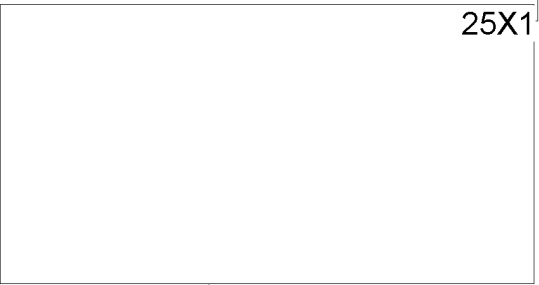
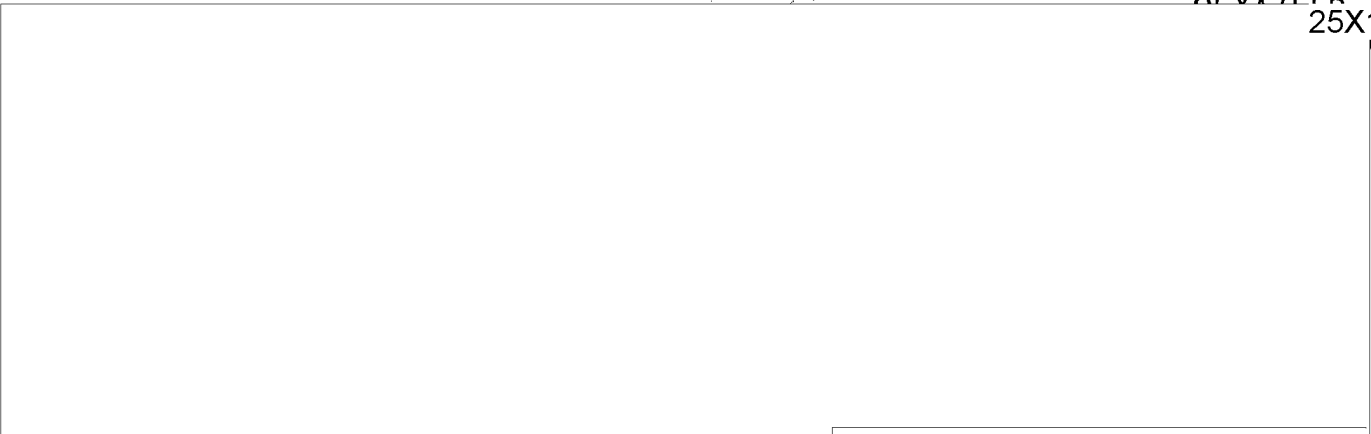


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E. O. 12956: DECL 5/19/89
TAGS: OVIP
SUBJECT: SENATOR SPECTER'S MEETING WITH MAJOR
D'AUBUISSON

1. C. ENTIRE TEXT.
2. ON MAY 13, ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT AND ARENA LEADER ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, JOINED BY HIS TWO PRINCIPAL LIEUTENANTS, HUGO BARRERA AND ARMANDO CALDERON SOL, MET AT BARRERA'S RESIDENCE WITH SENATORS SPECTER AND SYMMS, AMBASSADOR HINTON AND POLCOUNS. SENATOR SPECTER AND MAJOR BOB ENGAGED IN A SPIRITED, FRANK EXCHANGE.
3. SENATOR SPECTER OPENED BY STATING THAT HE AND MANY OF HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE LACK OF PROGRESS IN BRINGING TO JUSTICE THE MURDERERS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, AS WELL AS THE HIGH NUMBER OF POLITICAL KILLINGS IN EL SALVADOR IN GENERAL. D'AUBUISSON RESPONDED THAT THE CHURCHWOMEN'S AND SHERATON CASE WERE PROCEEDING FORWARD, AND THE TRIGGER MEN IN BOTH WOULD BE FACING TRIAL SOON. SENATOR SPECTER COUNTERED THAT IN HIS VIEW, THE EVIDENCE AGAINST LT. LOPEZ SIBRIAN IN THE SHERATON MURDERS WAS VERY CONVINCING AS WELL. YET, THE JUDGES IN THE COURT OF FIRST INSTANCE AND THE COURT OF APPEALS HAD THROWN OUT THE CASE AGAINST HIM. MAJOR BOB RETORTED THAT THE MURDERS HAD OCCURRED UNDER THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC JUNTA, AND THAT NOBODY SEEMED CONCERNED ABOUT PUSHING THE CASES HARD AT THAT TIME. IN ANY EVENT, WHATEVER AN OUTSIDER MIGHT THINK, THE OPINION OF THE SALVADORAN COURTS HAD TO BE RESPECTED.
4. SENATOR SPECTER SAID THAT MANY OF HIS CONSTITUENTS, INCLUDING MANY CONSERVATIVES, AS WELL AS MANY OF HIS FELLOW SENATORS, SUPPORTED CUTTING OFF ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR UNLESS JUSTICE WERE DONE. D'AUBUISSON RESPONDED THAT SUCH A POSITION WAS VERY SHORT-SIDED, AND MISSED THE LARGER ISSUE, WHICH WAS WHETHER THE U.S. WAS GOING TO ALLOW EL SALVADOR TO BECOME ANOTHER MARXIST-LENINIST STATE, LIKE NICARAGUA OR CUBA. IF THE MARXIST-LENINISTS TOOK OVER EL SALVADOR, THE U.S. COULD FORGET ABOUT IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS HERE. SO ULTIMATELY, HE ASKED RHETORICALLY, WHAT WAS TO BE GAINED BY A CUTOFF?

