.S., 347 'solidarity committees' funnel money to the movement. The guerrillas have even hired a U.S. public relations firm with offices in Manhattan and Washington to plead their case. Whatever their internal divisions and rivalries, the guerrillas have learned very well that the best place to put up a united front is in public."

--Time, 9 April 1984, p. 33.

Given CISPES' role as the central support apparatus for the FMLN, it is logical that it would also be the nerve center of financial support activities for the guerrillas. CISPES was a key factor in the setting up and promotion of four organizations whose specific function is to raise cash and material supplies for the FMLN. The four organizations have innocuous names, and raise funds in a manner that masks their support for the guerrillas. The Council for Inter-American Security filed complaints with the Internal Revenue Service and the U.S. Postal Service showing that the fundraising techniques of at least two of the groups through direct-mail are misleading, and urged those government entities to take action.

The four groups in question are New El Salvador Today (NEST), which raises money under the pretense of fostering economic and agricultural development in El Salvador; Medical Aid for El Salvador (MAES), whose direct-mail packages solicit funds for war victims; the Salvador Medical Relief Fund (SMRF), which says it supplies and trains rural community health workers; and the Salvadoran Humanitarian Aid, Research and Education Foundation (SHARE), which is said to benefit Salvadoran refugees living in Central America.

In a way, their statements of purpose are true, in that some of their funds are used for development and relief. However, they are also misleading, as their fundraising literature does not say explicitly that their projects are conducted inside zones controlled by FMLN paramilitary forces or that funds raised are channeled to the guerrillas. By contrast, private groups which support the contras in Nicaragua specifically tell their donors that money is to be used for aid to the fighters and their families.

In a brochure called "Humanitarian Aid Drive for the People of El Salvador," CISPES explained its version of human suffering in El Salvador and solicited donations for NEST, MAES and SMRF. A 1986 CISPES brochure titled "Raise Your Voice for Peace in El Salvador" made an identical pitch.

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Other CISPES activities to raise cash for the FMLN was a fundraising drive "to benefit childcare centers for Salvadoran children." The money was sent directly to the Women's Association of El Salvador (Asociacion de Mujeres del Salvador, AMES), a political front for the FMLN.⁹⁷

A September, 1981 letter to activists from the CISPES national office announced the Emergency Aid to El Salvador campaign which set a goal of \$250,000 to be raised. The CISPES national office collected all the funds and in CISPES organizer Lisa Tarver's words, "The money will then be channeled through SHARE, which will have tax-exempt status that we will be able to utilize." Tarver continued, "SHARE sends all financial contributions for the refugees to Archbishop Sergio Mendez Arceo in Cuernavaca, Mexico, from where they are distributed to refugee camps throughout Central America."⁸⁸ As noted earlier, the FMLN designated the Mexican former clergyman to serve as its repository for humanitarian aid raised by groups in the United States.

Fundraising projects sponsored directly by CISPES are varied: San Francisco CISPES, for example, sponsored an effort to raise \$15,000 "for a school and an agricultural project in El Salvador." The local chapter maintains a continued flow of donations through a pledge system.⁸⁹ Another CISPES chapter sponsored a 12 kilometer walkathon "to raise material aid for El Salvador."⁹⁰ In Washington, D.C., local CISPES activists held a series of functions to raise \$17,000 over a six-month period to build a "shoe factory" in the FMLN-held town of Tequeque in Chalatenango province.⁹¹ D.C. CISPES documents showed that the goals of that project were to "develop new values" among the Tequeque residents through "collective work," and to provide food to the "popular army"--the CISPES euphemism for the FMLN. (Although Tequeque's population was only 600 at the time, CISPES wanted its residents to produce 6,000 pair of shoes per year. It is doubtful that the shoes were to have been made for trade outside the area, as CISPES noted that the dirt roads in and out of Tequeque were "barely passable.")

With the separate humanitarian fundraising operations functioning as successfully as they did, CISPES concentrated its efforts on propaganda and political action aimed at changing the votes in Congress. However, as noted in the aforementioned diplomatic cable from San Salvador, the FMLN was in desperate need of cash by mid-1986. CISPES abruptly canceled its years-long "Stop the Bombing" campaign that June and re-directed its activities toward fundraising. In the July-August 1986 issue of the CISPES newsletter *Alert!*, activists were told that the "Stop the Bombing" tactic was over and that the national office had begun training activists to raise a quick quarter of a million dollars. The entire article is reprinted here from the cable to demonstrate CISPES' fundraising vocabulary and how the funds are raised on a local level:

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"CISPES has closed its campaign to stop the bombing, and has now begun a new cycle of material aid fundraising as part of our campaign to promote peace with justice in El Salvador.

"The culminating event of "Stop the Bombing" took place on June 20 in Washington, DC--a dinner to benefit CISPES' Healing the Wounds of War medical campaign in which CISPES pledged to raise \$130,000 for medical aid for El Salvador and Salvadoran medical relief fund. The dinner itself raised over \$1500, and featured as speakers Gus Newport, the mayor of Berkeley, Ca., and Violetta Delgado, a Salvadoran physician.

"CISPES kicked off its new cycle of material aid fundraising with a material aid training in Washington, DC, July 9-13. The national coordinators conference in May set the ambitious goal of \$250,000 to be raised by December, and called for this training to help us meet the challenge. The NCC [national coordinators conference] designated the money to fund projects for New El Salvador Today (NEST), Medical Aid for El Salvador and Salvadoran Medical Relief Fund. [The latter is headed by Dr. Charles Clements.]

"14 people attended the material aid training, representing 10 committees in the New England, Mid-Atlantic, Midwest, and Northwest regions. Ken Jacobs, formerly of NEST in Berkeley, led the training as the new national office material aid coordinator. He considers the most important contribution of the training to be the trainees' increased understanding of just how critical material aid work is in the solidarity movement. The training also increased participants' understanding of how to carry out material aid work, particularly how to integrate it with the rest of the program. The participants learned in skills workshops how to do outreach, bring new people into committees, and increase their visibility within the community through medical aid work.

"One of the primary objectives of the training was to show the participants that they could raise a lot more material aid than they thought they could--and the inspiration proved immediate. A goal of \$1500 had been set for the hands-on phone-banking and streetwork, and the trainees surpassed it by raising \$2250.

"Trainers included staff from NEST, the CISPES national office, and CISPES regional offices. Diane Greene from NEST told the trainees that those who raise material aid for El Salvador should feel personally responsible for the thousands of lives that are saved through Material Aid.

"Beth Westgarde of San Francisco CISPES gave a workshop on producing dance-a-thons. Beth has worked for two years on Give Peace a Dance (GPAD), a 12-hour dance marathon which after three years has become a Bay Area tradition, and an astonishingly successful fundraiser. 3500 dancers participated in GPAD '85, sponsored by San Francisco and Oakland/Berkeley CISPES and the San Francisco Freeze. The event grossed an incredible \$110,000,

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netting over \$70,000, and Oakland/Berkeley CISPES earmarked half of their share for their Medical Aid for El Salvador project. (For more information call San Francisco or Oakland/Berkeley CISPES at (415)861-0425 or (415)644-3636.)

"The participants agreed that one of the greatest strengths of the training was its success in bringing together people from different sized communities and different geographic areas to share experiences and work together. The trainees are now energized to take on the \$250,000 goal; most importantly, they're ready to take the training back to their committees and to other committees in their area, and pass on the information and the inspiration they received."⁹²

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MEDICAL AID FOR EL SALVADOR

Tapping the generosity of the more fortunate Americans, Canadians and West Europeans, the FMLN received the organizational assistance from friends in those democracies to set up its fundraising front organizations at the same time it phased out its traditional methods of fundraising, such as kidnapping and extortion. In the U.S., three particular fronts were set up for three different "humanitarian" projects: Medical aid, development and literacy, and aid to refugees still living in Central America.

Medical Aid for El Salvador (MAES) was founded in Los Angeles in February, 1982.* One of its founders, Bill Zimmerman, was a veteran at arranging such deceitful fundraising campaigns; during the Vietnam War, Zimmerman led a Vietcong fundraising project innocuously called Medical Aid for Indochina.⁹³ "Medical Aid for El Salvador," Zimmerman announced, "has two purposes. One is to deliver medical assistance for the alleviation of the suffering in El Salvador; and two, to protest the involvement of our government in that struggle, because that involvement is creating more victims in need of medical care." To kick off MAES, the group presented a \$25,000 check to a Salvadoran doctor based in Mexico.⁹⁴

Reminiscent of the Vietcong support campaigns, MAES organizers recruited a host of actors to lend itself instant recognition. Ed Asner, Howard Hesseman, and Lee Grant were at the Washington press conference for its initial unveiling. Asner described how he got involved months earlier after being approached on the El Salvador issue by a politically active nun. Initially, Asner had little success in getting other Hollywood celebrities involved. "Then a guy named Bill Zimmerman approached me. He had done a phenomenal job on medical aid to Indochina, and he told me he was doing the same for El Salvador, and would I be one of the titular heads for the committee? I thought about it and thought about it and finally said okay. And he knew how to do it."⁹⁵

Asner said that Zimmerman then wrote up a fundraising letter "which I signed after a few changes, and he got it out. Everything was cool, everything was fine. There were some internal conflicts between the Salvadoran groups, which were finally ironed out, and I was able to work easily and gracefully with the [Archbishop] Romero [Relief Fund] people and the Zimmerman group. . . . The letter provided money."

Meanwhile, Asner read up to become an instant authority on El Salvador, relying on everything from the major media to [Marxist] publications like *The Nation*. The nun who had initially recruited Asner passed him literature from the pro-Castro North American

*A month later, in March 1982, Zimmerman was in Mexico City as the founding president of the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

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Congress on Latin America (NACLA). "I'm not an expert on El Salvador," Asner said, "but I'm a citizen who can read."⁹⁶

Actors Martin Sheen and Mike Farrell joined Asner in signing direct-mail fundraising letters for MAES calling for help for El Salvador's impoverished and suffering people, but conveniently failing to mention anything about the FMLN. Because of this misleading fundraising campaign, the Council for Inter-American Security filed a complaint with the Internal Revenue Service that MAES, a designated charity, is raising money under false pretenses.⁹⁷

Asner is more open with the leftist press than with his prospective donors. In an interview with the CISPES newsletter in March 1982, Asner stated, "if we Americans want to deliver medical assistance to the people of El Salvador, frankly we must do it through the rebel forces. They are now the most effective institution in El Salvador committed to health delivery."⁹⁸ CISPES itself said that the role of MAES is "to raise money nationwide to fund efforts by the FMLN-FDR to provide basic medical services to the people of El Salvador."⁹⁹ (emphasis added) MAES national coordinator Christina Courtwright defends the FMLN's record. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, she said, "The rebels were bringing health care as part of their attempt to liberate the country, while the military and the death squads have been waging a campaign against doctors."¹⁰⁰ She admitted that MAES "sympathizes with the insurgents."

How funds are raised for the FMLN

Medical Aid for El Salvador conducts many of its fundraising campaigns with CISPES at a grass-roots level, through door-to-door canvassing (activists for Ralph Nader's PIRGs have taught MAES how to canvass), benefit dances and dinners, bake sales, auctions, film festivals, walk-a-thons and even church collections, as well as more sophisticated direct-mail.¹⁰¹ The pitch made is generally a broad appeal for aid to the suffering war victims in El Salvador. Unless done at an openly pro-FMLN event such as a CISPES rally or demonstration, the fundraising appeals generally avoid references to the FMLN entirely, but usually stress the need to cut off U.S. aid to El Salvador.

In a March 1984 direct-mail letter signed by Martin Sheen, MAES said that it had already raised nearly \$450,000; nowhere in the letter is the FMLN mentioned. An Asner letter similarly

⁹⁶Christina Courtwright is the wife of Dave Courtwright, executive director of SANE. Once confined to anti-nuclear issues, SANE has expanded its activities to "anti-intervention" work. Dave Courtwright explained his reasons for doing so in a special column he wrote for the April 23, 1987 issue of the CPUSA newspaper *People's Daily World*.

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sidetracks the FMLN issue: "When you contribute to Medical Aid for El Salvador, you are sending a message of hope to the people there, as you are sending a message to President Reagan that you believe the road to peace is humanitarian aid, not military aid." The donors are misled into thinking that their contributions are intended solely for civilians.

CISPES and the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador also raised money for the MAES project. The CISPES newsletter said that October 1982 saw the "first wave of international protest coordinated by the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. . . . Several of these actions raised funds which were channeled through Medical Aid for El Salvador to the people's clinics in El Salvador administered by the FMLN."¹⁰² In 1983, CISPES set up its own "People-to-People" aid program, whose "two main goals" were pathetically described by CISPES newsletter editor Bob Ostertag as "to raise money for the FMLN's popular clinics and to educate people in this country about the new El Salvador being patiently and lovingly constructed in the zones of popular control."¹⁰³

Once the funds are raised, they are deposited in the MAES account in Los Angeles, where they are "sent to an FMLN-FDR approved team of physicians in Mexico, who buy medical supplies to be taken clandestinely into FMLN-controlled areas of El Salvador," according to the Marxist Guardian.¹⁰⁴ At times, MAES money is channeled through contacts in Costa Rica.¹⁰⁵ By April, 1987, MAES said that it had raised nearly \$1 million in cash and delivered \$1.13 million in supplies.¹⁰⁶ MAES raised \$273,000 in supplies for victims of the terrible October, 1986 earthquake which leveled part of San Salvador, but judging by MAES' record, there is little doubt that the disaster was used as a fundraising opportunity for the guerrillas.

In December, 1986, Medical Aid for El Salvador reported sending \$631,000 worth of supplies to El Salvador in cooperation with Oxfam America, the Archbishop Romero Relief Fund (which was involved in setting up MAES), and Chevron Corporation, making MAES' total claimed deliveries to Salvadoran recipients \$2.09 million.¹⁰⁷

MAES set up a network inside El Salvador which is overseen by the National Students Association of El Salvador (AGEUS), identified as a front for the FMLN; and the Salvador Committee of Health Professionals (COPROSAL).¹⁰⁸ (see glossary) These two organizations are said to administer MAES projects inside FMLN-dominated areas of El Salvador, however, there is evidence that the projects never existed, and that the money "disappeared." Seventy percent of the funds raised are diverted for military purposes, according to former FMLN bookkeeper Miguel Castellanos. MAES funds are often sent either through Sergio Mendez Arceo in Mexico, or directly to Rev. Octavio Cruz, a radical priest working in the Archbishop's office in San Salvador who is a [member of the FMLN and a] point of contact between the guerrillas and the

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church.¹⁰⁹ Cruz is a leading member of the San Salvador-based FMLN fundraising front DIACONIA, a coalition of church groups which serves as a repository for funds from international humanitarian organizations which are diverted to the FMLN.¹¹⁰ (see section on SHARE)

Direct aid to terrorist commander

According to a MAES flyer describing its history, it won a "landmark victory" in August, 1985, when it "pressured the Salvadoran government into permitting an urgently-needed operation on La Palma Peace Talks participant Nidia Diaz," who had been shot by the army.¹¹¹ Again, the group is misleading prospective supporters. Diaz was not a simple peace talks participant brutalized by the army, but is one of the FMLN's top commanders as a leader of the Trotskyist Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC) faction.¹¹² She was shot and captured in combat in April, 1985.

