

Notes

54. EL SALVADOR 1980-1994
1. *New York Times*, 7 March 1981, p. 10.
 2. Raymond Bonner, *Weakness and Deceit: U.S. Policy and El Salvador* (Times Books, New York, 1984) p. 24.
 3. Events of 1960-1: John Getassi, *The Great Fear in Latin America* (New York, 1965, revised edition) p. 178; Michael McClintock, *The American Connection: State Terror and Popular Resistance in El Salvador* (Zed Books, London, 1985) pp. 135-7, 149; *New York Herald Tribune*, 7 April 1963, section 2, page 1.
 4. *Human Rights in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and El Salvador: Implications for U.S. Policy*, Hearings before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, 8 June 1976, pp. 33-4.
 5. *New York Times*, 22 October 1987, p. 11. For further discussion of the US role in this process in the 1960s and 70s, see: McClintock, chapter 12; American Civil Liberties Union & Americas Watch Committee, *Report on Human Rights in El Salvador* (Vintage Books, New York, 1982) pp. 179-80, 189-97; James Dunkerley, *The Long War: Dictatorship and Revolution in El Salvador* (London, 1982) pp. 74-5; Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle* (London, 1982) pp. 214-16.
 6. McClintock, pp. 158, 226 (note 44).
 7. Elections of 1960s and 70s: Robert Armstrong and Janet Shenk, *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution* (London, 1982) pp. 50-87; McClintock, pp. 158-183, passim; Dunkerley, pp. 79-86, 103-6; Gerassi, p. 179; testimony of Fabio Castillo before US Congress, op. cit., pp. 42-4 (see note 4).
 8. Armstrong and Shenk, pp. 87-8; McClintock, pp. 183-4; Dunkerley, pp. 106-7.
 9. *Facts on File* (New York), 12 March 1977, p. 181.
 10. Allan Nairn, "Behind the Death Squads", *The Progressive* magazine (Madison, Wisconsin) May 1984, pp. 1, 20-29 — a detailed account of the CIA's long-standing and close ties to the Death Squads and/or their parent organizations and to the organizations' leaders who were on the CIA payroll. See also *New York Times*, 22 October 1987, p. 11; 6 December 1987, IV, p. 2.
 11. Carolyn Forché, "The Road to Reaction in El Salvador", *The Nation* (New York) 14 June 1980, p. 712.
 12. October 1979 to January 1980: Dunkerley, pp. 132-44; McClintock, pp. 245-60; Armstrong and Shenk, pp. 115-30.
 13. Armstrong and Shenk, p. 122; Dunkerley, pp. 87-8.
 14. Dunkerley, p. 144.
 15. Events of January to March 1980: *The Guardian* (London) 24 January 1980; 20 March 1980; McClintock, pp. 262-4; Dunkerley, pp. 146, 156-7; Liisa North, *Bitter Grounds: Roots of Revolt in El Salvador* (Toronto, 1981) Appendix I, Chronology of Events — February 1977-June 1981, for further details of government/death squad killings; Armstrong and Shenk, p. 149, quote from Romero's last sermon.
 16. James R. Brockman, *Oscar Romero, Bishop and Martyr* (Orbis Books, Maryknoll, New York, 1982) pp. 222, 236 (note 28); Dermot Keogh, *Romero, El Salvador's Martyr* (Dominican Publications, Dublin, 1981) p. 113; *New York Times*, 31 March 1980, p. 1.
 17. *Los Angeles Times*, 24 November 1987; *New York Times*, 25 November 1987; CIA knowledge: CIA memo to Reagan's national security adviser Richard Allen, March 1981, *New York Times*, 9 November 1993, p. 9; *Washington Post*, 27 April 1982, p. A3, article by Mary McGrory, quoting d'Aubuisson's remark from the Mexican newspaper *El Día*.
 18. McClintock, p. 268; see pages 266-71 for a discussion of agrarian reform in El Salvador in the early 1980s.
 19. "El Salvador — A Revolution Brews", *NACLA Report on the Americas* (North American Congress on Latin America, New York), July-August 1980, p. 17, based on an interview with the technician in San Salvador, 2 June 1980.
 20. Philip Wheaton, *Agrarian Reform in El Salvador* (Ecumenical Program for Interamerican Communication and Action, Washington, DC, 1980), p. 13.
 21. *New York Times*, 18 January 1981, p. 7; 19 January, p. 11; McClintock, p. 286 (the "observer"); *The Guardian* (London) 20 July 1983 (Carter's statement).
 22. *New York Times*, 12 February 1985, p. 1; 16 November 1987, p. 5.
