

L4M/008/0049/08

REPORT BY THE FDR AND FMLN ON THIRD ROUND OF TALKS

- I. The third round of talks came as a result of strong national and international pressure against the obstinate refusal of the Duarte government. It started after overcoming many obstacles resultin from violations of the preparatory -- agreements of the meeting by the high command and the government.
- II. In the organizational stage for the third round the government said it would include observers on its delegation. The Fronts replied that observers could not be part of the delegations, they had to remain independent. We proposed -- that both sides invite different social sectors, political parties, labor unions, universities and private eneterprise to name their own observers and we made specific proposals for invitations.

The government rejected these proposals and named a discredited labor leader to its delegation along with a businessman on a persoanl basis.

- III. At the start of the meeting our delegation proposed the following agenda:
1. Presentation of positions on political solution and Esquipulas II agreement.
 2. Means for continuing talks to reach a political solution.
 3. Guarantees and conditions to assure free dialogue between all sector to find a political solution.
 4. Specific agreements.
 5. Meeting act and joint commnuqué.

The government delegation did not propose an agenda limiting itself to remarks by Duarte urging non violence, forgiveness and forgetting and the pledge to work on the necessary comissions to fulfill the conditions of Esquipulas II in the --

framework of the Constitution.

The following agenda was finally agreed upon:

1. Presentation of positions by both sides on political solution and Esquipulas II.
2. Position on non violence, forgiveness and forgetting as part of a political solution.
3. Specific agreements on:
 - a) Steps toward political solution
 - b) Implementation of dialogue procedure.
4. Act and joint communiqué.

IV. On the first point the government rather than trying to find a political solution tried to reduce everything to:

FIRST: Accepting non violence, forgiveness and forgetting.

SECOND: Accepting the Esquipulas II framework of cease fire, amnesty, -- disarmament of the FMLN and having the FDR and FMLN join the "democratic -- process" supposedly taking place in our country.

The delegation of our Fronts said that the social, economic and political causes of the war remain valid and active in our country, while poverty --- unemployment and squalor are much greater. This is linked to the suffering, -- ill treatment and injustice imposed on more than a million people by the policy of depopulation and the counterinsurgency strategy of bombing, destruction of homes and crops. This has made the Salvadoran state totally dependent on the U.S. government and resulted in a loss of sovereignty as a result of which the Salvadoran people are no longer able to exercise self determination via democratic means.

Given this lack of sovereignty, elections are not a genuine expression of -- development, they are only a farce so that the U.S. Congress will approve more military aid and only those who fit in with the policy, strategy, tactics and ideology of the U.S. government can take power.

Since the 1984 talks in La Palma and Ayagualo this dependency has grown. The state and all its branches, ministries and the army first of all, have been -- reestructured, reorganized and prepared to implement the counterinsurgency -- military doctrine of so-called "Low Intensity Warfare". This doctrine was drafted by the U.S. government which provides the arms and money to put the strategy into practice and it has reached such a decisive level for the survival of the Salvadoran state, a captive of that policy, that its civilian and military officers, even -- when they have patriotic feelings, have neither the power nor the ability to --- uphold national sovereignty.

At the negotiations we explained that the counterinsurgency strategy applied by the United States in El Salvador, poses the need for, as a political necessity to obtain desired goals, a government with a centrist and populist image using -- democratic rhetoric. We explained that this was the role of the Christian Democratic Party which has completely coopted by this foreign strategy imposed on our country. There is no democratic process in the country for us to join.

Therefore the political solution to the Salvadoran conflict must be based on rescue of national sovereignty and of the state and its decision making power, -- the rescue of national identity and the implementation on this vital basis of a genuine democratic process.

The FDR and FMLN explained that the resumption of sovereignty is the main problem facing our country and in order to solve it by political means all -- national reserves of patriotism must be called into play. That is why there must be a change in the government to include all national sectors supporting a national political solution to the conflict including the FDR-FMLN, Duarte and his party, without ruling out anybody for social or ideological reasons. Together with the change in government will come the cease fire.

Our delegation said that there would be a transition period during which, in a climate of cease fire, the state would be reoriented towards sovereignty, national interests and peace with guarantees for all forms of freedom. Thus it would be -- possible to hold free and honest general elections, in which the Salvadoran people could decide on the course of the country.