In danger of losing the use of her trigger finger (her right hand had been injured in battle), Diaz requested an operation. Medical Aid for El Salvador rushed to her aid. In the U.S., MAES and CISPES leaders organized a telegram-sending campaign to President Duarte and the Salvadoran Defense Minister, and a phone-in campaign to the Salvadoran Embassy in Washington. The government relented and allowed the MAES doctors inside the prison to operate. T.V. actor Mike Farrell, who played a doctor on MASH went along to heighten the drama.¹¹³

Medical Airlift to El Salvador, December 1986

A combination aid shipment/media event took place in late November and December 1986, when the "Medical Airlift to El Salvador" was launched from Los Angeles. Designed for its "high visibility and dramatic stance," the airlift was meant to "refocus the American public's attention on the problems of El Salvador and stimulate future support for humanitarian aid." The aid MAES referred to is private assistance through the pro-FMLN network, as MAES consistently opposes U.S. government aid of any kind, including humanitarian, to El Salvador.

MAES said that two chartered DC-6 planes and a 727 were to fly more than 50,000 pounds (\$1 million) of medical supplies to El Salvador for displaced people inside El Salvador, civilian amputees and "combatants from both sides," and sick and wounded children.¹¹⁴ The aid was indeed delivered, but through FMLN operative Octavio Cruz at the Archbishopric. It was reported that Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas, who had publicly endorsed the MAES campaign, expressed frustration that the church had little say in determining where or how this aid was distributed.¹¹⁵ The U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, which met with members of the 32-person MAES delegation,

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said that the group defended their program to aid terrorist commander Nidia Diaz, but would not comment on her faction's June 19, 1985 murder of the four U.S. Marine Embassy guards and the other people. Nor would they comment on the FMLN's kidnapping of President Duarte's daughter, who was released in exchange for Diaz and more than 100 other FMLN guerrillas and terrorists who subsequently flew to Cuba. The MAES delegates also refused to talk about Diaz's broadcasts over Radio Havana, which were occurring at the time of the visit.¹¹⁶

The Medical Airlift was organized by MAES executive director Sand Brim and staff, as well as Jon Floyd, a former decorated Marine captain who served bravely in Vietnam but subsequently joined the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW); David Evans, a Marine who enlisted in 1969, lost both legs in Vietnam, and later joined the VVAW and is now a leader of the left-of-center Vietnam Veterans of America; and Mario Velasquez, a Yale graduate and pro-FMLN activist who is said to be the son of a former high-ranking Salvadoran military official and now lives in "exile" in the U.S. To his credit, Evans visited maimed Salvadoran army soldiers and, according to MAES, delivered prosthetics devices to some of the amputees. It was not reliably recorded, however, the effect the visit had on the soldiers' morale.¹¹⁷

In the United States, the airlift was made for the media. The projected itinerary went as follows: the group was to leave Los Angeles on November 30 after a press conference and a second press photo session with the aircraft and supplies. On December 1, Evans was scheduled "to deliver and fit ten artificial limbs to selected Salvadoran amputees." Between December 2 and 4, the delegation was scheduled to deliver supplies in various camps in El Salvador, meeting with government officials on the fifth. They were then scheduled to go to Mexico City to meet with foreign ministers of the Contadora group and leaders of the FMLN-FDR, where they would publicly denounce American foreign policy.¹¹⁸

The event was conducted in cooperation with Oxfam, and was underwritten by the Chevron Corporation.¹¹⁹

MAES Sponsors and Endorsers

Members of Congress:

- Rep. George E. Brown (D-CA)
- Rep. John Conyers (D-MI)
- Rep. George Crockett (D-MI)
- Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-CA)
- Rep. Julian Dixon (D-CA)
- Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-CA)
- Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D-DC)
- Rep. Thomas Foglietta (D-PA)

(continued)

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Rep. Robert Garcia (D-NY)
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 E. L. Doctorow, novelist
 Michael Douglas, actor
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 Jack Gilford
 William Goodfellow, Center for International Policy
 Lee Grant, producer, actress
 Robert Guillaume, actor
 Gregory Hines, actor
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 Deborah Jackson, National Conference of Black Lawyers
 Paul Jarrico
 Frances Moore Lappe, founder, Institute for Food and
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 Dr. Salvador Luria, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Alan Myerson
 Edward Olmos, actor
 Grace Paley, poet
 Michael Phillips
 Tony Randall, actor
 Michael Ratner, former president, National Lawyers Guild
 Carl Reiner, actor
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 Ramona Ripston, Executive Director, Southern California ACLU
 Mark Rosenberg
 Helen Safa, professor, University of Florida-Gainesville
 Waldo Salt
 Dr. John Sassin
 Dr. Richard Saxon, Physicians for Social Responsibility
 Roy Scheider, actor

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Martin Sheen, actor
 David Soul, actor
 Dr. Benjamin Spock
 Dr. Jerome Tobis
 Jon Voight, actor
 Ralph Waite, actor
 Dr. George Wald, Harvard University
 Rev. George Webber, President, New York Theological Seminary
 Dr. Michael Weissberg, University of Colorado
 Rev. Phil Wheaton, EPICA
 Sol Yurick, actor

RONALD V. DELLUMS
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 RONALD V. DELLUMS
 MEMBER OF CONGRESS

June 17, 1982

To Whom It May Concern:

I am writing this letter to express my full support of the fundraising efforts of Medical Aid for El Salvador, which is providing medical supplies and health care to the victims of the civil war in El Salvador.

The efforts of this group have already saved the lives of hundreds of innocent women, men, and children by providing such essential items as antibiotics, anesthetics, and health care manuals to those attempting to respond to the brutal violence in El Salvador. The government of El Salvador is unable or unwilling to provide medical care to all but the very few who support its policies and practices in a war against its own people.

The people of El Salvador are in urgent need of help. In the face of such incredible human need the Reagan Administration is spending hundreds of millions of dollars for more military aid to El Salvador. This money is directly supporting a military that former U.S. Ambassador Robert White has called "one of the most out-of-control, violent, bloodthirsty group of men in the world."

I urge you to support Medical Aid for El Salvador in their requests for financial contributions. In doing this, you will be contributing to the improvement of the human condition of our world.

Sincerely,


 Ronald V. Dellums
 Member of Congress

RVD/rdh

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Since mid-1982, SHARE has published a regular newsletter called "El Salvador: Refugees in Crisis." Its bias is obvious: While giving great attention to victims of the Salvadoran army, it never pays attention to victims of the FMLN. In one issue, the newsletter tells about a Salvadoran doctor named Leonardo Gonzalez, who "was forced to take his practice underground after other doctors were persecuted and often killed for treating peasants in poor communities." It turns out that Dr. Gonzalez is a representative of COPROSAL, a pro-FMLN group in New York that supports the FMLN.¹²³

A doctor whom SHARE frequently quotes is Charles Clements, an American Vietnam veteran who was stripped of his rank for refusing to follow orders (he is a Quaker) and later spent a year in El Salvador as a medic for the FMLN. Clements, who wrote a book about his El Salvador experience titled *Witness to War*, has spent the past few years speaking out on behalf of the FMLN to civic and university groups, journalists, and on television and radio shows.¹²⁴

Other pro-guerrilla material SHARE recycles is from the Non-Governmental Human Rights Commission (CDHES), a widely-quoted organization which has been revealed to be a propaganda front of the FMLN.¹²⁵ This is SHARE's analysis of the situation in El Salvador:

"The growing awareness of the poor and their call for change was threatening to the wealthy and to the government, however, and lead [sic] to the formation of death squads that tortured and murdered members of the base communities and burned their houses and crops. Those who remained fled for their lives.

"The refugees who arrived in the camps after 1981 (the year the war started) [SHARE is wrong; it began in earnest when the FMLN was formed the previous year, but terrorist attacks had been occurring through the 1970s] were peasants from conflictive areas whose very presence drew suspicion from the military that they sympathized with the opposition.

"Refugees in the camps described the invasions and indiscriminate bombings of their villages that most often claimed those least able to run or take cover quickly--small children and the elderly:

"We found ourselves without a home, nothing. They burn our clothes, our homes and all our farm animals. If someone is Christian, they kill him. So we fled, we ran without knowing what direction to run in, with fear because if it isn't a truck, it's airplanes that burn us,

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or rockets that swirl, or explosions that go 'BOOM, BOOM, BOOM.' The smoke leaves you sick, the bombs kill the elderly and they destroy everything. . . . The situation of the women is a tragedy, they were cut in half. The armed forces killed them. We want the bombing to stop, we want to stop suffering." (Emphasis in original)¹²⁶

Shades of Vietnam. This passage from a SHARE promotional brochure is telling:

"To be a Salvadoran refugee is to have daily viewed slaughter so pervasive that almost every Salvadoran family has a member tortured, raped or murdered by government forces. There is no time for grief, no time for childhood, only the immediacy of survival. Among the peasant population, many of the men and single women have been assassinated [?] or left to join the opposition. . . For mothers, children and the elderly it is a daily struggle to escape, to stay alive, to avoid starvation."¹²⁷

The theme is the same as that of CISPES and the FMLN itself. Only the Salvadoran government is guilty of atrocities, and these atrocities are so systematic and widespread, SHARE says, that "almost every Salvadoran family" has been a victim. There is no mention of the FMLN guerrillas by name; they are referred to vaguely as "the opposition." The same brochure accused the government of systematically torturing and gunning down 600 people: "Women were tortured before being killed; babies were tossed in the air for target practice."¹²⁸

SHARE also aims its propaganda at children, in one case telling horror stories to children from the Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C. SHARE editor Mark Bradley told the children about an experience he said he had at a refugee camp in Honduras. The children wrote an article about what Bradley had told them, which was printed in the SHARE newsletter.

This is what they recounted: The first night Bradley was at the camp, he saw soldiers shooting inside the camp. Alarmed, he said he tried to persuade them not to shoot for fear of endangering some of the refugee children. He said that "an angry sergeant" responded, "If any of those refugees shines a flashlight on me again, I will shoot. I don't care if it hits a child." Bradley also told the schoolchildren that an old man was beaten up by soldiers when he had to go to the bathroom.¹²⁹

SHARE also has spoken out about the plight of Guatemalan refugees and illegal aliens posing as refugees. It has shown no interest in the plight of refugees from Nicaragua.

Politicians, celebrities endorse SHARE

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Former vice presidential candidate and George McGovern running mate Sargent Shriver and his wife Eunice Kennedy hosted a fundraising dinner for SHARE at their Washington, D.C. home. The November 16, 1982 event featured such luminaries as Carl Bernstein, Bianca Jagger (a Nicaraguan who has been identified as an agent of the Sandinista government), and Institute for Policy Studies figure and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Marc Schneider, who was master of ceremonies. A benefit film showing on December 3 was sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy, who was unable to attend but wrote a "dear friends" letter asking for cash donations to SHARE.¹³⁰

Some of SHARE's sponsors include:

Chauncey Alexander, Executive Director, National Association of Social Workers
 Sergio Mendez Arceo, former bishop of Cuernavaca, Mexico, honorary president of the World Peace Council, and manager of FMLN funds raised in Mexico and the United States
 Julian Bond, former Georgia state senator
 Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general
 Congressman Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA)
 Congressman Robert Garcia (D-NY)
 Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, a Vietcong sympathizer during the Vietnam war and currently fundraiser for the pro-Sandinista "popular church" in Nicaragua
 James R. Herman, President, International Longshoreman Workers Union
 Fr. Alan McCly, President, Conf. of Major Superiors of Men
 Fr. Cuchulain Moriatry, Chairman, Committee on Social Justice, Archdiocese of San Francisco
 Paul O'Dwyer, Esq.
 Charles A. Perlik, Jr., President, The Newspaper Guild
 I.F. Stone, journalist
 Dr. George Wald, Nobel laureate
 Cora Weiss, Director, Riverside Church Disarmament Program

The original board of directors of the SHARE foundation was:

Larry Birns, Director of the Council on Hemispheric Affairs
 Jorge Lara-Braud, Director, Council on Theology and Culture, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
 Isabel Letelier, Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and widow of Orlando Letelier, a former high-ranking confidant of the late Marxist Chilean president Salvador Allende, and a reputed Cuban agent of influence
 Vicente Navarro, Professor, Johns Hopkins University
 Simon E. Smith, Director, Jesuit Missions Inc.
 Heidi Tarver, National Coordinator, CISPES

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7!

Where the money goes

Most of the money is raised through community action programs which take advantage of people's charity without telling them that SHARE supports the FMLN. Methods of fundraising include door-to-door neighborhood campaigns; tables at shopping centers, churches, community centers, union meetings, flea markets, and clinics; events like walk-a-thons, benefit concerts and parties; displays at shopping centers and universities, and direct solicitation of individuals and humanitarian and religious organizations. Priests at Georgetown University in Washington who returned from El Salvador impressed with SHARE's model projects also made fundraising pitches during Mass.

Money raised in the United States by SHARE is sent to the same controversial former clergyman in Mexico who handles other private funds raised for "humanitarian" purposes. In SHARE's own words, "SHARE sends financial contributions for refugee assistance directly to Bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo in Cuernavaca, Mexico, who then distributes it to refugee centers in Central America."¹³¹

From Mexico, SHARE funds are sent to the Archdiocese of San Salvador, which runs several of the camps for displaced people. However, the individual within the Archdiocese who actually handles these programs is Father Octavio Cruz, [a member of the FMLN] who serves as the guerrillas' liaison inside the church and is a leader of DIACONIA, the FMLN financial front in San Salvador.

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NEW EL SALVADOR TODAY (NEST)

The division of labor between the humanitarian fundraising groups is distinct. MAES is designed for medical aid. SHARE is for refugees and displaced persons living in Central America. A third group is for developmental projects, a CISPES spinoff called New El Salvador Today (NEST), which set up operations in October, 1983 as a tax-exempt charity. Its national office in Berkeley, California, is shared with that of the local CISPES headquarters.

So as to understand NEST a bit more clearly, it is necessary to take a look at the first of its four directors, former Berkeley mayor Gus Newport. He can hardly be called a humanitarian. Newport is co-chairman of the United States Peace Council, and is a vice president of the World Peace Council.¹³² At a WPC conference in Copenhagen, Denmark, Newport expressed support for the Palestine Liberation Organization and other terrorist organizations, and defended the Soviet invasion and military occupation of Afghanistan, physically grappling with a man who was passing out leaflets denouncing the Kremlin's atrocities in Afghanistan. Newport refuses to condemn the African National Congress (ANC) for its practice of burning alive moderate blacks by binding their arms and legs or hacking off their limbs, then placing a gasoline-soaked tire around their shoulders and lighting it. After a heated debate about Communist influence within the WPC conference, Newport blurted, "As a black American, I got no problem with the Communists. It's the Democrats and the Republicans who I got a problem with."¹³³

Radio Havana reported in December 1986 that Newport was prominent at an anti-American demonstration in the Cuban capital, alongside Fidel Castro and FMLN commander Nidia Diaz.