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5. SENATOR SPECTER ASKED IF, IN D'AUBUISSON'S VIEW, THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HAD IMPROVED. D'AUBUISSON RESPONDED THAT IMPROVEMENT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE AS LONG AS THE WAR PERSISTED. MOREOVER, THE MORE THE WAR INTENSIFIED, THE GREATER THE NUMBER OF ABUSES. WHAT WAS NEEDED TO DEFEAT THE GUERRILLAS WAS A WAR AT ALL LEVELS, NOT JUST ON THE TRADITIONAL MILITARY LEVEL. LEANING TOWARD THE SENATOR, D'AUBUISSON THEN SAID HE WISHED TO TALK "OFF THE RECORD." AMBASSADOR WHITE, HE SAID, HAD MADE MUCH OF THE POLITICAL KILLINGS WHEN HE WAS HERE, AND HAD COINED THE PHRASE "DEATH SQUADS" TO DESCRIBE THOSE RESPONSIBLE. BUT THERE WAS, D'AUBUISSON SAID, NO SUCH THING AS A DEATH SQUAD. NOR WAS THERE ANYTHING MYSTERIOUS AT ALL ABOUT THE DEATHS. WHAT WAS HAPPENING WAS SIMPLY THAT CONCERNED ELEMENTS WITHIN THE MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES HAD BEEN MOVING EXTRA-OFFICIALLY TO ELIMINATE THE SUBVERSIVE RING LEADERS. THIS METHOD WAS REQUIRED BECAUSE OTHER AVENUES FOR DEALING EFFECTIVELY WITH THE SUBVERSION WERE BLOCKED.

6. AS AN EXAMPLE, HE SAID, THE NATIONAL POLICE RECENTLY HAD ARRESTED THREE MEMBERS OF A SPECIAL FAL HIT SQUAD. UNDER INTERROGATION, THE THREE ADMITTED THEIR MISSION WAS TO ASSASSINATE HIMSELF, HUGO BARRERA AND A THIRD ARENA LEADER, RENE BARRIOS AMAYA. THE POLICE HAD ALSO SEIZED SOPHISTICATED COMMUNICATION GEAR AND A COMPUTER WITH THE NAMES OF ALL THE ARENA PARTY MEMBERS. HOWEVER, BECAUSE ONE OF THOSE FOUND HARBORING THE THREE WAS THE SISTER OF MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS PIO AYALA (PCN), HIGH-LEVEL PRESSURE HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE NATIONAL POLICE TO SUPPRESS FURTHER ACTION IN THE CASE. THUS THE EIGHT CONSPIRATORS STILL AT LARGE WERE PRESENTLY BEING (EXTRA-OFFICIALLY) HUNTED DOWN BY CONCERNED MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES. CONCLUDING HIS POINT, D'AUBUISSON AGAIN EMPHASIZED THAT THE DEFEAT OF THE GUERRILLAS REQUIRED THAT WAR AGAINST THEM BE FOUGHT ON MANY LEVELS, AND BY "FAIR MEANS AND FOUL." AFTER ALL, THAT WAS HOW THE GUERRILLAS WERE FIGHTING. TO FOLLOW THE "RULES OF THE FREE WORLD," HE SAID WOULD SERVE ONLY TO PROLONG THE WAR AND DESTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY.

7. SENATOR SPECTER ASKED D'AUBUISSON HOW HE WOULD RESPOND WERE THE U.S. CONGRESS TO PASS LEGISLATION CURRENTLY BEFORE THE SENATE, TYING FUTURE U.S. ASSISTANCE TO EL SALVADOR TO GOES ENTERING INTO UNCONDITIONAL DIALOGUE WITH THE GUERRILLAS. WITH SOME EMOTION, D'AUBUISSON SAID THAT HIS PERSONAL RESPONSE WOULD BE TO TELL THE U.S. CONGRESS TO TAKE ITS AID AND GO TO HELL. WHEN SENATOR SPECTER EXDIS

CLARIFIED THAT HE WAS REFERRING TO DIALOGUE WITH THE FDR, D'AUBUISSON ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT THERE WOULD BE TO TALK ABOUT EXCEPT THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS, UNLESS THE SENATOR WAS TALKING ABOUT POWER-SHARING. SENATOR SPECTER SAID HE WAS NOT TALKING ABOUT POWER-SHARING. D'AUBUISSON ADDED, THE DAY THE SANDINISTAS AGREE TO HOLD UNCONDITIONAL TALKS WITH THE FDR, I WILL SUPPORT UNCONDITIONAL TALKS WITH THE FDR. D'AUBUISSON WAS CONFIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT THE FDR WOULD NEVER ACCEPT COMPETITION IN ELECTIONS BECAUSE THEY KNEW THEY COULD CAPTURE ONLY A HANDFUL OF VOTES.

8. COMMENT: D'AUBUISSON WAS BRUTALLY FRANK, E.G. IN EFFECT JUSTIFYING DEATH SQUADS, IN THIS CONVERSATION. HIS REACTION TO A POSSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL IMPOSITION OF UNCONDITIONAL NEGOTIATIONS AS A PRICE FOR CONTINUED U.S. AID WAS EQUALLY HARD, A REACTION INCIDENTALLY WHICH HAD BEEN VOICED, PERHAPS LESS FORCEFULLY BY POLITICAL LEADERS OF MORE MODERATE PARTIES. IT IS WORTH POINTING OUT, HOWEVER, THAT MAJOR BOB APPEARED TO DRAW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN TALKING WITH THE FDR ABOUT THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS, WHICH HE ACCEPTED AND UNCONDITIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE SENATORS SEEMED TO

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BE IMPRESSED BY HIS FORCEFULLNESS IN EXPRESSING HIS
CONVICTIONS.
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END OF MESSAGE

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