Our delegation presented a detailed review of the Esquipulas II agreement and

showed that the call for a political solution to the national conflict was fully in keeping with it as illustrated by the 6 Point proposal presented to the nation by our Fronts in July 1986. The Esquipulas II documents says that the basis for solid and lasting peace include sovereignty and self determination, social -- justice and the incorporation of the people in genuine democratic process.

We added that this makes Esquipulas II is an expression of Central American autonomy in the face of the aggressive policy of intervention and war pursued by the U.S. government in the region. Such a manifestation of autonomy leads us to view the Esquipulas II framework as positive and lead us to insist on the third round of talks.

We said Esquipulas II should be applied in keeping with the concrete conditions of the Salvadoran conflict which is different from the one in Nicaragua because of its causes and historic situation. The only thing they have in common is the intervention of the U.S. in both countries.

We also feel Esquipulas II reflects the political will for independence, --- democracy and social justice and therefore it should be placed at the service of peace not transformed into a cover for further escalation of the war in our --- country as is being done by the Pentagon and armed forces in El Salvador.

The government wanted to limit Esquipulas II to a mere ceasefire, amnesty and disarmament. Regarding democracy, sovereignty and social justice the government claimed that these were merely romantic aspects of the document which did not oblige them to do anything right away.

The FDR and FMLN said separating one thing from another would only leave intact the counterinsurgency state dependent on the United States while consolidating the loss of sovereignty and independence, frustrating the desire for freedom and -- justice of the Salvadoran people. This would make the cease fire fragile and temporary and fighting would resume.

The government acknowledged that cease fire did not mean disarmament of the FMLN.

Then the FDR-FMLN delegation presented its cease fire proposal.

A cease fire in the war in El Salvador involves:

1. Changes in the government including all sectors that support a political solution, including the FDR and FMLN.
2. Since there will be no disarmament it will be necessary to assure a halt to the fighting on the ground and take steps so that the cease fire will - not be used by anyone to strengthen themselves militarily. This means:
 - a) Delimitation of areas for both armies.
 - b) Moratorium on arms buildup with verification to be handled by the Contadora and Support Groups.
 - c) Halt to forced recruitment by both sides.
 - d) Removal of foreign military advisers.

Our delegation said that on point 3 of the agenda it would present proposals for immediate agreements to assure continuity of talks and help create favorable conditions.

FIRST PROPOSAL

1. Suspending the air war.
2. Suspending use of long range artillery.
3. Suspending use of mines and traps.
4. Suspending economic sabotage.

This would help prevent escalation.

SECOND PROPOSAL

1. Right of the people to live where they wish which means:
 - a) Not hampering their return
 - b) No destruction of homes and crops
 - c) Suspension of evictions
 - d) No restrictions on trade
2. No military interference in the work of mayors, judges and other civilian

officials.

3. Releasing political prisoners and a halt to the arrests of political --- activists and union members.
4. Respect for the relatives of soldiers and officers of the armed forces and government officials and of the relatives of soldiers, military commanders and leaders of the FMLN and FDR.

THIRD PROPOSAL

Our delegation said that if the government really wants peace but feels hampered by the text of the Constitution it should be changed which is also constitutional for the Constitution can't become an obstacle to peace as Monsignor Rivera y -- Damas has said, especially in a country like ours where the violations of all - Constitutions including this one are commonplace, particularly as regards to the rights and freedom of the people. The real obstacle is not the Constitution but rather the decision of the Reagan administration not to accept any solution that implies changing the nature of the government in El Salvador, a veto which Duarte and the high command have accepted.

Our delegation pointed out the contradiction in the government claim that --- people can't be allowed to live where they wish because that would benefit the guerrillas and their claims that there is democracy in the country and appeals for non violence. Hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans have been forced to leave their homes and place of work in a brutal and destructive manner and are now prevented from returning and forced to live in dire poverty. This is a glaring violation of all constitutional rights.

The government rejected our proposals but asgreed to continue the talks.

VI. On the second point of the agenda Duarte and the other delegates of the government spoke on non violence, forgiveness and forgetting but made no reference to the situation in the country. they claimed that support for these principles lays the groundwork for a political solution.