Yet he puts on a great act for reporters. After returning from a trip with the FMLN in March, 1985, Newport burst into tears during a press conference, weeping that the "policy of the Duarte government is to totally wipe out the civilian population in areas under popular control."¹³⁴

NEST sent \$80,000 worth of aid to its destination in the first year. In its first annual report, NEST executive director Tracey Schear said that the aid went to "local community governments" in "areas of popular control," again the euphemisms which give no indication to unsuspecting donors that these are actually areas under Communist control. Elsewhere in NEST's literature, readers are told that the aid goes to the "Poderes Populares Locales," or PPLs, another euphemism for the local FMLN administrations which is not explained in the literature.

In early 1984, NEST set up a "National Community-to-Community Program," a sister cities concept which linked American towns with "liberated" villages in El Salvador. The pilot project was

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initiated by the Berkeley, California city council, which declared the FMLN-dominated village of San Antonio Los Ranchos as its sister city. Berkeley residents reportedly raised \$17,000 for the village.¹³⁵ Evidently, the flow of money from NEST to sites in El Salvador does not flow through the regular FMLN conduit in Mexico.

A peculiar fundraising project was organized for 1985 called "National Work-a-Day for El Salvador." This effort entailed getting people to donate a day's pay for NEST, a concept used elsewhere to raise funds in a hurry.¹³⁶

In response to the Salvadoran army's successful counter-insurgency campaign, NEST organized an "Emergency Fund" for Chalatenango, the northern province which has been a guerrilla stronghold. In two weeks, NEST raised \$26,000, which it sent to Chalatenango with a delegation consisting of Carlottia Scott, administrative assistant to Congressman Ronald Dellums; Fr. Eugene Boyle, of San Jose, California; Mary Kay Baum, of the Madison, Wisconsin school board; and Margarita Studemeister of the Center for Central American Studies, a NEST board member. NEST personnel included Tracey Schear and Lisa Robinson. The delivery was made on 28 April 1986.¹³⁷ By July, 1986, NEST claimed to have sent "over \$268,000 in humanitarian assistance to El Salvador."¹³⁸

As with Medical Aid for El Salvador and SHARE, NEST coordinates its fundraising activities with CISPES. In the September, 1984 issue of *El Salvador Alert*, for example, CISPES notified its activists, "In upcoming months, many CISPES chapters will be focusing their material aid campaigns on New El Salvador Today. . . . This fall dozens of organizations, including over 20 CISPES chapters, plan to raise over \$200,000 by January. Chapters have pledged amounts ranging from \$1000 to \$50,000." The money, readers were told, was to be spent on agricultural cooperatives and chicken ranches and fisheries. Other NEST projects include funding literacy campaigns for the peasants; however, these campaigns are more ideological indoctrination campaigns than they are educational. (see section on literacy campaign)

The CISPES newsletter explained what some chapters would be doing: "The fundraising schemes hint at the breadth of CISPES membership. Washington, D.C., which is funding a shoe workshop, will host a Fiesta de Zapateas, with a prize for the person wearing the most outrageous shoes. Santa Rosa will hold a paddle tennis tournament, while Berkeley, Oakland, San Francisco and Portland are organizing Work-a-Days where workers donate one day's salary to the zones. Several cities are considering 24-hour dance-a-thons." The New York CISPES printed greeting cards, while the Olympia, Washington chapter published "a bilingual coloring book on the zones."¹³⁹

While NEST's literature aimed at donors hides the relationship between the local governments it funds and the FMLN, its spokesman have publicly acknowledged the relationship elsewhere. In the 10

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October 1984 issue of the Guardian, for example, NEST is described as "a material aid project benefiting the local governments in El Salvador's rebel-held zones of control." NEST coordinator Tracey Schear is quoted by the Guardian as acknowledging that her group's efforts aid the FMLN militarily:

"Within the past two years, there have been significant advances in the zones. First, the FMLN has been able to expand and consolidate those areas. Second, there's been the development of popular power. When I was in Chalatenango, 90% of the province was under popular control.

"The ability of the FMLN to develop and advance as a regular army has everything to do with these emerging civilian structures. For example, I was told that a year ago the FMLN might recoup food for the civilian population. Now, the popular power is developing agricultural production not only for the civilian population and the guerrillas, but also for reserves for people fleeing government attacks." (emphasis added)

Schear continued, "there is essentially a transformation of an entire society in which the political, economic and military institutions of the old Salvadoran regime are being replaced by the structures of popular power, the mass organizations and the FMLN." NEST is helping with that transformation.¹⁴⁰

So is a particular United States Congressman. Representative John Conyers (D-MI) signed a direct-mail fundraising letter for NEST in 1986, which contained such gross inaccuracies and untruths that U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador was prompted to respond with a long letter of clarification. Both are reprinted in Appendix 8. Like the rest of NEST's fundraising literature, Conyers' letter fails to tell the donors that the campaign has anything to do with the guerrillas.

The Council for Inter-American Security filed a complaint to the Internal Revenue Service that NEST is raising money under false pretenses to supply a foreign paramilitary organization with money and materiel.

NEST board of directors

Eugene 'Gus' Newport
Barbara Christian, Ph.D.
Margarita Studemeister
Tracey Schear

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Lisa Robinson, Associate Director
Ann Baumberger, Office Administrator
Steve Gibson, Financial Administrator
Lisa Lloyd, Grassroots Fundraiser
Jennifer Manriquez, Resource and Media Director

East Coast office staff

Diane Greene, Associate Director
Mary Price, Development Director
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OXFAM-America

Oxfam-America was founded in 1970 as an autonomous sister of the original Oxfam which was founded in Oxford, England in 1942. A highly reputable refugee relief and development organization, Oxfam-America raises money for humanitarian causes in under-developed countries. However, an ongoing study by the Council for Inter-American Security shows a pattern indicating Oxfam-America's distinct political support for pro-Soviet Marxist regimes and revolutionary movements. This trend shows that in countries with a ruling Marxist party, Oxfam-America usually works through the party structure, while in pro-western countries under attack by a Marxist insurgency, the organization tends to work outside the government with groups allied with the paramilitary movement.

Oxfam-America's programs in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique, Kampuchea, Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua were and/or are run through or with the ruling Marxist party apparatus. Its literature praises these governments as "models" of economic development. Oxfam-America closed down its operations in Grenada after the U.S. removed the Communist government in 1983, despite that Caribbean country's dire need of continued development support.¹⁴¹ By contrast, Oxfam's programs in South Africa, Guatemala and El Salvador are conducted outside government channels, and, respectively, in conjunction with the Soviet-backed and Communist-controlled ANC, URNG and FMLN paramilitary organizations.¹⁴²

Oxfam's \$15 million annual budget comes from foundation grants, direct-mail campaigns, and grass-roots activities. The latter category includes an annual "Fast for a World Harvest" where high school and college students are encouraged to forego a lunch on their meal plan, the cash value of which is donated by the food service to Oxfam. Up to \$10,000 is raised from a single school in a day using this method. These fasts are popular and are widely accepted by high school and college officials who see nothing political in this ostensibly humanitarian campaign. However, Oxfam's newsletter and other publications are quite political.

In El Salvador, Oxfam-America's literature has been supportive of the FMLN-FDR and hostile to the Salvadoran government. FDR leaders Guillermo Ungo and Jose Penate were hosted at an Oxfam-America luncheon. Contrary to its stated support for democracy and consistent with the guerrillas' policy, Oxfam has not encouraged the FMLN-FDR to participate in El Salvador's electoral process. Like the guerrillas, Oxfam-America calls for "talks leading to a political solution," or power-sharing with the elected government without having to go through an election. An Oxfam "Central America Advocacy Statement" also called upon the U.S. Congress "to end bilateral military and economic assistance to El Salvador." (Emphasis added) For an organization interested in development, Oxfam's opposition to economic aid to El Salvador is

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strange, as it has criticized the U.S. government harshly for cutting aid to the Sandinista government in nearby Nicaragua.¹⁴³

While the FMLN guerrillas destroy El Salvador's economic infrastructure through attacks on farms, roads, and energy facilities, CISPES and related groups lobby in the U.S. against economic aid to El Salvador. Here, Oxfam took an identical position.

Captured FMLN documents show that in the first six months of 1980, Oxfam sent the dollar equivalent of 62,230 Salvadoran colones to CEAH, the Ecumenical Committee of Humanitarian Aid, which has been identified as a front for the Communist Party of El Salvador.¹⁴⁴ While Oxfam leaders denounced the documents in question as containing falsehoods, the organization itself had said months earlier, in its August 1980 newsletter, "Oxfam America recently approved a grant of \$50,000 for emergency aid to refugees in El Salvador," and that the funds would be distributed through CEAH.

In 1983, Oxfam-America donated \$50,000 to the FMLN front DIACONIA. In its Spring '83 newsletter, Oxfam-America said that DIACONIA was formerly known as ASESAN, which has been shown to have been the result of a planned guerrilla merger between the CES and the CEAH. Any claims of ignorance by Oxfam as to DIACONIA's relationship with the FMLN is suspect due to Oxfam's open support for the guerrillas at the time.¹⁴⁵

Oxfam-America's attitude toward refugees cannot be more graphically illustrated than those unfortunate people living in Honduras. The relief group publicized the fate of Salvadoran refugees in Honduras and sent aid to them in 1983. Former FMLN commander Alejandro Montenegro told the author that the FMLN routinely crossed into Honduras to use the refugee camps as sanctuaries and to be with their families who resided in those camps.¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Oxfam has all but ignored the plight of the tens of thousands of Nicaraguan refugees also living in Honduras. When asked why this was so, an Oxfam-America spokesman gave this weak excuse: "We have never worked with those [Nicaraguan refugee] camps; the Catholic Relief Service is involved with them."¹⁴⁷

Politically, Oxfam-America has been very active. In November 1984, for example, Oxfam co-sponsored the pro-FMLN "March on Washington" demonstration in conjunction with the Communist Party USA (CPUSA), the Communist Workers Party, the reputed CPUSA front National Lawyers Guild, and CISPES. In fact, Oxfam-America recommends CISPES material as part of its recommended literature on El Salvador.¹⁴⁸

Oxfam-America officials deny that the organization supports the FMLN, and maintain that if it ever supported the guerrillas, it was several years ago under a different administration. However, as recently as April 1987, Oxfam-America cosponsored political

events in support of the Sandinistas and the FMLN. Oxfam was an official endorser of the massive April 25 mobilization on Washington, which was denounced by Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO, Stephen Rosenfeld of the Washington Post, and others as a demonstration supportive of communism in Central America.¹⁴⁹ Leading the rally were such figures as Jesse Jackson, Ed Asner, and representatives of the Sandinista government and the FMLN. Oxfam-America officially marched with them, carrying a banner down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol.¹⁵⁰

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How a ten-dollar contribution reaches the FMLN

To illustrate how a ten-dollar contribution from an American donor travels from his or her pocket to the FMLN, we give the following hypothetical example:

Mary Smith receives a letter in the mail from actor Martin Sheen, asking her to donate to Medical Aid for El Salvador (MAES) to help relieve the misery of victims of the war in that country. She is told nothing about that organization's support for the FMLN. In fact, the FMLN is not mentioned at all in the letter. Heartened by the emotional appeal, she writes a check for ten dollars and sends it to MAES.

Once it reaches the MAES office, about half of it goes to pay for overhead and legitimate fundraising expenses such as list rentals, printing and postage, leaving five dollars for the people of El Salvador. That five dollars is sent to one of the bank accounts managed by Sergio Mendez Arceo in Mexico City. In Mexico, it is decided to which organization the money will be sent. These particular five dollars will go to DIACONIA.

The money is transferred to the DIACONIA office in San Salvador, where it is to be distributed to "the people." Thirty percent, or \$1.50, is spent on legitimate humanitarian aid projects which politically benefit the providers--the FMLN. The other seventy percent of Mary Smith's net contribution, or \$3.50, goes directly to FMLN military operations.

Months later, she receives another letter from Medical Aid for El Salvador, showing pictures of how peasant families have been benefiting from contributions like hers. These pictures are real; these programs do exist, but the nature of the programs is unknown to the donors. Mary Smith gives a second contribution. She cannot afford much, so she writes Medical Aid for El Salvador to ask what else she can do to help. In a few weeks, she receives a package of brochures, articles, and a MAES annual report showing how the money is supposedly spent. Incensed, confused and concerned, she writes a letter to her congressman, asking him to stop U.S. military aid to El Salvador. She approaches the pastor of her church, and urges him to hold a special collection for the suffering Salvadoran people. It seems like a worthy cause. On Sunday, the collection basket is passed and the money is sent to MAES. This time, there are no fundraising expenses, so a greater percentage of this contribution reaches its final destination.

On the facing page is a flow chart demonstrating how one's humanitarian contribution is diverted to the FMLN guerrillas.

CISPES ACTIONS ELICIT RESPONSE IN CONGRESS

Many of CISPES' activities have produced responses by Members of Congress. Representative Mervyn Dymally (D-CA), a member of the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, documented some of CISPES' successes in a fundraising letter he signed for the group in early 1986. In the letter, he repeated CISPES' own themes. The congressman said,

" . . . CISPES has . . . already shown results in Congress:

"47 Members of Congress have co-sponsored a resolution by Rep. John Conyers condemning the continuing human rights violations in El Salvador and calling for a halt to the indiscriminate air and ground attacks on civilians.

"At CISPES' urging, House Ways and Means Chair Dan Rostenkowski wrote letters to our colleagues, David Obey, Chair of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, and Michael Barnes of the Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He voiced opposition to the Administration's supplemental request of \$54 million in Central American police training funds.

"The police training measure failed--thanks in part to the opposition of Rep. Rostenkowski and other members of Congress contacted by CISPES.

"Following Rep. Rostenkowski's letter and thousands of letters from CISPES members, Rep. Barnes held Subcommittee hearings on the human rights situation in El Salvador.

"Rep. Frank Annunzio, a former supporter of military aid to El Salvador, credits CISPES members in his district with changing his point of view about the effects of that aid in El Salvador."

In an accompanying letter, CISPES national coordinator Angela Sanbrano said, "we're putting pressure where it's needed most. In 50 key Congressional districts, CISPES is helping tip the balance on critical legislation." (emphasis in original)

Congressman Dymally then appealed for donations so that CISPES could continue its operations, especially its efforts to get Congress to stop the Salvadoran army's successful aerial counterinsurgency operations. Dymally continued, "Sign the 'Urgent Reply Memorandum' I am enclosing and return it along with your contribution. We need to obtain thousands of signatures as part of CISPES' effort to deliver these pledges by the truckload to Members of Congress. Your representatives must recognize that you want them to act to stop the bombings." Congressman Dymally added as a

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postscript that contributions of \$100 or more could be itemized as a tax-deduction if made out to the Institute for Effective Action, which would "fund CISPES' ongoing educational work."