 23. "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America", 6 November 1980, Section B3, 'International Context' (Argentina Chile, Uruguay) — this document, apparently the work of members of the foreign policy establishment who disagreed with American policy in Central America, was circulated throughout official circles in Washington in 1980, reprinted in Warner Poelchau, ed., *White Paper, Whitewash* (New York, 1981), Appendix B; *New York Times*, 2 December 1981 (Argentina); Clarence Lusane, "Israeli Arms in Central America", *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC) Winter 1984, No. 20, pp. 34-7.
 24. McClintock, p. 337; *New York Times*, 12 February 1985; 19 August 1986, p. 3; the "Dissent Paper", op. cit., disclosed that large amounts of US military aid were devoted to expanding the number of Salvadorean troops; *Newsweek*, 14 March 1983, p. 18, reported that of the Salvadorean Army's 22,400 men at that time, about 4,100 had been trained in the US.
 25. McClintock, p. 334; *New York Times*, 2 February 1982, p. 10.
 26. *New York Times*, 30 March 1984, p. 1.
 27. *The Guardian*, (London), 5 February 1983; *New York Times*, 30 March 1984, p. 1; 20 October 1984; 26

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- February 1991, p. 10; *San Francisco Chronicle*, 17 July 1987.
28. For example, see: *Washington Post*, 14 February 1982, p. 1; *The Guardian* (London) 26 March 1984, 22 October 1984; *New York Times*, 13 February 1982, 21 October 1984, 12 February 1985, 13 February 1986, p. 3, 1 April 1987, p. 1; McClintock, pp. 347-8.
29. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 June 1982.
30. *Washington Post*, 19 December 1980, p. A26; 1 January 1981, p. A12.
31. McClintock, p. 345, citing an article from Bailey's hometown newspaper: "El Salvador: A Mercenary's View", *News-Press* (Fort Myers, Florida daily), 23 Oct 1983.
32. *Los Angeles Times*, 9 July 1987, pp. 1 and 22; see also the *Village Voice* (New York), 11 August 1987, pp. 21-22.
33. *Los Angeles Times*, 27 September 1988, p. 2.
34. *Playboy* magazine (Chicago), November 1984, p. 73, interview by Marc Cooper and Gregory Goldin.
35. Stephen Webre, *Jose Napoleon Duarte and the Christian Democratic Party in Salvadoran Politics, 1960-1972* (Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, La., 1979), p. 57. Duarte's remarks were made in a speech.
36. Bob Woodward, *VEIL: The Secret Wars of the CIA 1981-1987* (New York, 1987), pp. 117. Woodward states that Duarte "had been a good source of intelligence over many years, but he was a man of independence who was in no sense controlled and may not have known he was giving information to the CIA."
37. The detailed account appears in Mark Danner, "The Truth of El Mozote", *The New Yorker*, 6 December 1993, also in expanded form in a book, *The Massacre at El Mozote* (Vintage Books, 1994). Also see, *Los Angeles Times*, 3 January 1993, p. 1; *New York Times*, 27 January 1982, p. 1; *The Guardian* (London) 29 January 1982; McClintock, pp. 308-9.
38. *U.S. Intelligence Performance on Central America: Achievements and Selected Instances of Concern*, Staff Report, House Subcommittee on Oversight and Evaluation, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, 22 September 1982, pp. 18-19.
39. *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 1982, p. 4. Two weeks later an even worse incident: see the *Washington Post*, 14 February 1982, p. C1, for a particularly graphic first-hand account of the indiscriminate barbarity of the Salvadorean armed forces towards the population, another story which Washington officials tried hard to discredit before the Congressional committee, but without success (see *U.S. Intelligence Performance ...* report, op. cit.).
40. *New York Times*, 11 January 1982, p. 2.
41. The National Guardsman, identified only as "Manuel", was interviewed in the television documentary "Torture", produced and directed by Rex Bloomstein for Thames Television Ltd. (Great Britain) in 1986 with the cooperation of Amnesty International. Video copy in author's possession.
42. *The Guardian* (London), 7 August 1986.
43. Amnesty International, *Torture in the Eighties* (London, 1984) pp. 155-6.
44. See, e.g., McClintock, pp. 306-12; *New York Times*, 13 January 1986, p. 3, 1 February 1987, p. 11; Tina Rosenberg, *Children of Cain: Violence and the Violent in Latin America* (William Morrow and Company, New York, 1991) *passim*.
45. *The Guardian* (London), 9 March 1984.
46. *Ibid.*, 11 March 1984. In a similar humanitarian vein, in 1981 the Reagan administration dissuaded the European Common Market from its plan to distribute cereal and powdered milk to the victims of the fighting in El Salvador because Washington feared that the food would be diverted to the guerrillas. (*New York Times*, 18 February 1981, p. 3.)
47. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 18 July 1987, p. 9.
48. *Los Angeles Times*, 11 July 1987, p. 1.