We replied by saying that the political solution was intended to implement non violence of the political process but this means agreements to solve the

THE THIRD PROPOSAL.

In order to ensure a continued dialogue, it is proposed to ratify the internal norm if the Special Commission approved in Ayagualo as well as to ensure its work.

V. While we were formulating our position towards the solution of the conflict and Esquipulas II and our proposals the Ing. Duarte tried to put an end to the meeting alleging that it was impossible for the Government to accept these accords because they "violate the Constitution".

conflict and without them there can be no non violence for violence leads to more violence.

In addition to a broad range of institutional, social, economic, repressive and other forms of violence used by the government against the people now the -- armed forces are receiving new military helicopters and abundant weaponry and together with their U.S. advisers are preparing a new escalation of the war while oppression, repression, hunger and unemployment are leading to a social explosion which will unleash the power of the people.

The FMLN said the revolutionary armed forces are ready to confront and defeat the new escalation just like they have defeated all others and urged the government to use this opportunity to reach agreements rather than escalate the war.

We added: what point is there to non violence while the government rejects all efforts to reduce violence faced by hundreds of thousands of people? This is merely a call to disarm the people and the FMLN and facilitate its defeat which is --- unacceptable.

The logical thing is to accept agreements that will help end the fighting and result in non violent national development and it is in this sense that non violence should be included in the third round.

Regarding forgiveness our delegation said it is difficult for the people to - forgive and forget the crimes it suffered especially some which are monstrous but the FDR and FMLN agree to include this as a component of a negotiated political solution.

VII. On the subject of specific agreements our delegations had made the above mentioned proposals. The government did not make any and refused to discuss ours, it also rejected an act of the meeting that would list or mention the proposals of the FDR and FMLN.

No act was approved although Monsignor Arturo Rivera Damas took written notes of the meeting.

VIII. At this point it was clear Duarte had come to the talks with no possibility of reaching substantive in depth agreements. The only thing he could do was to

accept the commissions that were formed.

Given the government opposition to all efforts at a political solution we at least sought to assure continuity of the dialogue and enabling all sectors of the country to participate in the national debate. This way we can advance towards the necessary national consensus that will create the patriotic force to overcome obstacles posed by U.S. imperialism. a segment of the military and a small and very reactionary sector that opposes a solution among Salvadorans.

Such is the importance we attach to formation of the commissions and we will work to reach specific agreements that lead to the just solution our country needs and deserves.

We are well aware of the fact that acceptance of this agreement by the government reflects a fragile consensus among members of the power structure which is not based on a desire for political agreements.

Duarte views these commissions as a formality so he can say he fulfilled his commitments under Esquipulas II and for Christian Democrats and especially the two election candidates they provide an opportunity for campaign propaganda; for the Pentagon and the armed forces their failure will provide an opportunity for escalation of the war being prepared by the Reagan administration and an opportunity to pressure Nicaragua into direct talks with the mercenaries of the contra created and supported by the U.S.

IX.XX. Monsignor Arturo Rivera Damas conducted himself correctly as a moderator in the course of the meeting in which our delegation spoke clearly and got to the heart of the issues.

X. Efforts by the Christian Democrats to use the event for election campaigning proved fruitless as a result of the efforts of the popular movement with their 55 hour rally in front of the Apostolic Nunciature. This is an overwhelming -- demonstration of the force of popular, revolutionary and democratic sectors in our country.

50000 workers, peasants, students, teachers, office workers defeated army plans in the city of San Salvador and demonstrated their affection and support for the

FMLN and FDR.

Duarte vainly tried to distort the facts but the professional and unbiased stand of local and foreign journalists showed the world the welcome given our Fronts by the popular movement while Duarte remained in dramatic isolation without the support of business or political parties.

While the people were mobilized for three days and nights to hear leaders of the FMLN and FDR Duarte was in the Sheraton hotel with his advisers for a press conference, far from the people.

XI. The FDR and FMLN are a representative political and military force and we will step up our efforts to regain and strengthen national sovereignty based on a patriotic solution to the fighting; we will seek talks with all national sectors and strive for coincidence giving serious consideration to all views even those different from our own.

October 16, 1987

Executive Committee of the Democratic Revolutionary Front
FDR

General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front
FMLN