Barnes holds hearings in response to CISPES campaign

Congressman Dymally helped CISPES launch its national petition campaign to get the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs to hold hearings on the "air war." Subcommittee chairman Michael Barnes (D-MD) agreed, and held a special hearing on 14 May 1986, called "The Air War and Political Developments in El Salvador." This hearing institutionalized the term "air war" as coined by the FMLN and CISPES into accepted congressional vernacular.

The development of this hearing is a textbook example of how a Communist front, its tax-exempt spinoff, and a friendly congressman work together to influence policy on Capitol Hill. It also shows the incestuous relationship between CISPES and its "humanitarian" spinoffs, and how the two work together to change public opinion and policy.

It began when Berkely, California mayor Gus Newport, leader of New El Salvador Today (NEST), returned from eight days with the FMLN in Chalatenango province in March, 1985. He returned to California denouncing the "air war," and, with Congressman Dellums, began a campaign to lobby for congressional hearings on the subject.¹⁵¹ As the "air war" campaign developed, Congressman Dymally sent out the CISPES letters to generate petitions to Congress demanding the hearing. Evidently, CISPES supporters responded overwhelmingly. During the hearing, Congressman Barnes remarked, "we probably have had more requests for this hearing than any hearing we have ever held."¹⁵² In an exchange with Barnes, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams called the hearing "the product of a kind of drive to besmirch and muddy the reputation of El Salvador, a drive to claim human rights abuses that do not exist."¹⁵³ Barnes protested this observation, and Congressman Dymally complained, "I frankly resent the aspersions that the committee chairman is being used and the committee is being used by people for disinformation.

"This meeting," Dymally continued indignantly, "is a result of petitions from all over the country. In fact, I brought several thousand petitions to you, Mr. Chairman. So did the gentleman from New York [Congressman Ted Weiss] and many other members." Dymally mentioned nothing of his involvement in generating the petitions. He was upset: "To suggest that this committee is being used by the guerrillas or the Communists distresses me a great deal. I want to express my strong resentment over those statements issued by the members of this committee."¹⁵⁴

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Yet the critics, including Secretary Abrams, Congressmen Dan Burton (R-IN) and John McCain (R-AZ) were correct. The guerrillas and the Communists were indeed using the hearing. Dymally was distressed because he had been caught.

To be fair, Secretary Abrams and former Salvadoran Ambassador to the United States Ernesto Rivas-Gallont were allowed to state their case, as was Democrat William C. Doherty of the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD).

Congressman Conyers was the first witness to testify. (He was not a member of the subcommittee). His testimony was the exact political line taken by the FMLN and CISPES. He made six policy recommendations: 1) For the denial of all U.S. aid to the Salvadoran police, 2) an overall cut in U.S. aid to El Salvador for FY 1987, 3) that all aid be conditional on certification of the Salvadoran government's conduct against the FMLN, 4) withholding delivery of six training helicopters "until there are several dozen prosecutions" for human rights abuses, 5) making future aid contingent on negotiations with the Communists, and 7) investigating the Reagan Administration's "misrepresentation of fact as it applies to human rights in El Salvador."¹⁵⁵

This is very similar to what CISPES wanted, which is not surprising; Conyers is one of the most radical members of Congress who has taken such extreme stands as supporting the Palestine Liberation Organization and abstaining from condemning the Soviets for their shooting down of 269 people aboard Korean Air Lines flight 007 in September, 1983. Conyers is from a radical background. A native of Detroit, he is known as a Red diaper baby. His father, John Conyers, Sr., was a local Communist Party official and close friend of a leading Detroit Communist Party collaborator, George Crockett.¹⁵⁶

(Congressman Barnes lost his seat in 1986. George Crockett, who was elected to Congress in 1980, succeeded Barnes as chairman of the subcommittee. For more information on Crockett, see the Council for Inter-American Security's package, *The Crockett File*.)

Conyers brought in as a witness a fellow radical, NEST leader Gus Newport, who visited the FMLN in Chalatenango in March, 1985, accompanied by Diane Greene of NEST and Mary Ann Buckley of CISPES.¹⁵⁷

Needless to say, this was not made clear in the hearing. Newport was vague about exactly who hosted him in El Salvador, and would not come out and say that he was with the FMLN. However, his evasiveness was noted by Congressman Burton, who was in the same areas of El Salvador as was Newport, but saw nothing like what the Berkely mayor described.

Yet another witness was Eileen Purcell, representing San Francisco Archbishop John R. Quinn. Ms. Purcell is executive

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director of SHARE. In October, 1986, Purcell went to El Salvador as part of a Medical Aid for El Salvador advance team to prepare for the November airlift.¹⁵⁸

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Appendix 1

Statements by CISPES and the FMLN

"The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) seeks to educate and mobilize public opinion against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Central America and in solidarity with the FMLN-FDR, the legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people."

--CISPES newsletter "Alert!" April 1985.

"Our organization is a working class party. Our ideology is Marxism-Leninism."

--FMLN document AA.

"The FMLN-FDR advocates political pluralism, a mixed economy and a foreign policy of non-alignment."

--CISPES membership packet, 1/85.

"The World Socialist Camp is the vanguard of the World Revolution and constitutes our friend and fundamental ally."

--FMLN document AA.

"The El Salvadoran revolution has no alternative to armed struggle. The communists are convinced that the revolution will triumph despite all obstacles. Our revolution rests on the strength, will, and heroism of the people, and its vanguard consists of left forces that are united and have extensive experience of struggle."

--Shafik Handal, General Secretary, Communist Party of El Salvador, and leader of FMLN General Command, in *World Marxist Review* (Prague), October 1980.

CISPES Goals for 1984:

"1. Impede the escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America by (a) making the political costs of a full-scale, direct intervention too high; (b) obstructing the step-by-step escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America.

"2. Provide political and material support to the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador; and

"3. Defend the Sandinista revolution.

"Our defense of the Sandinista revolution will directly contribute to the Nicaraguan people's efforts to consolidate their revolution. It will also undermine Reagan's attempts to build a 'strategic consensus' in the U.S. for intervention in all of Central America."

--"1984 CISPES National Administrative Strategy Proposal."

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" . . . there are survivals of sectarianism. . . . But this is now of minor importance and cannot inhibit the successful development of the unitary process, whose purpose is to create a united Marxist-Leninist party, although nobody can say exactly when this will happen."

--Shafik Handal, World Marxist Review, September 1980.

"The United Revolutionary Leadership is highly appreciative of the international solidarity fettering the aggressive actions of U.S. imperialism. In this connection the main task of the day is to expose the U.S. policy of genocide relative to the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, whose thousands upon thousands of families have lost relatives and homes or found themselves in the bloodstained hands of butchers directed by U.S. military advisers."

--Shafik Handal, World Marxist Review, September 1980.

"We have organized a large solidarity apparatus that encompasses the whole planet, even in the United States, where one of the most active centers of solidarity exists."

--FMLN Radio Venceremos, March 13, 1983.

"Monday morning the offices of Congressman Dellums were turned into our offices. Everything was done there."

--CISPES organizer and communist agent Farid Handal, in diary of trip to U.S. to organize CISPES, March 1980.

"The heroic people and government of Viet Nam have set an example for the oppressed people of the world by their courageous struggle and defeat of U.S. imperialism on April 30th, 1975. That victory inspired national liberation struggles around the world, many already victorious. . . . We also support the heroic people of El Salvador, led by the Democratic Revolutionary Front [FDR], for their courageous struggle for self-determination."

--Undated flyer co-sponsored by CISPES and the Committee in Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos, for 9 May 1981 rally at Washington Square Methodist Church, New York City.

"The job of such a movement is to challenge U.S. policy; to disrupt the war effort, to polarize opinion, to inspire people to refuse to cooperate, to create divisions within Congress and every other institution from the AFL-CIO to the campuses, etc. Each escalation of the war must bring a response more costly than the one before, precisely the Vietnam war phenomenon the administration is trying to avoid. As the FMLN wears down each incremental phase of intervention, such a movement can make it impossible for the U.S. government to escalate to new levels at the rate it needs in order to win."

--CISPES "Alert!" editor Bob Ostertag and others, in "The Strategic Task of Our Movement," document submitted at CISPES 1985 convention, May 10, 1985.

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On killing U.S. Army Sergeant Gregory Fronius:

"We think it is about time for the House or Senate to realize that Ronald Reagan is entangled in the region, that his policy is an attack not only on the interests of the people of the region and on the just cause of our people but also on U.S. interests. The current revolutionary campaign has revived the El Salvador debate in the United States."

--FMLN Commander Valentin Martinez, Radio Havana, April 4, 1987. Monitored in the Latin America Daily Report, FBIS, April 7, 1987.

"The war is against the United States right now."

"The bodies of more American people will be coming here."

"It is very logical they are going to be attacked. This is just the beginning."

--FMLN representative Ernesto Godoy, Associated Press, 6 April 1987:

"It was in LSM [the Liberation Student Movement] that I met my husband Carroll Ishee. In 1980, we moved to New Orleans as students with the intention of eventually travelling to Angola as brigadistas. The war in El Salvador changed that plan.

"After a difficult and painful winter of decision-making, we left school. In 1981 Carrol [sic] went to El Salvador as a militant and I became increasingly active in CISPES. In August 1983 Carroll was killed by U.S. helicopter fire as a member of the FMLN."

--LaVaun Ishee, CISPES Southeast Regional Coordinator, in biography at CISPES 1985 National Convention.

"In Nicaragua in 1980 if you asked anyone what you could do to help, you were invariably told to go home and work for El Salvador where death squad terror was at a peak and the newly-formed FMLN was preparing for the General Offensive. When I returned I immediately began working with Salvadoran refugees. . . when I returned CISPES had been formed. I jumped into the NYC chapter and became the first Mid-Atlantic Regional Coordinator. In this position, I travelled extensively doing the initial work of setting up the region, and participated in all the early CISPES political struggles."

--Bob Ostertag, editor of CISPES newsletter "Alert!," Biography at CISPES 1985 Convention.

"FMLN/FDR--The People United Will Win."

--CISPES flyer promoting National Week of Solidarity and Action with El Salvador, January 18-22, 1982.

"The FMLN/FDR together constitute the largest political movement in the history of El Salvador."

--Ibid.

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"The FMLN and FDR are working to bring to power a Democratic Revolutionary Government."

"Not a single human rights institution has condemned the FMLN as terrorist or as systematically violating human rights."

--CISPES flyer, "El Salvador's Freedom Fighters--What They Stand For." Undated.

"Our slogan is, 'Make every road a river of enemy blood, every stone a mine, and every helicopter a coffin.' We will make it a reality."

--FMLN Commander Joaquin Villalobos, Radio Venceremos Systems, El Salvador Information Center, PO Box 421965, San Francisco CA 94142.

". . . the Salvadoran opposition, united in the FMLN-FDR (Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front-Democratic Revolutionary Front), has gained the political and military initiative. They have established 'zones of control' throughout the country, clearly demonstrating that they have the support of the people."

--CISPES flyer promoting November 12, 1983 March on Washington.

"We must seriously address the question of the right of the Salvadorans to self-determination, and of the FMLN/FDR as the legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people. As more and more leaders of the FMLN are captured/arrested, as more and more organized sectors are repressed because of the alleged FMLN affiliations, we must underline their right to organize freely and struggle to replace the repressive U.S.-backed regime in El Salvador."

--CISPES national office, in letter to activists, August 27, 1982.

". . . we are also committed to support the Nicaraguan and Guatemalan revolutionary struggles, through our own work and regular participation in support of the work of the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People (NNSNP [or Nicaragua Network]) and the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (NISGUA)."

--CISPES Membership Packet, January 1985.

"Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras will have their hour of liberation and . . . the Sandinista revolution was the first flame in that process."

--Oscar Gonzalez, FMLN representative at conference in Cuba. Quoted in *Soviet World Outlook*, Advanced International Studies Institute and University of Miami, 15 March 1982.

"The goals of CISPES are two-fold: to educate and mobilize the public against U.S. intervention; and, to build popular support for the FMLN-FDR, the broad popular movement for social justice in El Salvador. We also support the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the revolutionary movement in Guatemala."

--Chicago CISPES flyer, "Peace & Justice in Central America," undated.

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"This is not just a Salvadoran revolution. We have to help all of the oppressed and exploited people of Latin America. After we triumph here we will go to Guatemala and offer our proletarian brothers the benefit of our experience. . . . Eventually we will fight in Mexico."

--FMLN Comandante Neto, San Diego Union, 1 March 1981, p. 1.

"CISPES has supported the struggle of the Salvadoran people and the FMLN-FDR since our founding in October of 1980. The FMLN-FDR have legitimately earned recognition as the leaders of that struggle. This position, not only against U.S. intervention, but in support of the Salvadoran people, is the basis for our existence as a solidarity organization."

--CISPES Membership Packet, January 1985, in section titled "Why CISPES Supports the FMLN-FDR."

"During the hearing, [Congressman] Sensenbrenner and minority counsel Alan Slobodin closely questioned Michael Lent of CISPES, seeking to link his group to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and its political arm, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FMLN/FDR).

"Lent. . . denied any link to the Salvadoran rebel-political-military coalition. . . ."

--Washington Post, February 20, 1987, p. A26.

"We had hoped that our support for and contact with the FMLN-FDR would build an organization with a sophisticated understanding of the ups and downs of a revolutionary struggle and a long-term perspective."

--Bob Ostertag, "A History of CISPES," October 1983 Alert!

"The groundwork has been laid for a larger and stronger movement that can contribute to the defeat of the U.S. and the victory of the FMLN. Now we must build that movement."

--Ibid.

"On Wednesday, 19 June, six U.S. advisers [sic] were justly punished. They were annihilated at a restaurant in the San Benito neighborhood by FMLN guerrilla commandos. . . . The FMLN's actions against the Yankee invaders will be expanded, both in number and nature. . . . The execution of these military men is an act of revolutionary justice."

--Radio Venceremos, 21 June 1985, reported in 24 June FBIS.

CISPES response to FMLN's killing of four U.S. Marines and two U.S. businessmen, 19 July 1985:

"Should it surprise us that the Salvadoran guerrillas view U.S. military personnel as enemies? The U.S. military arrives in Third World countries like El Salvador with very sophisticated, modern weapons. The guerrillas have no infrared sights, no helicopters or planes with which to counterattack, or even

anti-aircraft weaponry for simple self defense. When they hit back, they strike at a target within their means, in this case Marines at a sidewalk cafe. A 'terrorist' attack? Compared to what?"

--CISPES editorial, July-August 1985 Alert!, p. 2.

"We are not tied to terrorists." --CISPES spokesman Beth Perry.

--Miami Herald, October 25, 1984, p. 16A.

"Yankee aggressor, your tomb will be El Salvador!"

