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DEPARTMENT FOR ENDERS
WHITE HOUSE FOR CLARK
CIA FOR DIRECTOR CASEY

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OVIP (KIRKPATRICK, JEANE), PREL, XK, US, ES, VE
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK'S LUNCH CONVERSATION

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- WITH ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND ARENA LEADERS

1. (CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY. AT LUNCH FEBRUARY 9 WITH AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK, ARENA LEADER ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND FIVE OTHER ARENA COHORTS GAVE AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK A FULL DOSE OF THEIR KIND OF MEDICINE. ARENA THEMES REMAIN CONSTANT: THE MILITARY STOLE THE PRESIDENCY FROM THEM LAST APRIL, INCOMPETENT LEADERSHIP IS PROLONGING THE WAR. IN FACT, IT IS LOSING THE WAR. TO WIN THE WAR IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO REACTIVATE THE ECONOMY WHICH WAS DESTROYED BY THE PDC REFORM PROCESS. DEFENSE MINISTER JOSE GUILLERMO GARCIA HAS TO GO. HE IS A POLITICIAN NOT A MILITARY LEADER. CORRUPTION IS RAMPANT AND AMONG THE MOST CORRUPT IS GARCIA. WHILE ARENA'S HIGH LEVEL OF PIQUE AT EVERYTHING REMAINS HIGH, CLEARLY THE FOCUS OF THEIR DISLIKE RIGHT NOW IS THE DEFENSE MINISTER. END SUMMARY.

3. AMBASSADOR HINTON HOSTED LUNCH IN HONOR OF U.S. UNITED NATIONS REPRESENTATIVE AMBASSADOR JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK WITH MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, ARENA CHIEF AND PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. ALSO ATTENDING WERE MAURICIO GUTIERREZ CASTRO, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC; HUGO BARRERA, ARENA VICE PRESIDENT AND 1ST FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY; RENE BARRIOS AMAYA, LEADER OF THE ARENA LABOR SECTOR AND 2ND FIRST SECRETARY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY; GLORIA SALGUERA GROSS, 3RD SECOND SECRETARY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. ON THE AMERICAN SIDE, BESIDES THE AMBASSADORS, WERE ROGER FONTAINE OF THE NSC, THE DCM, AND THE POLCOUNS.

4. D'AUBUISSON STARTED THE CONVERSATION WITH A LONG STATEMENT. HE SAID THAT ARENA, AS OPPOSED TO THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, BELIEVED IN LEARNING FROM THE PAST, NOT RENOUNCING IT. WHILE ARENA MIGHT BE A RIGHTIST PARTY, THIS RIGHTIST PARTY HAD BEEN THE FIRST TO PROPOSE, LAST JUNE, AN AMNESTY LAW. IT HAD BEEN OPPOSED BY THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND THEREFORE GOT

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NOWHERE. THIS COMING WEEK ARENA WILL PROPOSE IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DRAFT LEGISLATION THAT THE FDR BE INSCRIBED AS A LEGITIMATE POLITICAL FORCE IN THE COUNTRY. D'AUBUISSON SAID THAT IF THE FDR CAN WIN AN ELECTION WITH VOTES, ARENA WOULD RESPECT THAT VICTORY. HE WENT ON TO TALK ABOUT WHY ARENA HAS SUCH A BAD NAME IN THE UNITED STATES. HE SAID THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT POLICY IN THE LAST ELECTIONS HAD BEEN FOR THE PDC TO WIN. AMBASSADOR HINTON TOLD D'AUBUISSON ABOUT THE CONVERSATION HE HAD HAD WITH THEN JRG PRESIDENT DUARTE IN DECEMBER 1981. HE HAD TOLD DUARTE THAT HE DID NOT THINK THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS COULD WIN THE ELECTION. DUARTE REPLIED THAT THAT WAS THE WHOLE IDEA; THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS HAD NO INTENTION OF WINNING THE ELECTIONS. LEAVING THAT POINT BEHIND D'AUBUISSON NEXT SAID THAT THE "PDC REFORMS" HAD BEEN VERY BAD FOR THE COUNTRY. THE WORST OF THE THREE MAJOR REFORMS WERE THE BANK REFORMS AND THE REFORM OF THE FOREIGN TRADE SECTOR. ARENA RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF LAND BUT THE WAY IT HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT IN EL SALVADOR WAS A TECHNICAL DISASTER. HE FINISHED BY EMPHASIZING THAT UNDER THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP (READ DEFENSE MINISTER JOSE GUILLERMO GARCIA) THE WAR CANNOT BE WON.

5. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK TOLD D'AUBUISSON THAT SHE AGREED WITH HIM ON TWO POINTS. THE FIRST IS THAT THE MILITARY STRUGGLE IS IMPORTANT, NOT ONLY FOR EL SALVADOR

BUT FOR MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. IT IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR EL SALVADOR'S NEIGHBORS WHO SEE THEIR FORTUNES CLOSELY TIED TO THAT OF THIS COUNTRY. SECOND, GUERRILLA WARFARE IS A POLITICAL PHENOMENON IN ORIGIN. IT IS A VERY DIFFERENT TYPE OF WARFARE. ONCE STARTED, HOWEVER, SOCIAL/ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BECOME IMPORTANT IN THIS KIND OF WARFARE.

6. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK THEN REMARKED THAT FOR HER THERE ARE ONLY TWO SYSTEMS OF POLITICS: THE POLITICS OF CONSENT AND THE POLITICS OF VIOLENCE. DEMOCRACY, THE POLITICS OF CONSENT, DOES DEMAND THAT THE POPULATION HAVE ACCESS TO WORK AND ENJOY SOME OF

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THE BENEFITS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS. IT IS A TRAGEDY, SHE NOTED, THAT WE ARE LETTING THE NICARAGUANS TAKE SO MUCH CREDIT FOR TEACHING THEIR PEOPLE TO READ AND FOR TEACHING THEM PROPER DIETARY PRACTICES TO AVOID MALNUTRITION. THEN SHE SAID THAT SHE RESPECTED ANY GROUP THAT LIMITS ITSELF TO DEMOCRATIC MEANS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE ITS ENDS.

7. AMBASSADOR HINTON ASKED OF WHAT USE IS IT TO LEARN TO READ AND WRITE IF THE ONLY READING MATERIAL AVAILABLE ARE MARXIST TRACTS. HIS POINT, HE SAID, WAS TO POINT OUT THAT IN EL SALVADOR THERE IS RELATIVELY LITTLE CENSURE OF WHAT IS AVAILABLE TO READ.

8. D'AUBUISSON NOTED THAT A LITERACY CAMPAIGN, BOTH FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS, HAD EXISTED IN EL SALVADOR FOR YEARS. BARRERA INTERRUPTED TO POINT OUT THAT COMMUNISTS KNOW HOW TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF WHATEVER WEAKNESSES THERE ARE IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. ARENA BELIEVES THAT BOTH ILLITERACY AND MALNUTRITION COULD BE OVERCOME IN EL SALVADOR IF THE FUNDS EXISTED FOR SUCH PROGRAMS FROM EITHER NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL SOURCES AND THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER WAS DETERMINED TO ERADICATE THESE SCOURGES. HE ALSO ADVOCATED A MORE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH AREA BECAUSE THE NEGLECT OF PUBLIC HEALTH CREATES A SICKLY POPULATION WHICH IS AN EVER INCREASING BURDEN ON THE GOVERNMENT. AMBASSADOR HINTON COMMENTED THAT ALL THESE PROGRAMS, THE REFORMS INCLUDED, ARE IMPORTANT TO GAIN POPULAR SUPPORT NECESSARY TO WIN THE WAR.

9. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK OBSERVED THAT GUERRILLA WAR IS NOT WON BY POPULAR SUPPORT ALONE; GUERRILLAS WIN WARS BY VIOLENCE. THUS THE MILITARY ASPECT OF THE WAR IS THE MOST IMPORTANT IN THE SHORT RUN. IF THE GOVERNMENT LOSES MILITARILY NONE OF THE OTHER PROGRAMS MATTER. SHE THEN TURNED TO D'AUBUISSON AND INQUIRED WHAT HIS VIEWS WERE ON THE TACTICS FOR WINNING THE WAR. SHE UNDERSTOOD THAT HIS VIEWS WERE DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT. D'AUBUISSON REPLIED THAT HIS VIEWS WERE CERTAINLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE OF

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GENERAL GARCIA. THIS IS NOT WORLD WAR II; THIS IS NOT THE WAR OF LARGE OPERATIONS; THIS IS A WAR OF PROPAGANDA WHERE THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE GUERRILLAS HAVE TO BE STUDIED. HE CRITICIZED THE HIGH COMMAND FOR ALLOWING TOO MUCH INFORMATION ON ITS PROPOSED OPERATIONS TO LEAK TO THE ENEMY. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALLOWING THE GUERRILLA TACTIC OF PROLONGING WARFARE TO TAKE PLACE. THIS WAR SHOULD BE SHORT, "LIGHTENING QUICK." GARCIA HAS ALLOWED IT TO BE PROLONGED. D'AUBUISSON ALLEGED THAT GARCIA HAD ALLOWED LEFTIST LEADER SALVADOR SAMAYOA TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY IN 1980. HE CRITICIZED GARCIA FOR LETTING ONLY THE SON OF PROMINENT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT ANTONIO MORALES EHRlich TO BE RELEASED FROM PRISON OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS. HE CLAIMED THAT SALVADORAN COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY GENERAL SHAFIK HANDAL HAD TOLD A PUBLIC MEETING AT THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY CAMPUS IN 1980 OF HIS ADMIRATION FOR GARCIA, THAT HE WOULD "BURN HIS HANDS" FOR HIM. THE U.S. HAS BACKED THE WRONG MAN--GARCIA. HE IS A CAPABLE, SHREWD MAN, BUT HE IS SINISTER (NEFASTO). IN REPLY TO AMBASSADOR HINTON'S QUESTION, D'AUBUISSON SAID THAT THE RECENT CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE WERE GOOD--"VERY GOOD."

10. RENE BARRIOS AMAYA THEN ENTERED THE CONVERSATION. HE NOTED THAT IN A WAR WORKING PEOPLE SUFFER MORE THAN ANYBODY, THEN HE GAVE A RAMBLING ACCOUNT OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT SINCE WORLD WAR II. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE COMMUNISTS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATIC LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY AGGRESSIVE. HE THEN DECLARED THAT (1) THE GOVERNMENT WAS LOSING THE WAR AND (2) THE U.S. IS NOT REALISTIC IN ITS ASSESSMENT OF EL SALVADOR. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK ASKED IF THOSE ASSEMBLED REALLY BELIEVED THAT. D'AUBUISSON REPLIED THAT IT IS "REAL." THIS IS A GOVERNMENT IMPOSED BY GARCIA LAST APRIL. THEN SPEAKING TONGUE IN CHEEK HE OFFERED A SOLUTION TO THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PROBLEM. LET THE FMLN WIN AND RECOGNIZE

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MOSCOW AS THE DOMINANT POWER IN THE REGION. "BUT GIVE US SALVADORANS AT LEAST PART OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. PERHAPS WE CAN TAKE A FEW DOCUMENTS WITH US AND IMPOSE A LAND REFORM WHEN WE GET THERE." TURNING SERIOUS D'AUBUISSON DECLARED THAT THE ECONOMIC WAR WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE STRUGGLE.

11. D'AUBUISSON TOOK THE EXAMPLE OF PHASE II OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM AS ILLUSTRATIVE. "IT HANGS OVER THE ECONOMY LIKE THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES." D'AUBUISSON INSISTED THAT THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE WAR WERE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE MILITARY. ONCE AGAIN HE DECLARED THAT THE THREAT OF INVOKING PHASE II OF THE LAND REFORM WAS A DEAD WEIGHT ON THE ECONOMY.