49. *Los Angeles Reader*, 10 June 1988, special report on FBI spying on domestic dissidents; *Los Angeles Times*, 28 January 1988.
50. *New York Times*, 3 March 1984, p. 1; 22 March 1984, p. 1; 25 February 1986, p. 17; *Newsweek*, 2 April 1984, identified the official as Santibáñez; *The Guardian* (London) 22 March 1985, 29 March 1985.
51. *Los Angeles Times*, 2 February 1989.
52. *Washington Post*, 27 October 1989, p. A1; 19 November 1989, p. F2 (column by Colman McCarthy); *Los Angeles Times*, 27 October 1989; *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 19-25 January 1990, 27 July-2 August 1990.
53. *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 27 July-2 August 1990, p. 14.
54. *Washington Post*, 22 October 1992, p. A5.
55. *Los Angeles Times*, 1 May 1990, p. 1; 25 August 1990, p. 3; 26 April, 1991 (op-ed essay by Father José María Tojeira); 10 September 1991, p. H6; 15 August 1992, p. 12; *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 22-28 December 1989; 2-8 February 1990; *New York Times*, 19 January 1990, p. 3; 30 September 1991. The two officers were sentenced to 30 years in prison on 25 January 1992.
56. *Newsweek*, 14 March 1983, p. 24, international edition.
57. *New York Times*, 29 February 1988, article by James LeMoyné.
58. *Extrat!* (Newsletter of FAIR [Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting], New York), July-August 1988, pp. 1, 12, also contains several other examples of Salvadorean government disinformation; September-October 1988, p.2; *New York Times*, 15 September 1988 (recantation); *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 27 May - 2 June 1988, column by Marc Cooper.
- For further examples of disinformation on the part of Salvadorean officials, see *New York Times*, 29 March

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- 1987, p. 3; 8 January 1988, p. 3; 20 February 1988, p. 3; 18 February 1990, p. 14.
59. *New York Times*, 17 March 1982, p. 1.
60. *Ibid.*, 3, 5 and 6 March 1982, each p. 1.
61. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1982, p. 1.
62. *Time*, 22 March 1982, p. 5, international edition.
63. *New York Times*, 19 January 1981, p. 11.
64. *San Francisco Examiner*, 20 December 1981.
65. *New York Times*, 19 January 1981, p. 11.
66. US State Department, *Communist Interference in El Salvador*, 23 February 1981, Special Report No. 80 (known as the White Paper), Section II, Communist Military Intervention: A Chronology.
67. *The Guardian* (London) 7 December 1985.
68. Dunkerlev, p. 182; *New York Times*, 31 July 1983.
69. *Wall Street Journal*, 8 June 1981, pp. 1 and 10; for other analyses of the White Paper (US State Department, *Communist Interference in El Salvador*, 23 February 1981, Special Report No. 80), see: Philip Agee in Warner Poelchau, ed, *White Paper, Whitewash* (New York, 1981), and Ralph McGehee, "The CIA and the White Paper on El Salvador", *The Nation* (New York), 11 April 1981.
70. *Wall Street Journal*, 8 June 1981, p. 10.
71. *Playboy*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
72. *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (Washington, DC), March 1982, No. 16, p. 27; this was also reported in the daily press.
73. *U.S. News and World Report*, 26 January 1981, p. 37, interview with White.
74. *San Francisco Chronicle*, 24 February 1981.
75. *New York Times*, 30 July 1982 (equipment); 16 April 1983, p. 1 (Awacs); 31 July 1983, p. 1 (radar); *Time*, 22 March 1982 (aerial photos).
76. 9 April 1991 press conference in Honduras.
77. *New York Times*, 9 February 1990, p. 7.
78. Truth Commission, amnesty: *Los Angeles Times*, 16 March 1993, pp. 1 and 6; 21 March; 26 March.
79. *Ibid.*, 19 March 1993.
80. *New York Times*, 9 November 1993, p. 9; *Los Angeles Times*, 24 April 1994, p. 10.
81. *Los Angeles Times*, 14 December, 1993; *New York Times*, 14 December 1993, p. 1.
82. *New York Times*, 26 August 1990, p. 24; 10 February 1991, p. 3; 11 February 1991, p. 3.
83. The election:
U.N. and U.S. government observations: *Los Angeles Times*, 24 April 1994, p. 10, 22 March, p. 12, and 21 February, p. 10.
Intimidation story: *ibid.*, 12 March, p. 6.
See also *ibid.*, 23 March, p. 10 and 24 March; *LA Weekly* (Los Angeles), 15-21 April 1994, pp. 12-13;
CISPES observer reports: written papers and talks delivered at meetings in Los Angeles.
84. *New York Times*, 7 October 1990, p. 10.
85. *Ibid.*, 5 August 1991, p. 4.