--FMLN General Command, Radio Venceremos, 25 June 1985, reported in 25 June FBIS Latin America Report.

"Our struggle in the diplomatic and political field already has a regional context, and if the imperialists insist on their policy of aggression, the open regionalization of the war will become a necessity and we will participate in it. It is in this context that the forces that form the FMLN will maintain and strengthen relations with all the forces and governments interested in the peace of Central and Latin America. That is why we reply to imperialism: We are and will continue to be friends of the peoples and governments of Cuba and Nicaragua and we are not ashamed of this. On the contrary, we are proud to maintain relations with those peoples, who are bastions of the anti-imperialist struggle."

--FMLN Radio Venceremos, 13 March 1983. Monitored in FBIS Latin America Report, 15 March, 1983.

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Appendix 3

The FMLN literacy campaign

Charitable groups which have been either created or co-opted by FMLN support organizations have heralded the guerrillas' literacy campaign for the illiterate peasants in rural El Salvador. The FMLN's literacy program serves a threefold purpose: To demonstrate to El Salvador's poor that it can offer the people something which the government cannot, in this case education; and to project the image in the western democracies that the FMLN has a humanitarian agenda in addition to its political/military one.

Third, the image of a functioning FMLN literacy program enables FMLN supporters to raise money in the West to sustain that program. Most humanitarian funds raised for the FMLN are skimmed off and diverted for military purposes. According to Miguel Castellanos, former finance director for the FPL faction of the FMLN, seventy percent of such humanitarian aid is channeled to the actual combatants.

Ideological indoctrination

Like the highly-publicized political indoctrination that forms the core of the literacy program sponsored by the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, the FMLN's literacy campaign serves to indoctrinate as it educates.

A hand-written FMLN literacy book captured from the unit with Commander Nidia Diaz in April 1985 shows how the paramilitary organization indoctrinates its supporters in Marxist-Leninist ideology. The following letters, words, sounds, phrases, sentences and illustrations are taken from the literacy book and serve as examples:

- C. *Centro America*. (Central America). Map of Central America, with El Salvador marked with an explosion, and Nicaragua marked "libre."
- CH. *Ernesto Che Guevara*. Sketch of Che Guevara. Phrase: "La *lucha de Chile*." (The struggle of Chile). For a literacy campaign, there is little concern with sentence structure.
- D. *Dialogo*. (Dialogue). Picture of two men seated at table; one man is bearded and wears a cap, resembling Fidel Castro.
- F. *Farabundo*. Picture of Salvadoran Communist Party founder and Comintern agent Farabundo Marti, for whom the FMLN is named.
- G. *Burguesia*. (Bourgeoisie). Picture of well-dressed fat man with bag of money.
- K. "*Emboscamos en el Kilometro 51*." ("We will ambush at Kilometer 51.")
- L. *Liberacion*. (Liberation). Picture of map of El Salvador with FMLN flag flying over it.

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- M. *Milicias Populares*. (Popular Militias). Picture of peasant with sickle and gun.
- P. *Poder Popular*. (People's Power). Accompanied with a picture of a group of people with an FMLN flag. *Pepe*. Picture of a man ("Pepe") holding a gun.
- RR. *Barricada*. Barricade. Picture of barricade in the streets.
- T. *Titere*. (Puppet). Picture of President Duarte as marionette, with puppeteer labeled "Reagan."
- Z. *Zapadores*. (those who dig trenches, lay mines, etc). Picture of *zapador* with gun and shovel near electric power pylon, a common target of FMLN bombings. Sentence: "*Zenobio va a la zona liberada.*" (Zenobio goes to the liberated zone). "Zenobio" is not a Spanish name, but it appears to be a reference to Grigory Zinoviev, the Comintern leader who oversaw the international Communist movement at the time of Farabundo Marti in the 1920s and '30s.
- "AR" sound. *Partido*. (Political party). Sentence: "*La Alfabetizacion. . . Otra arma en la revolucion.*" ("Literacy. . . Other arm of the revolution.") Picture of hammer and sickle.
- "AM" sound. "*Campesino. El campesino se organiza. Combatimos al imperialismo.*" ("Peasant. The peasant organizes. We combat imperialism.")
- "CL" sound. "*Lucha de clases.*" "*La lucha de clases es el motor de la historia.*" ("Class struggle." "Class struggle is the engine of history.") Accompanying the example is a picture of soldier and a well-dressed fat man with a bag of money, faced by an angry crowd with a gun and sickle.
- "BR" sound. "*Hombre nuevo.*" "*Obreros y campesinos al poder.*" ("New man." "Workers and peasants to power.")
- "DR" sound. "*La DRU.*" "*Direccion Revolucionaria Unificada.*" ("The DRU." "Unified Revolutionary Directorate.") These vocabulary words refer to the first coalition of Salvadoran guerrilla groups in 1980 that evolved into the coordinating body of the FMLN. Illustrating these examples is a cloud bearing the initials of the five political factions of the FMLN, which were also members of the DRU: FPL (Popular Liberation Forces), PCS (Communist Party of El Salvador), PRTC (Central American Revolutionary Workers Party), PRS (Salvadoran Revolutionary Party), and RN (National Resistance).
- "FR" sound. "*Frentes de liberacion.*" "*Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberacion Nacional. Los revolucionarios no tenemos fronteras.*" ("Liberation fronts." "Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. The revolutionaries have no borders.") The accompanying picture is of the FMLN banner.

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Appendix 4

1980 CISPES Founding Conference Work Plan

WORK PLAN FOR THE SALVADOREAN SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT
as recommended by
the East Coast Conference in Solidarity with the Salvadorean People
Washington, D.C., October 11-12, 1980

OPPOSE ALL FORMS OF U.S. INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR

- *Pressure Congress to halt all U.S. military aid to El Salvador
- *Pressure the Administration to halt all U.S. military aid shipments, military cash sales, and military education and training of Salvadorean forces
- Initiate letter-writing campaigns to Congress and the Secretary of State
- Confront Congresspersons in their local districts through visits, attending forums where they will be speaking, etc.
- Promote the approval of resolutions or statements by city, county, or state governments and major political figures
- Use full-page ads in local newspapers with signatures showing broad opposition
- Organize fact-finding delegations to El Salvador which can return and generate publicity and support

BREAK THE MEDIA BLACKOUT AND INFORMATION DISTORTION

- *Pressure the traditional media to include more and better coverage of El Salvador
- *Pressure journalists' associations, newspaper guilds, etc., to denounce the repression of journalists and media workers in El Salvador
- *Develop alternative channels of communication and information sharing
- Bombard editors with letters, arrange for visits or influential local delegations
- Prepare Co-Ed pieces, suggest possible radio/TV interviews with local angle
- Develop a network of people who will respond immediately to articles or coverage as it does appear
- Raise money to help distribute the bulletin of the FOR
- Develop an El Salvador news and information center here in the U.S.
- Distribute news updates on a regular basis to the solidarity network
- Provide information on a systematic basis to labor, minority, and community presses

EXPOSE THE REPRESSIVE NATURE OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

- *Raise public awareness of the program, linking it to the "land-to-the-tiller" pacification program used in Vietnam
- *Denounce the role of AIFLD, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, in planning and implementing the reform
- *Make contact with farm groups, food and farm workers, and others with a special interest in agrarian or hunger problems
- *Pressure Congress to halt use of military aid, as well as World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and Inter-American Development Bank funds, for the agrarian reform

SUPPORT THE SALVADOREAN PEOPLE IN THEIR LIBERATION STRUGGLE

- *Denounce the genocidal repression and the critical situation of refugees and displaced persons
- *Pressure the governments of the U.S. and El Salvador to assure the neutrality and protection of humanitarian relief efforts, including in particular refugee centers and medical and relief personnel
- *Work to secure refugees, or in the U.S. "extended voluntary departure", status for those Salvadoreans who have been forced to flee their country
- *Encourage greater support for humanitarian assistance efforts already underway
- *Establish a nationally coordinated fund-raising campaign to support the people of El Salvador, including sale of "Free El Salvador" certificates

RELIGIOUS SECTOR

General Considerations

Outreach within the religious community should seek, among other things, to highlight the witness of the Church and Christians in El Salvador today, including their support of the popular organizations. It should also seek to help North American Christians understand the theological basis for the Church's action in El Salvador, and the persecution it is subjected to as a consequence. Care needs to be taken, however, not to present the Church in isolation from the people of the community as a whole. In the same manner, solidarity efforts within the religious community here should strive to maintain close cooperation with secular groups in the broader Salvadorean solidarity movement.

Specific recommendations:

1. Organize delegations of church people to visit the religious editor of local newspapers; coordinate with a broader-based letter-writing campaign to focus on media blackout, distortion
2. Insure regular distribution of news updates, analysis to religious press
3. Prepare Op-Ed pieces for submission by local church officials
4. Encourage local groups to plan commemorations of the anniversary of Archbishop Romero's assassination
5. Form a coordinating group for religious people within the broader El Salvador solidarity movement, with the specific task of helping develop and coordinate the following:
 - Preparation of informational materials, liturgical aids, suggestions for prayer vigils, speakers, etc. for use by local churches
 - Facilitation of church-to-church dialogue, arranging for visit of U.S. church delegations to El Salvador and visits of Salvadorean church people here
 - Participation of religious groups in the National Week of Solidarity, suggested to be held January 18-25 so as to include commemoration of the peasant massacre in 1932 and the march of 200,000 in 1980 (both Jan. 22) and the week of Prayer for Christian Unity
 - Preparation of a resource list for distribution to local churches, parishes: include "theological" resources, slides, music, speakers, forums, liturgies, etc.
 - Translation and distribution of news from Socorro Jurídico, Orientación
 - Approval by major church bodies of statements or resolutions denouncing U.S. aid to the junta, its genocidal policies, persecution of the Church, and offering support for the popular organizations
 - Preparation of an ecumenical letter, signed by top religious officials, to the President, State Department, Congress, perhaps to be delivered by a top-level delegation

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Copy of Congressman Dellums' CISPES Fundraiser

Congressman Ronald V. Dellums

Washington, D. C.
Friday morning

Dear Fellow Citizen,

A growing militarism infects our nation, threatens our planet, and poisons the hopes of our children.

Will you help me convince my colleagues in Congress to stop building a perpetual war machine and start rebuilding America?

Ronald Reagan now gives the Pentagon half of every dollar you and I pay in federal income taxes. If yours is a typical American household, you will have poured more than \$20,000.00 down this defense drain before Reagan's second term is over.

Don't think it will end there. Reagan proposes a 12% increase in military spending for this year, coupled with massive cutbacks in nearly every non-military program. This arms build-up is wreaking incredible long-term damage to our economy and seriously weakening our social fabric. Education, health care, jobs -- all suffer the ill effects resulting from the misplaced priorities of this new militarism.

I plan to submit an Alternative Defense Budget to the 100th Congress when it convenes -- just as I have done in every session since 1982. It is a budget for defense -- not for playing strategic "chicken" with the Soviet Union or for war-games -- and war -- in the Third World. Instead, it will allow us to return to the vital task of building a just, compassionate America and a peaceful world.

Since I suspect you already share my concern over America's ominous, wasteful, military build-up, I invite you to join me now in support of the Alternative Defense Budget. Let us establish together the framework for a new era of safety, security, and realism about America's global role.

Together we can keep alive national debate at the highest levels of government, and make significant progress toward a sane defense policy.

In this debate, we must very clearly understand what we are willing to pay for, and why.

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I believe that until we re-order our defense policies, military spending will continue to ravage American society and drain both our personal and national resources

Military spending is the issue upon which the fate of our whole society now hinges. Its urgency does not allow you and me to sit around waiting for a changing of the guard. We must start now to bring the country back to reality.

Because many of my Congressional colleagues are now searching for the right road -- and open to alternatives -- it is particularly urgent that we fully debate the Alternative Defense Budget in the next session of Congress.

Even my arch-conservative colleague Newt Gingrich conceded during the historic House debate on an earlier version of the Alternative Defense Budget: "I think your cry from the heart is fundamentally right."

And despite intimidation by the Pentagon brass and the arms manufacturers, we keep on winning important victories.

I have fought continuously against the MX missile. In 1977, I could muster only 11 votes to kill all funding for this dangerous, useless weapon. But in 1985, the tide had turned. Congress approved only a fraction of the requested funding. And we have succeeded in publicly exposing the fraudulent shift in strategy that would base the MX in hardened missile silos as a first-strike weapon.

My opposition to the B-1 bomber also dates back to the day it was proposed. As special Congressional advisor to President Carter, I was able to halt the development of the B-1 for several years. Under Ronald Reagan, it has unfortunately been revived at an estimated \$398 million per plane.

I helped engineer the successful freeze on military spending in the 99th Congress.

And I am continuing the fight against Reagan's destabilizing "Star Wars" program after helping to cut more than \$1 billion from his original request for research and development.

The humane, realistic assumptions about America's real national security needs and our proper role in world affairs are what makes the Alternative Defense Budget so different from the Reagan Administration's budget. Here is our agenda:

- ** We must reverse the nuclear arms race.
- ** We must end American interventionism in Central America and throughout the world.
- ** We must curtail the plans for Star Wars.
- ** We must initiate effective arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union.
- ** We must stop acting as the world's biggest arms merchant.
- ** We must reform the Pentagon's procurement methods.
- ** We must begin the conversion to a productive peacetime economy.

But as long as national priorities are defined by the Pentagon and not by the people, the debate will continue. And we will have to defer even longer our vision of full employment, true security, justice and equality.

I will not deceive you by suggesting that we can make our views about the madness of current military policies prevail overnight.

But I will not allow us to delay even a moment in carrying on the work that we must do for ourselves, our children, and our children's children.

Let me tell you exactly what I plan to do.

I will present the Alternative Defense Budget to the 100th Congress. I will make certain its assumptions and implications are explored by the full House of Representatives in debate on the Floor.

I will work to explain the Alternative Defense Budget to the national news media, to specialized journals, and to the American people directly. The counsels of peace will be given their chance to prevail.

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And I will keep on confronting the military establishment until it accepts the inevitable: The United States must build a just, compassionate society at home while working unceasingly for world peace.

Let us start right now to work together toward this goal.

Please respond quickly to this letter. Your personal support is a vital tool in building a Congressional coalition in favor of the Alternative Defense Budget.

The Republican National Committee and wealthy Right-wingers in California are all as eager as ever to unseat me in the coming elections. Your contribution to my re-election campaign for \$25, \$35, \$50, \$100 or more -- especially at this crucial early date -- will help ensure that my campaign committee has adequate resources to defend me from the Right-wing attack we can expect.

With your gift of \$250 or more, you will become a member of the Dellums Leadership Circle, a select group of far-sighted Americans committed to a sound, progressive vision of our future.

By helping me, you will be making sure that the concerns of all progressive Americans, wherever they live and work, are voiced both in crucial Committee meetings and on the House Floor.

I will keep you fully informed of my progress. And I pledge to make your support for sane defense policies more widely known in Congress and throughout Washington. The fight for a rational alternative to military madness remains my unremitting priority.