12. HUGO BARRERA SAID THAT MANY PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF EL SALVADOR ASSUMED THAT THIS COUNTRY HAD NO FUNCTIONING ECONOMIC SYSTEM PRIOR TO THE COUP. THAT IS NOT TRUE; EL SALVADOR HAD A THRIVING ECONOMIC SYSTEM, BUT OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS GOVERNMENT POLICIES HAD EFFECTIVELY DESTROYED IT. EL SALVADOR MUST HAVE A SOUND ECONOMIC POLICY ALONG WITH A SOUND MILITARY POLICY, NOT "STUPID" ONES LIKE NOW. GIVEN SOUND POLICIES EL SALVADOR COULD SOLVE MANY OF ITS OWN PROBLEMS AND WITH A GREAT DEAL LESS U.S. MONEY REQUIRED. THE RULES OF THE GAME HAVE TO BE CLEARLY LAID OUT AND RESPECTED BY EVERYBODY. EL SALVADOR AT THIS MOMENT COULD USE AN "INJECTION" OF MONEY ON THE ORDER TO ONE BILLION DOLLARS WHICH IS CERTAINLY LESS THAN THE COUNTRY LOST BECAUSE OF THE REFORM PROCESS. VICE PRESIDENT GUTIERREZ CASTRO CHIPPED IN WITH AN ATTACK ON PHASE II. HE ALSO SAID THAT PHASE III UNDER DECREE 207 IS "TERRIBLE" BECAUSE IT AFFECTS NOT WEALTHY LAND OWNERS BUT MORE COMMON FOLK OF A LOWER ECONOMIC ORDER. HE CHARACTERIZED PHASE II LAND REFORM AS "CRIMINAL." GUTIERREZ CASTRO PROCEEDED TO ATTACK GARCIA AND "THAT DEMAGOGUE" LTCOL GALILEO TORRES FOR IMPOSING PHASE III LAND REFORM ON THE COUNTRY. (EMBASSY SAN SALVADOR NOTE: LTCOL GALILEO TORRES IS THE PRESIDENT OF FINATA, THE GOES AGENCY RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTING PHASE III.)

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13. D'AUBUISSON NEXT POSED THREE QUESTIONS:

--HOW IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THE GOES HAS RECEIVED MORE MILITARY ASSISTANCE THAN AT ANY TIME DURING ITS HISTORY AND YET THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF THE GUERRILLAS IS GREATER THAN EVER?

--WHAT IS THE POINT OF WINNING THE WAR IF WHAT COMES OUT OF THIS STRUGGLE ARE PROGRAMS THAT ARE THE SAME AS WHAT THE MARXISTS WOULD HAVE IMPOSED?

--HOW CAN WE WIN THE WAR BY BORROWING MONEY THAT WE CANNOT REPAY?

NEVERTHELESS D'AUBUISSON CHARACTERIZED HIMSELF AS AN OPTIMIST. "WE ARE GOING TO WIN THIS WAR. THE PEOPLE HAVE NO WORK AND NO SECURITY." HE THEN DECLARED THAT IF THE SUBVERSIVES TAKE OVER "WE" WILL BECOME GUERRILLAS IF NECESSARY ON GUAZAPA VOLCANO. HE SAID HE FULLY

INTENDED TO DIE IN THIS COUNTRY. HE FINISHED THE LUNCHEON CONVERSATION BY DECLARING AGAINST WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS RAMPANT CORRUPTION IN THE GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS. AMONG THE MOST CORRUPT IN HIS ESTIMATION IS DEFENSE MINISTER GARCIA.

14. AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK CONCLUDED BY STRESSING THE NECESSITY FOR ALL PARTIES TO REMAIN IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND USE DEMOCRATIC MEANS TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS. SHE TOLD D'AUBUISSON THAT SHE HAD HEARD IN SEVERAL PLACES THAT D'AUBUISSON WAS A TERRORIST, A MAN WHO USES VIOLENCE TO ACHIEVE HIS GOALS, WHO INTIMIDATED HIS OPPONENTS WITH THREATS OF THE USE OF FORCE. THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR HAD MADE IT CLEAR TO ITS LEADERS THAT DEMOCRACY WAS THE PROCESS THEY DESIRED. SHE TOLD D'AUBUISSON THAT SHE HOPED ARENA WOULD REMAIN WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. D'AUBUISSON ASSURED HER ARENA WOULD DO SO. LANDAU

END OF MESSAGE

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