Sincerely,



Ronald V. Dellums

Appendix 6

Copy of Congressman Dymally's CISPES Fundraiser

Congressman ~~Almon~~ Al Dymally**RELEASED**El Salvador: Human Rights Washington, D. C.
Special Project (1993) Wednesday afternoon

Dear Fellow American Citizen,

The United States is deeply involved in a civil war in El Salvador -- a war which has cost over a billion taxpayer dollars, killed 50,000 Salvadorans, and driven over one and a half million more from their homes.

U.S. arms provide firepower in the Salvadoran civil war. U.S. advisors provide training and oversight, and U.S. pilots use infra-red equipment to identify targets.

The war will not stop without your help.

There are three things you can do to help stop the bombing in El Salvador and end U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. But before telling you what they are, I must make clear how seriously I view this situation.

During my six years on the Foreign Affairs Committee, I have listened to witnesses chronicle our deepening military involvement in Central America. In my Los Angeles County home district, Salvadoran refugees have told me about the high human toll of the war.

Sporadic news reporting fails to convey a full picture of the intensity of the fighting or of its impact:

- o Our tax dollars fund an escalating air war which features daily bombings of civilian areas. U.S.-trained pilots fly AC-47 gunships which can put a bullet in every square foot of an area the size of a football field -- within three seconds.
- o Since January, the Salvadoran military has been conducting "Operation Phoenix" -- a massive drive to depopulate Guazapa Province, a few miles north of El Salvador's capital city.
- o Once, 50,000 people -- mainly farmers -- lived in the area around the Guazapa Volcano. Now, less than 1,500 civilians are estimated to be left. The army has methodically killed livestock, burned fields and fruit trees, and destroyed food stocks -- all violations of the Geneva Accords.
- o According to an April 18th report from the Christian Committee for the Displaced of El Salvador, Operation Phoenix has produced 245 civilians murdered, including 5 pregnant women; 1,345 civilians captured; and 13 villages totally destroyed.

On January 13, 1986 the Washington Post (p. A21) reported, "El Salvador's Roman Catholic Archbishop [Arturo Rivera y Damas] said he witnessed a government aerial bombardment of a populated

area during his pastoral visit to guerilla-controlled areas this week ... he witnessed the bombing last Monday as residents of the embattled northern Chalatenango Province were singing songs of welcome to him.... Defense officials denied that there was any bombing in the area where Rivera y Damas visited."

The American people and their representatives in Congress must not allow our government to support the bombing of civilians. That is why the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is organizing a National Emergency Campaign to Stop the Bombing. I ask you to support the campaign.

Members of CISPES are working in local communities across the country, informing their neighbors about the threat of full-scale war in Central America -- and asking them to also take action.

With 450 committees in towns and cities in all 50 states, and close working relationships with many other organizations, CISPES is ideally suited to inspire public opposition to the widening U.S. role in Central America. Through films, slide-shows, and public discussions in churches, community centers, and homes, CISPES' volunteer members are showing Americans what is really happening in Central America.

In its 5-1/2 years of existence, CISPES has helped hundreds of thousands of Americans take action for peace -- many for the first time.

** CISPES efforts have motivated thousands to call Members of Congress and to write letters voicing opposition to the U.S. war in Central America.

** CISPES volunteers are breaking through the news media blackout on El Salvador. Op-ed articles, letters to the editor, and newspaper ads are telling the facts. "Stop the Bombing" bus and subway placards are up in urban transit systems across the country.

** CISPES has sent hundreds of thousands of dollars to help meet the basic human needs of those in El Salvador suffering from war. In 1985 alone, CISPES grassroots committees sent over \$180,000 in humanitarian aid.

My House and Senate colleagues have access to the same information as do I. "War stories" will not change their votes -- unless they also know that a consensus in opposition to the war is building among their own constituents.

Through organization, that consensus can be built. That is why CISPES is embarking on a two-year educational campaign in 50 key Congressional districts. With trained full-time organizers,

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CISPES will reach the unconvinced, recruit volunteers and build effective opposition to the bombing.

With generous initial contributions, CISPES has begun the effort -- and already shown results in Congress:

- * 47 Members of Congress have co-sponsored a resolution by Rep. John Conyers condemning the continuing human rights violations in El Salvador and calling for a halt to the indiscriminate air and ground attacks on civilians.
- * At CISPES' urging, House Ways and Means Chair Dan Rostenkowski wrote letters to our colleagues, David Obey, Chair of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, and Michael Barnes, Chair of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee. He voiced opposition to the Administration's supplemental request of \$54 million in Central American police training funds.

The police training measure failed -- thanks in part to the opposition of Rep. Rostenkowski and other members of Congress contacted by CISPES.

- * Following Rep. Rostenkowski's letter and thousands of letters from CISPES members, Rep. Barnes held Subcommittee hearings on the human rights situation in El Salvador.
- * Rep. Frank Annunzio, a former supporter of military aid to El Salvador, credits CISPES members in his district with changing his point of view about the effects of that aid in El Salvador.

But now our government is escalating the U.S. military role in Central America in ways reminiscent of the expansion of the war in Vietnam -- and we must all redouble our efforts to respond.

Here are the three things YOU can do RIGHT NOW to help STOP THE BOMBING:

- 1) Write a check to CISPES today for \$35 -- or for \$25, \$50 or \$100 -- and send it to us in the enclosed postage-paid envelope.

The day-to day work of CISPES is carried out by volunteers, and the CISPES staff are paid subsistence wages. But other expenses are unavoidably high. To finance its National Emergency Campaign to Stop the Bombing, CISPES must raise over \$45,000 in the next two weeks -- and most of it must come from individuals like yourself.

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- 2) Sign the "Urgent Reply Memorandum" I am enclosing and return it along with your contribution. We need to obtain thousands of signatures as part of CISPES' effort to deliver these pledges by the truckload to Members of Congress. Your representatives must recognize that you want them to act to stop the bombings.
- 3) If you wish to participate actively in your local community as well, write down your phone number on the enclosed reply memorandum. CISPES staff or other volunteers in your area will contact you with details about grassroots activities in which you may take part.

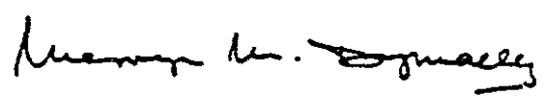
The Reagan Administration and the Congress are at a crossroads. You can help point out the right path.

One path leads to peace and economic justice. It is the route to the recognition of human rights and the sanctity of human life.

The other path -- the way of death squads and massive bombardment -- leads to large-scale death and destruction. We took that path in Southeast Asia.

Let us not allow our government to lead us down that path again.

Sincerely,



MERVYN M. DYMALLY
 Member of Congress
 Committee on Foreign Affairs

P.S. Your check for \$100 or more will be tax-deductible if made payable to the "Institute for Effective Action". Contributions will fund CISPES' ongoing educational work.

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Appendix 7

Copy of Congressman Conyers' NEST Fundraiser

Congressman John Conyers, Jr.

FIRST DISTRICT MICHIGAN
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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Dear Friend,

I know you share with me a commitment to peace in Central America, and that's why I'm writing you now.

For the twenty-one years I've served as a U.S. Congressman, I've been proud of the desire of most Americans to protect human rights and their willingness to help those less fortunate when help is necessary.

Today our help is desperately needed in El Salvador.

You are no doubt aware of the shocking facts about the human toll of El Salvador's war -- 50,000 persons killed largely by the military and right-wing death squads over the past five years; 500,000 refugees struggling for survival within El Salvador alone.

Now in the Salvadoran countryside, human suffering has taken on a new face -- a face molded, in large part, by the more than \$1.7 billion in U.S. aid to El Salvador during the Reagan administration.

And the chief victims are El Salvador's civilians.

Determined to destroy any base for the opposition movement, the Duarte government and the Salvadoran military forces are attacking their own people with unrestrained savagery.

Every day planes bought with U.S. tax dollars fly over countryside considered "enemy territory," machine-gunning, firing mortars and dropping anti-personnel bombs on whatever moves below. Ground forces ruthlessly carry out "search and destroy" missions -- standard procedures ordered by their U.S. advisors.

And every day, caught up in a war not of their making, hundreds of children, women and men are forced to flee their homes in terror of the military's raids or aerial attacks.

A handful of U.S. observers have taken the perilous journey into these war zones. They have brought back bloodchilling testimonies of military massacres.

- o Old women unable to run -- mowed down with machine guns.
- o Children stabbed, shot and mutilated.
- o Babies crying in pain from white phosphorus burns.



When the Salvadoran army mounts a drive through a village, the people flee to avoid the wrath of the military. These marches -- called quindas (pronounced "GEEN-duz") -- sometimes last for weeks.

The quindas take a shocking toll on children and the elderly. Often safe drinking water and food are simply unavailable. Without adequate shelter, without medicine, without rest, often the very youngest and the very oldest simply die. As one eyewitness said:

"Sometimes we have suffered for eight days or ten days without water during the different times when we had to be fleeing. I have two children who died and, really, I blame that on the [military] because they didn't have to die...."

"A lot of times when we had to leave, I might be right in the middle of making tortillas or whatever and there was no choice, you just had to leave everything. There have been so many massacres that when you have to leave, you just leave...."

And when the survivors return, bravely determined to rebuild some semblance of a normal life, this is what they find: the military has burned down their houses, killed their chickens and pigs, even razed their newly planted crops. Deprived of their only sources of livelihood and nourishment, they are desperately hungry.

You might well ask: how can this be?

While a wealthy minority controls the bulk of the country's resources, the majority of Salvadorans are trapped in poverty and landlessness. Peaceful attempts at land reform or other democratic change that might ease this chronic impoverishment have been ruthlessly thwarted by the Salvadoran military.

It is not difficult to comprehend why some who oppose the Salvadoran government's war on its own people have fought back in desperation.

But it is difficult to comprehend why the Salvadoran military, in seeking to stop this opposition, is attacking the unarmed population with such ferocious brutality.

In destroying the rural economy and deliberately targeting civilians, Napoleon Duarte's "democratic" government hopes to undercut support for its opposition. But the true sufferers are the innocent.

"Every time when soldiers have come here they have either burnt the fields or trampled down the new plants, so you

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never know. These are things they are doing against the civilian population because we are not [guerrillas] here...."

We can no longer avoid addressing what is being done in our name in El Salvador.

On the floor of Congress, I have adamantly opposed military aid to the Salvadoran government. And, though Congress ended up approving additional U.S. military assistance to El Salvador, I believe the American public stands with me in opposing this tragic use of our tax dollars.

I hope that someday our government will correct itself, just as it finally extricated itself from the Vietnam War. But until that happens, we cannot help but shoulder part of the responsibility for our country's role in heightening the conflict in El Salvador -- and for the human suffering this conflict is causing.

I know that you share my concern for the civilian victims of El Salvador. So I am eager to tell you about a way in which we can help, not hurt, the people of El Salvador.

A small and resourceful organization called New El Salvador Today (N.E.S.T.) is working to provide emergency help for the children, women and men living in economic desperation because of El Salvador's war.

N.E.S.T. is a non-profit tax-exempt foundation which is sending humanitarian aid to those whose lives are most affected by the violence of the U.S.-supported war. Already N.E.S.T. has succeeded in channeling over \$225,000 to the civilian populations in El Salvador's war zones.

The situation these thousands of families face is truly a life-or-death emergency.

They lack even the most basic requirements for life:

- o Because their crops have been destroyed, they need food.
- o Because they had to flee for their lives, leaving everything behind, they need clothing.
- o Because they have walked for weeks on end, wearing out what footwear they had before, they need shoes.

And, most of all, despite their incredible resilience and determination, they need our immediate help.

To respond to this urgent need, N.E.S.T. is mounting an Emergency Relief Campaign to raise \$100,000 for desperately needed food and everyday necessities.

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Because the situation is so critical, N.E.S.T. is appealing to individual Americans like you who care enough to support this Emergency Relief Campaign right now.

I am asking you to give whatever you can -- \$25, \$35, \$50 or more. Your contribution will be used immediately to support N.E.S.T.'s efforts to provide clothing and food for the civilian populations impoverished by this violent civil conflict. These supplies will then be transported at great risk -- often on people's backs -- into El Salvador's war zones.

Our government sends billions of dollars to El Salvador that destroy lives. Here is a chance to send something to save human lives.

And it takes so little to help! Simply fill out the enclosed reply form and return it with your tax-deductible contribution -- whatever you can afford to give.

As a supporter of N.E.S.T.'s Emergency Relief Campaign, you will have the satisfaction of knowing that you are helping to redress the destruction being done by the U.S. military aid sent to El Salvador.

On behalf of N.E.S.T. and the people of El Salvador, I thank you.

Sincerely,

John Conyers
Congressman John Conyers, Jr.
1st District, Michigan

P.S. Every day is critical now for the people of war-torn El Salvador. So, please, don't put this letter aside. I urge you to take a moment to send in your contribution to N.E.S.T.'s Emergency Relief Campaign today.

JC/rmk

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Appendix 8

CISPES and the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy

The Coalition for a New Foreign Policy is a lobbying organization made up of various church, "peace" and activist groups with a liberal to leftist outlook. It serves as a coordinating body for grassroots activists to lobby their elected officials, monitoring legislation, publicizing the bills before Congress, and mobilizing its constituent groups. There is some question as to whether the Coalition and/or its members may be violating IRS tax codes which forbid religious, charitable and educational organizations from devoting more than a small portion of their budgets and programs to lobbying.

CISPES is a member of the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy. In a March 1987 letter sent to "Dear Friends Concerned About El Salvador," the Coalition urged local activists to participate in a "Campaign of Inquiry designed to educate Congress on El Salvador," and "to prod congresspeople to learn more about the reality of El Salvador today and thus lay the foundation for specific legislation for a more positive U.S. policy."

This "positive" work is done in tandem with CISPES' own campaign to influence legislation which would help undermine the government of President Duarte in El Salvador, and brings into question whether the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy is simply a mainstream liberal organization that is being used by CISPES, or is a more radical group with a hidden agenda that is concealing its true intentions from its members and from Congress.

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Appendix 9

Overt FMLN bank account numbers,
addresses, and related operatives

FMLN Accounts in Mexico City

Bank: BANAMEX
Account number: 516-612221-1
Name: Esteban Ramirez.

Bank: BANCA SERFIN, S.A. (Sucursal Perisur)
Account number: 66-327-5227
Name: Andres Fabregas or Gilberto Lopez y Rivas.

World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador
(Frente Mundial de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Salvadoreno)
Hacienda de Colorme 51
Col. Floresta-Coyoacan
C.P. 14310
Mexico, D.F.
Tel: 905-684-6005

or

Cuauhtemoc 799
Despacho 7
Col. Navarte
C.P. 03020
Mexico, D.F.
Tel: 905-687-5659
Telex: FRENTE MUNDIAL, No. 0761155 NASRME

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NOTES

¹"Structure of the Salvadoran Left," chart, The Washington Post, 9 July 1983, p. A13; Guy Gugliotta, "Leftist List: Little New, Lots That's Old," The Miami Herald, 14 March 1982, p. 10A. Also see, El Salvador Revista Internacional, No. 4, 1981, published in Mexico by the FMLN.

²Ibid.

See new state publ.

³R. Bruce McColm. El Salvador: Peaceful Revolution or Armed Struggle? (New York: Freedom House, 1982), p. 24. Also, Roger Reed, El Salvador and the Crisis in Central America (Washington: Council for Inter-American Security, 1984), p. 13.

*Anderson book
for historical*

⁴See footnote 1.

⁵The founding and operation of the FSLN solidarity apparatus is documented by L. Francis Bouchev, ed., The Real Secret War: Sandinista Political Warfare and its Effects on Congress (Washington: Council for Inter-American Security, 1987), Part II.

⁶This is described by New York Times journalist Bernard Diederich in his book, Somoza and the Legacy of U.S. Involvement in Central America. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1981).

⁷The Handal diary was released by the U.S. Department of State in February 1981. A published translation appears in Uri Ra'anan, et. al., Hydra of Carnage: International Linkages of Terrorism (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1986), pp. 350-358.

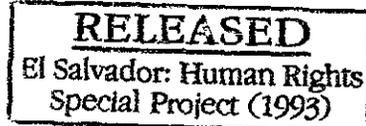
⁸Edward O'Malley, Assistant Director of Intelligence Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, in Soviet Active Measures. Hearings before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, 13 and 14 July 1982, pp. 203-206, 218.

⁹Farid Handal identified Garcia Almeida by name. The Cuban is identified as an intelligence operative by John Barron in KGB Today--The Hidden Hand, (New York: Readers Digest Press, 1983), p. 244.

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¹⁶Anthony Lewis, "Another Noble Cause," The New York Times, 1 December 1980.

¹⁷O'Malley, hearings, p. 230.



¹⁸Bittman, pp. 91-95.

¹⁹The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) is a product of the 1966 Tricontinental Conference in Havana, Cuba. NACLA is described as an offshoot of the radical Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). "NACLA specializes in the preparation of reports on Latin American affairs from a decidedly Marxist perspective," and its material "finds its way into the hands of journalists and government policy formulators," according to a study on terrorism and terrorist support operations by Stefan Possony and L. Francis Bouchey. NACLA, the study said, "has come to be known as the 'intelligence-gathering arm of the movement,' a movement dominated by groups and organizations of Marxist-Leninist persuasion who are part of the Tricontinental revolutionary support apparatus." Stefan Possony and L. Francis Bouchey, *International Terrorism: The Communist Connection*. (Washington: American Council for World Freedom, 1978), pp. 104-105.

²⁰John Rees, Information Digest, 28 January 1983.

²¹CISPES flyer for Salvadoran "refugees," originally cited in "CISPES: A Terrorist Propaganda Network" (Washington: CIS, 1984).

²²The Institute for Policy Studies report is described by Allan C. Brownfeld and J. Michael Waller in *The Revolution Lobby* (Washington: Council for Inter-American Security, 1985), pp. 23-27.

²³"Metodo Revolucionario," historical analysis of revolution by Manuel Hernandez. Captured from Nidia Diaz archive, April 1985. (Document AQ)

²⁴Dan Williams. "Salvadoran Rebel Documents, Defector Describe. . ." Los Angeles Times, 25 May 1985, p. 20. Also see "'Revolution Beyond Our Borders': Sandinista Intervention in Central America," U.S. Department of State Special Report No. 132, September 1985, p. 12.

The evidence that the Sandinista government directly provides the FMLN with weapons and supplies is incontrovertible. The following documents issued by the U.S. Department of State provide information from both public and intelligence sources: "Communist Interference in El Salvador," Special Report No. 80, 23 February 1981; "Background Paper: Nicaragua's Military Buildup and Support for Central American Subversion," 18 July 1984; "News Briefing on Intelligence Information on External Support of the Guerrillas in El Salvador," 8 August 1984; "The Soviet-Cuban Connection in Central America and the Caribbean, March 1985; "The Sandinista Military Buildup," 1985; and "The Challenge to Democracy in Central America," June 1986. Selected press reports include, "Pilot Confirms Arms Shipments to El Salvador," by the Spanish AFP news agency, 21 July 1982; "Young Defector Confirms Sandinistas Crossing to Enter El Salvador," Washington Times, 27 August 1984; "Apoyo de Sandinistas a Terroristas Salvadoreños," UPI Spanish language dispatch, 13 February 1985; "Salvadoran Rebel Leader Cites Cuban, Managuan Aid," Washington Times and wire services, 30 April 1985; "Presenta EEUU Pruebas Sobre Envio de Armas de Nicaragua a El Salvador," UPI dispatch appearing in Diario Las Americas, 21 December 1985. Perhaps the best single article is James LeMoyne's "The Guerrilla Network," which appeared in the 6 April 1986 New York Times Magazine. University of Virginia Professor John Norton Moore's book, *The Secret War in Central America* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1987) is the best single non-government source on the subject.

²⁵Section 1 of memorandum from FMLN General Command to National Directorate of Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) dated 24 November 1983, on how to isolate President Reagan internationally. Signed by Shafik Handal, Joaquin Villalobos, Roberto Roca and Leonel Gonzales. From Nidia Diaz archive. (Document Q)

²⁶Section 4 of FMLN memorandum about a "very important meeting with DRI," the International Relations Department of the FSLN, dated 22 November. From Nidia Diaz archive. (Document AP-2)

²⁷"Directives for the Political Struggle of the FMLN in This New Phase of the War Process." 26-page memorandum and eight-page annex, dated

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November 1983. From Nidia Diaz archive. (Document S)

²⁸"Resolutions: C.P. of the C.C. [Central Committee] of the PRTC [Central American Revolutionary Workers Party], 3rd Day of Sessions, April 1984," pp. 3-4, 5-6, 9. From Nidia Diaz archive. (Document C)

²⁹Ibid., pp. 18-19.

³⁰Shirley Christian. "Salvador Rebels Say They Killed 13." New York Times, 22 June 1985, p. 3. The FMLN General Command issued a communique on 25 June 1985 praising the attack and announcing that it had been done under the auspices of the entire FMLN. Rural FMLN guerrilla forces also targeted bases where U.S. military training personnel were present. A large FMLN force attacked an army garrison at La Union in June 1986, inflicting heavy casualties on the army, but failing to realize its objective of killing American military personnel there. In March 1987, the FMLN assaulted the El Paraiso garrison in Chalatenango, killing U.S. Army Sergeant Gregory Fronius. The FMLN's apparent intent in conducting these attacks was to give opponents of President Reagan's policy in the United States another excuse to demand a pullout of the small U.S. contingent in El Salvador.

³¹Memorandum from the General Command of FMLN to "Exterior Commission" of FMLN (in Managua), 5 June 1984, in regard to offering a temporary ceasefire for propaganda purposes prior to Democrat Party convention in San Francisco. From Nidia Diaz archive. (Document A-3)

³²"Analysis of the New Salvadoran Government and of its International Context." 22-page memorandum of FMLN-FDR Politico-Diplomatic Commission, 1 June 1984. From Nidia Diaz archive. (Document W)

³³Points of "Jaime," "Maria," and "Bernardo" conversation with Dick McCall, Advisor to Senator Paul Tsongas, 22 June 1984. Signed by "Logan." From Nidia Diaz archive. (Document M)

³⁴"CISPES 1984 Administrative Strategy Proposal," referred to earlier in text.

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³⁵"Interagency Intelligence Study: Soviet Active Measures." Exhibit I, Soviet Active Measures. Hearings before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, 13-14 July 1982, p. 45.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Nicarauac. (Managua: Sandinista Ministry of Culture), January-March 1981.

³⁸Max Singer is quoted by Michael A. Ledeen in "Central America: The Future of the Democratic Revolution." (Washington: Gulf and Caribbean Foundation, 1984), p. 24.

³⁹Frente Mundial. Official newsletter of the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. (Mexico City) September 1983, p. 9.

⁴⁰Vanguardia. (Saltillo, Coahuila, Mexico), 15 March 1985, p. 1.

⁴¹The author was present and took notes when Chandra made this statement at the World Peace Congress in Copenhagen, Denmark, 15 October 1986.

⁴²For more information on the World Peace Council, see Herbert Romerstein, "The World Peace Council and Soviet 'Active Measures,'" (Washington: The Hale Foundation, 1982); John Barron, KGB Today: The Hidden Hand (New York: Readers Digest Press, 1983); "World Peace Council: Instrument of Soviet Foreign Policy," Foreign Affairs Note (Washington: U.S. Department of State, April 1982); Richard H. Shultz and Roy Godson, Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984), pp. 114-132; and Richard H. Shultz, "Recent Regional Patterns" in Hydra of Carnage: International Linkages of Terrorism, Op. cit., esp. pp. 114-117.

⁴³The author was a member of the United States delegation to this conference, and witnessed the proceedings. See his article based on his experience, "Soviet World Peace Council Targets South Africa," Human Events, 8 November 1986, p. 1.

⁴⁴Barron, p. 263.

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⁴⁵See "CIA Study: Soviet Covert Action and Propaganda." Report submitted to the Subcommittee on Oversight, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, in Soviet Covert Action (The Forgery Offensive) hearings, p. 79.

⁴⁶O'Malley, hearings, pp. 203, 204, 211, 218. Also see U.S. Peace Council Founding Agenda, reprinted in The Real Secret War, Op. Cit., pp. 179-182.

⁴⁷New Perspectives, Journal of the World Peace Council (East Berlin) January, 1987, p. 2.

⁴⁸Soviet Active Measures Against the United States. (Alexandria, VA: Western Goals, 1984), p. 47. Also see Barron, p. 271.

⁴⁹The hearings are titled "Soviet Active Measures." A copy of the original, unaltered 48-page World Peace Council brochure is in the author's collection.

⁵⁰Barron, pp. 291-293.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 282.

⁵²Soviet Active Measures Against the United States, p. 47.

⁵³Soviet Active Measures and Disinformation Forecast (Washington: Regnery Gateway), Summer 1986, and Winter 1987, p. 5.

⁵⁴The author saw the Kennedy and Dellums letters of greeting publicly displayed at the WPC World Peace Congress in Copenhagen, October 1986. Kennedy wrote, "We admire your commitment to the cause of peace, and we look forward to learning the results of your meetings. In the words of the old civil rights anthem, 'Deep in our hearts, we do believe that we shall overcome some day.'"

⁵⁵Scott was witnessed at the conference. Her name appears on the official roster of delegates, which identified her as a representative of Congressman Ronald Dellums.

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⁵⁶"Interagency Intelligence Study: Soviet Active Measures," Op. Cit., p. 52.

⁵⁷"Salvadoran Rebels Assault Electoral Office," UPI article, Washington Post, 26 March 1982, p. A26; Christopher Dickey, "Turnout Heavy in El Salvador, Thousands Vote Despite Rebel Threats," Washington Post, 29 March 1982, p. 1.

⁵⁸Caryle Murphy. "12 Will Fast Here for Salvador Peace." Washington Post, 29 March 1982, p. A13. Harkin was quoted as wanting to tell President Reagan, "No, no more guns to El Salvador."

⁵⁹CISPES brochure titled "March 27: At the Crossroads," page 2.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 3. On the cover of the brochure is a photograph of demonstrators carrying a banner which reads, "F.D.R. is the Only Representative of the Salvadoran [People]."

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Membership form for the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Hacienda de Corfome 51, Col. Floresta-Cocoacan, C.P. 14310, Mexico DF., Tel: 905-684-6005. The list of the board of directors and permanent bureau appears on the left of that page.

⁶³"Reestructurado el Buro," Frente Mundial. Newsletter of the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (Mexico City), August 1983. The article announced the reorganization of the Front's governing body, and the resignation of Zimmerman as president. The article ended, "To comrade Bill Zimmerman and to the other comrades who remain on the Permanent Bureau, we give you thanks and satisfaction for having shared with you during the first year of the FMSPS [World Front] the tasks of coordination of international solidarity: For the new members, a salute of welcome and an invitation that, with all your help, imagination and creative forces we will coordinate and build the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador into a dissuasive force against the intervention of the United States in Central America." (The July 1983 issue of Frente Mundial described the planning of the upcoming 12 November demonstrations in Washington.)

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⁶⁴Pete Hamill. "What Does Lou Grant Know About El Salvador?" New York magazine, 15 March 1982. An undated Medical Aid for Indochina (MAI) brochure from 1973 said that since 1971, MAI raised over \$1 million, which was sent to the "Red Cross Section" of North Vietnam (DRVN) and the Vietcong (PRG). The project was to "repair the damage inflicted by the U.S. government."

⁶⁵This information is contained in the masthead of the World Front's newsletter Frente Mundial.

⁶⁶"CIA Study: Trends and Developments in Soviet Active Measures." Published in the "Soviet Active Measures" hearings before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 13 and 14 July 1982, p. 52.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸"Voces de Cuscatlan." Newsletter describing itself as the official voice of the Salvadoran community in the United States. (Mexico) October 1983. Translation appears in Ra'anana, Uri, et. al., Hydra of Carnage, Op. Cit., pp. 347-349.

⁶⁹Richard H. Shultz and Roy Godson. *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures In Soviet Strategy*. (Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984), p. 40.

⁷⁰"Humanitarian Aid' Sent to Salvadoran Guerrillas," West Watch (Washington: Council for Inter-American Security), May 1981, p. 9.

⁷¹"Propuesta para Captar al Maximo de Ayuda con Fines Humanitarios en Beneficio del Proceso Revolucionario." Captured document from FPL faction of FMLN. Released by the U.S. Department of State as Annex I of a series of captured guerrilla documents, April 1981.

⁷²Ibid. This was the opening paragraph of the 11-page document.

⁷³For further information and documentation, see Brownfeld and Waller, *The Revolution Lobby*, Op. Cit., pp. 49-51. Documentation of the CDHES serving as a front for the FMLN is contained in a letter from U.S. Ambassador to San Salvador Edwin G. Corr to Congresswoman Barbara Boxer (D-CA), in diplomatic cable SS 08117, June 1986. Former

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CDHES director Luz Janet Alfaro, a member of the RN faction of the FMLN, described in a televised news conference in San Salvador on 30 May 1986 how the FMLN controlled the CDHES and CO-MADRES, the "Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Disappeared and Assassinated." More information on other FMLN fronts in El Salvador which are used to deceive international observers is contained in U.S. Embassy San Salvador cable 07425 titled "Phantom Critics from the Legal Left: FMLN Front Organizations and their Paid Announcements," May 1986.

⁷⁴World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador membership form, undated. Sergio Mendez Arceo's name appears on the form as a member of the World Front's governing body. It also appears on the masthead of the World Front's monthly newsletter, Frente Mundial. Mendez Arceo is identified as an honorary president of the World Peace Council on page 2 of the January 1987 issue of the WPC's official magazine New Perspectives, published in East Berlin.

⁷⁵Michael Tangeman, "4 Bishops Back Sandinistas, Mexican Prelates Deviate from Majority on State-Church Rift," San Diego Union, 2 November 1986, p. 26.

⁷⁶"Propuesta Para Captar El Maximo De Ayuda" document, Section 5.1, p. 8. Original citation in note 79.

⁷⁷Ecumenical Press Service, 23 October 1981; United Methodist Newscope, 4 December 1981; United Methodist Reporter, 8 May 1981; Columbia Review of Journalism, September/October 1981. For added insight into the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches and their longtime support for left-wing and Communist causes, see C. Gregg Singer, *The Unholy Alliance*. (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1975); and Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac, *The Coercive Utopians: Social Deception by America's Power Players*. (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1983); and James L. Tyson, *Prophets or Useful Idiots? Church Organizations Attacking U.S. Central American Policy*. (Washington: Council for the Defense of Freedom, 1986). CBS "60 Minutes" exposed the National Council of Churches on 23 January 1983, in a segment titled "The Gospel According to Whom?" A four-

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page description of the program is contained in the February-B 1983 issue of AIM Report from Accuracy in Media.

Add: A TIME FOR CANDOR.

⁷⁸Bittman, Op. Cit., p. 189.

⁷⁹Ibid. See the New York Times, 17 May 1978, p. A23.

⁸⁰Philip Agee, interview with Peter Studer. "Philip Agee--Turncoat CIA Agent." Tages-Anzeiger (Zurich), March 1975. Cited in Broken Seals, (Alexandria, VA: Western Goals, 1980), p. 46.

⁸¹Philip Agee. Inside the Company: CIA Diary. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1975), pp. 639-640.

⁸²Technically, Simon could be correct about the State Department's claim. The State Department released the FMLN document containing Oxfam's name and contribution, but did not make the accusation itself. The point is moot, however, because Oxfam's August 1980 newsletter said that it gave money to the same group mentioned in the FMLN document. A recently declassified cable from Secretary of State Alexander Haig to the US Embassy in San Salvador showed official U.S. concern with possible funding of the FMLN by Oxfam. However, a letter from Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations Powell Moore to Senator Jeremiah Denton dated 11 March 1982 said that "An extensive search of our files has produced no record of [Oxfam's] involvement [with the FMLN]." Moore was mistaken, because it was the State Department itself which released the captured guerrilla documents a year earlier. Additionally, former Sandinista intelligence officer Miguel Bolanos revealed that Oxfam was running financial support operations for the Sandinistas through Mexico.

⁸³Roy Howard Beck. "Aid Allegation Discounted." United Methodist Reporter. 8 May 1981.

⁸⁴Information provided by the Institute on Religion and Democracy in the form of a personal letter dated 18 December 1981 from the religious worker who visited the ASESAN office at the San Salvador arch-bishopric.

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⁸⁵"Injerencia del FDR/FMLN en los Organismos Humanitarios de El Salvador." (FMLN-FDR Infiltration of Humanitarian Organizations in El Salvador). Unpublished report by former FMLN members Luz Janet Alfaro and Dora Angelica Campos, August 1986.

⁸⁶ibid.

⁸⁷Asociacion de Mujeres del Salvador (AMES) has no public office in El Salvador. It has offices in Nicaragua (Apartado 1009, Telcor Central, Managua); Costa Rica (Apartado 7522, San Jose); Mexico City (Apartado 20-134, Mexico 20, D.F.); and three in the United States: P.O. Box 40331, San Francisco, CA 94140; PO Box 41146, Chicago, IL 60641; and PO Box 1308, Brooklyn, NY 11234. It lists no office in El Salvador, but according to its literature, AMES conducts projects in FMLN-held areas. Also see, Marilyn Thomson. Women of El Salvador: The Price of Freedom. (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1986).

⁸⁸Letter to local activists from CISPES national office signed by Lisa Tarver, dated 11 September 1981. She wrote, "if an individual or organization wants to receive the tax deduction or feels uneasy about giving money to CISPES, they can make the checks payable directly to SHARE."

⁸⁹Undated letter from San Francisco CISPES coordinator Mike Zielinski to "Friends of Proposition N," with monthly pledge card soliciting monthly donations to CISPES. From 1984.

⁹⁰Westside (California) CISPES promotional flyer for 29 June 1985 walkathon "to raise material aid for El Salvador."

⁹¹Michael Boos of Young Americas Foundation attended a 9 June 1984 public meeting of the District of Columbia CISPES, and reported this in a memorandum about the fundraising effort.

⁹²This section is copied from U.S. Embassy San Salvador diplomatic cable 15295 from December 1986, titled "Background on FMLN-FDR U.S. Support Campaign."

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⁹³Pete Hamill. "What Does Lou Grant Know About El Salvador?" New York Magazine, 15 March 1982. Also see note 64.

⁹⁴"The History of Medical Aid for El Salvador." Two-page document from Medical Aid for El Salvador, 6930 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 200, Los Angeles, CA 90036/(213) 937-3596.

⁹⁵Hamill, Op. Cit.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷See "CIS Charges Two El Salvador Charitable Groups with Fraud," Council for Inter-American Security news release, 12 January 1987. A copy of the four-page CIS letter to the IRS was attached.

⁹⁸"Medical Aid for El Salvador." Alert! Newsletter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, March 1982.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Jonathan Tasini. "The Challenge of Medical Help for El Salvador." Los Angeles Times, "View" section, page 4.

¹⁰¹Deborah Mutnik. "The Human Face of U.S. Aid to Central America." Alert!. CISPES newsletter, undated article, p. 6.

¹⁰²Bob Ostertag, et. al. "A History of CISPES." Alert!, CISPES newsletter, October 1983, p. 6.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁰⁴"CISPES aids clinics in rebel-held areas." Guardian. 9 March 1983.

¹⁰⁵Tasini, Op. cit., p. 4.

¹⁰⁶Medical Aid for El Salvador direct-mail fundraising package signed by actor Mike Farrell. The exact figures given by MAES are \$955,931 in funds, and \$1,130,000 worth of supplies, totaling \$2,094,931 delivered to its recipients in El Salvador. The figures appear on a map enclosed with the Farrell letter.

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¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Tasini, Op. Cit., pp. 1 and 4. Also, Deborah Mutnik, op. cit. AGEUS was identified as a front for the FMLN in U.S. Embassy San Salvador cable 14790, November 1986, paragraph 7. CISPES asks that U.S. teacher groups donate funds to AGEUS, the cable said.

¹⁰⁹The "point of contact" for MAES at the archbishopric is Rev. Octavio Cruz, according to U.S. diplomatic cable from San Salvador number 15218, December 1986, titled "Third/Fourth U.S.-Based FMLN-FDR Support Activities Underway," paragraph 2. The cable used the term a second time to refer to Cruz as "a point of contact of the FMLN in the Archbishopric." The source of this information, the cable said, were defectors from the CDHES, but the Embassy said that it could not confirm this independently.

¹¹⁰See note 85.

¹¹¹"The History of Medical Aid for El Salvador," MAES document cited in note 102. MAES was more forthright in another flyer, titled "Salvadoran Government Blocks Critical Surgery for Nidia Diaz," identifying Diaz as an "FMLN commander and delegate to the La Palma peace talks" of October 1984.

¹¹²FMLN-FDR communique of 21 April 1985, and Salvadoran Armed Forces Committee (Coprefa) bulletin of 22 April 1985, texts appearing in the 23 April 1985 issue of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) Latin America Daily Report, pp. P6-7. Also see texts of two Radio Venceremos clandestine broadcasts of 21 June 1985, appearing in the 21 June 1985 FBIS Latin America Daily Report, pp. P5-6; clandestine Radio Venceremos broadcast of 22 June 1985, which was the text of the PRTC's Mardoqueo Cruz Urban Guerrilla Command which conducted the attack and Radio Farabundo Marti broadcasts of 21 and 22 June, appearing in the 24 June 1985 FBIS Latin America Daily Report, pp. P9-11; and a communique from the FMLN General Command issued on Radio Venceremos on 25 June.

Diaz was planning to travel to Vietnam that year for additional guerrilla training (LA Times, 25 May 1985). Two months after her

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capture, fellow PRTC members launched the terrorist attack against the American Marines and businessmen at the Zona Rosa in San Salvador. CISPES defended the action in a page 2 editorial in its July-August 1985 newsletter. MAES issued no public comment, and lobbied on Diaz's behalf for the August operation.

113 Marjorie Miller. "TV Doctor from 'MASH' Scrubs Up for Salvador Surgery. Los Angeles Times, 11 August 1985.

114 "Medical Airlift to El Salvador," issued by Medical Aid for El Salvador, advance document, 5 September 1986.

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116 U.S. Embassy San Salvador diplomatic cable number 15218, December 1986, titled "Third/Fourth U.S.-Based FMLN-FDR Support Activities Underway," paragraph 2.

117 "Medical Airlift to El Salvador" document, Op. Cit.

118 "Projected itinerary," *ibid.*

119 Medical Aid for El Salvador promotional map with supposed breakdown of funds and supplies delivered. Part of direct-mail fundraising campaign that went out in early 1987 over signature of Mike Farrell.

120 Lisa Tarver letter to activists from CISPES national office, 1 October 1981; and Bob Ostertag, et. al., "A History of CISPES." Op. Cit., p. 7.

121 "UN Said to Harbor Leftist Guerrillas." Associated Press dispatch, 9 September 1985. The article is the result of an interview with a deserter from the ERP faction of the FMLN, who reported that the FMLN routinely uses refugee camps in Honduras administered by the United Nations. The former guerrilla also said that UN High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR) personnel unwittingly help the FMLN by giving the guerrillas refugee documents, and permission to rest at the camps. Medicine and cloth donated by international relief agencies for the refugees are taken from the UN camps into the combat areas for use of the FMLN combatants.

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Documents captured from Commander Nidia Diaz in April 1985 show that the FMLN uses Honduras as "refuge." A particular FMLN memorandum discusses the "Eastern Front" and refers to "continue directing the work in the interior from the refuge located in Honduras." (Diaz document No. 4)

¹²²"Salvadorean [sic] Refugees in Honduras--A Fact Sheet." Undated document issued by SHARE.

¹²³"A Doctor's Lonely Journey." El Salvador: Refugees in Crisis (SHARE newsletter), June/July 1983, p. 2.

¹²⁴"White Phosphorus, Napalm Cited in El Salvador." Ibid. Also see Charles Clements, M.D. Witness to War. (New York: Bantam, 1984). In this book, Clements describes his year with the FMLN at Guazapa.

¹²⁵At a San Salvador news conference on 30 May 1986, former CDHES public relations director Luz Janet Alfaro, a member of the RN faction of the FMLN, stated that the CDHES was a front under the control of the guerrillas. On 4 June 1986, Alfaro appeared with Salvadoran Foreign Minister Rodolfo Castillo Claramount before the press and the diplomatic corps with former CO-MADRES director Dora Angelica Campos.

¹²⁶"Refugees Recall Poverty, Persecution." El Salvador: Refugees in Crisis, August/September 1983, p. 4.

¹²⁷"Who Are the Salvadorean [sic] Refugees?." SHARE promotional brochure, undated. Address: SHARE, PO Box 53372, Washington DC 20009.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹"El Salvadoreans [sic] in Trouble." El Salvador: Refugees in Crisis, June/July 1983, p. 4.

¹³⁰"Shriver Dinner Benefits Refugees." El Salvador: Refugees in Crisis, January/February 1983, p. 2.

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¹³¹"Who Are the Salvadorean [sic] Refugees?" SHARE promotional brochure, undated. Also, "Walk for Salvador." Daily World. Official newspaper of the Communist Party USA. 4 December 1981.

¹³²New Perspectives. Journal of the World Peace Council. (East Berlin) January 1987, p. 2.

¹³³Additional details of this event are provided by this author in the 8 November 1986 Human Events.

¹³⁴Jack Viets. "Tears for the Salvadorans." San Francisco Chronicle, 21 February 1985.

¹³⁵NEST 1984 Annual Report, p. 2.

¹³⁶Bob Ostertag. "The Human Face of U.S. Aid." CISPES Alert!, undated, p. 6.

¹³⁷See prepared statement of Carlottia Scott, Administrative Assistant to Congressman Dellums, regarding her trip to El Salvador as a member of a NEST delegation, in "The Air War and Political Developments in El Salvador," Hearing before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, 14 May 1986, p. 210.

¹³⁸NEST Foundation Progress Report Number One, January 1987, p. 2.

¹³⁹This literature is in the collection of the author.

¹⁴⁰Deborah Mutnik. "Inside the Incubator of a New Society." Interview with NEST coordinator Tracey Schear. Guardian, 10 October 1984, p. 15.

¹⁴¹Oxfam issued the following statement: "With the invasion of over 8000 foreign troops, Grenada's experiment with political independence and self-reliant development has apparently been halted." Steve Baldwin, "Humanitarian Aid, But Mostly for the Left." Human Events, 9 November 1985, p. 11.

¹⁴²Ibid. Also see Daniel Seligman, "Oxfamism." Fortune, 12 December 1983, p. 45.

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¹⁴³ibid.

¹⁴⁴Juan Walte. "Did Aid Funds Go To Salvador Rebels?" UPI dispatch, appearing in the Boston Globe, 26 April 1981. The original document naming Oxfam is titled, "Informe Sobre Donaciones y su Utilizacion Comprendidos entre Diciembre '79 y Julio '80." Released by the U.S. Department of State after being captured from the FMLN.

¹⁴⁵"Health, Education for Salvadorans Fleing Civil War." Oxfam America News, Spring 1983, p. 2. Also, "El Salvador: Surviving Now and In Future." Oxfam America Special Report, "Central America in Crisis," Fall 1983, p. 3

¹⁴⁶Also see, "UN Said to Harbor Leftist Guerrillas," Associated Press dispatch, 10 September 1985., and Baldwin, Op. cit.

¹⁴⁷This was told to Baldwin and published in his above article.

¹⁴⁸Oxfam Facts for Action newsletter.

¹⁴⁹The April 25 demonstration was held simultaneously in Washington and San Francisco. John Trinkl reported in the 6 May 1987 Guardian that the Communist Party USA, Socialist Workers Party and Revolutionary Communist Party participated. Also see, Stephen S. Rosenfeld, "A Mobilization Against Democracy," Washington Post, 24 April 1987; George Archibald, "Sandinistas, Qaddafi Fund U.S. Protest," Washington Times, 24 April 1987; Rita McWilliams, "Kirkland Cautions Unions About Pro-Sandinista Rally," Washington Times, 21 April 1987. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-RI) was spotted marching at the Washington rally.

¹⁵⁰CIS staffers were at the rally and photographed the Oxfam delegation carrying the banner alongside a group from the Workers World Party, a Trotskyist organization.

¹⁵¹Rebecca Salner. "Mayor Reports on El Salvador; Berkeley's Newport Assails U.S. Policy." San Jose Mercury News, 21 March 1985.

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