



Department of State

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HAS COME, WE FEEL, TO INVESTIGATE THESE CHARGES AND,
IF PROVEN, TO ARREST THE PERPETRATORS AND PROSECUTE
THEM TO THE LIMITS OF U.S. LAW. END SUMMARY

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5. [REDACTED] THEN SAID THAT [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] THAT THE RECENT WAVE OF KIDNAPPINGS OF BUSINESSMEN, THE BOMBINGS OF US/SALVADORAN FIRMS, THE TELEPHONED DEATH THREATS AND THE SHERATON MURDERS WERE ALL THE WORK OF THE MIAMI GANG. HE SAID HE HAD SPENT THE LAST THREE DAYS TALKING TO HEALTHY PEOPLE HERE WHO HAVE BEEN INTERROGATED AND THREATENED IN MIAMI -- SUCH YOUNGER BUSINESSMEN/LAWYERS AS [REDACTED] AND OTHERS -- PEOPLE WHO HAVE DECIDED TO STAY ON AND...

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WORK FOR THE COUNTRY, TO KEEP THEIR BUSINESSES AND FACTORIES OPEN, TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT WHILE CRITICIZING ITS INEFFICIENCY AND HOSTILITY TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THESE MEN HAVE BEEN CALLED TO MIAMI AND SEATED AT THE END OF A LONG TABLE, FACING THE "SIX", AND MADE TO ANSWER SUCH QUESTIONS AS "WHY ARE YOU CONTRIBUTING TO THE COMMUNIST VICTORY BY KEEPING YOUR BUSINESS OPEN?" OR "WHY DO YOU DO THE WORK OF THE COMMUNIST AGENTS WHITE AND BOWLER?" THEN IT IS CAREFULLY EXPLAINED TO THEM THAT TO REBUILD THE COUNTRY ON A NEW FOUNDATION IT MUST FIRST BE DESTROYED TOTALLY, THE ECONOMY MUST BE WRECKED, UNEMPLOYMENT MUST BE MASSIVE, THE JUNTA MUST BE OUSTED AND A "GOOD" MILITARY OFFICER BROUGHT TO POWER WHO WILL CARRY OUT A TOTAL "LIMPEZA" (CLEANSING), KILLING THREE OR FOUR OR FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE, WHATEVER IT TAKE TO GET RID OF ALL THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ALLIES. THEN AND ONLY THEN CAN THE WEALTHY ELITE RETURN TO PRESIDE OVER THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY ON A NEW FOUNDATION WHERE THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY WILL BE SECURED FOREVER. LAST, THE "SIX" MAKE THE FOLLOWING THREAT: "UNLESS YOU CLOSE DOWN YOUR FACTORY/BUSINESS, GET OUT OF THE COUNTRY, STOP WORKING WITH ALIANZA PRODUCTIVA, INCAFE, AMERICAN EMBASSY, ETC., YOU WILL BE VERY SOPRY."

[REDACTED]

6. [REDACTED] NOW SOME FIFTEEN BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS HAVE BEEN KIDNAPPED, HELD SINCE BEFORE

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CHRISTMAS WITH NO REQUEST FOR RANSOM AND THE MESSAGE IS CLEAR -- GET OUT OR THE MIAMI GANG WILL HAVE YOU KIDNAPPED OR KILLED. THE DEATHS OF THE AIFLD OFFICIALS AND VIFRA MUST BE SEEN IN THIS CONTEXT, HE INSISTED, AND THE MADNESS OF THE MIAMI GANG RECOGNIZED.

7. WHO ARE THESE MADMEN AND HOW DO THEY OPERATE? THE PRINCIPAL FIGURES ARE SIX ENORMOUSLY WEALTHY FORMER LANDOWNERS WHO LOST GREAT ESTATES IN PHASE I OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM BUT STILL HAVE IMPORTANT HOLDINGS PARCELLED OUT TO NEPHEWS, COUSINS, GRANDSONS, ETC., THAT WOULD BE TAKEN UNDER PHASE II OF THE LAND REFORM; THEY ALSO HAVE LIQUID ASSETS AND FOREIGN INVESTMENTS WHICH, COMBINED, MIGHT BE IN THE RANGE OF TWO TO FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS. THEY HAVE ALWAYS EXERCISED DECISIVE POWER IN THIS COUNTRY AND CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THEIR DAY IS OVER. THEIR TACTICS HERE WERE SIMPLE: COOPT BRIGHT PEOPLE FROM THE MIDDLE CLASS, BRIBE THE TOP MILITARY LEADERSHIP, KILL ANYONE WHO MADE TROUBLE. THEY HAVE CONTINUED TO PURSUE THESE TACTICS IN MIAMI BUT ON A FAR GREATER SCALE; FOR INSTANCE THEY HAVE BRIBED MANY MILITARY OFFICERS AND POLITICIANS HERE AND ABROAD TO SERVE THEIR INTERESTS. BUT OF EVEN MORE CONCERN IS THE FACT THAT THEY ORGANIZE, FUND AND DIRECT DEATH SQUADS THROUGH THEIR AGENT, MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON. HE NEVER MEETS DIRECTLY WITH THEM ANYMORE BECAUSE HE CAN NO LONGER TRAVEL TO THE U.S. BUT HE OPERATES OUT OF GUATEMALA AND HAS BEEN IN EL SALVADOR NOW FOR SEVERAL WEEKS PURSUING THE STRATEGY OF THE "SIX" TO DESTABILIZE THE COUNTRY AND OVERTHROW THE JUNTA, AND USING THEIR TACTICS, BOMBING FACTORIES AND OFFICES, KIDNAPPING BUSINESSMEN AND NOW, VERY LIKELY, MURDERING THE INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP OF LAND REFORM. THE OBJECT IS TO TERRORIZE THOSE WHO ARE STILL WORKING FOR A MODERATE OUTCOME, IN OR OUT OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND TO IMPOSE A RIGHTIST DICTATORSHIP. THREE PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO CARRY

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OUT A RIGHTIST COUP HAVE BEEN FOILED BY THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, THE PDC AND THE MAJORITY OF THE OFFICER CORPS. THE FAILURE OF THEIR LAST EFFORT WAS A BITTER DEFEAT FOR THE "SIX" AND THEY ARE IN AN ANGRY, VINDICTIVE MOOD. THUS IT IS VERY DANGEROUS NOW FOR ANYONE THEY REGARD AS A "COMMUNIST COLLABORATOR", A VERY BROAD CATEGORY IN THEIR BOOKS WHICH NECESSARILY INCLUDES ATFLD.

[REDACTED] THE

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MIAMI "SIX", NOTHING THAT OTHERS AMONG THE EMIGRES AND THEIR WEALTHY ALLIES HERE HAVE SOME ROLE FROM TIME TO TIME BUT THESE ARE THE TOP LEADERSHIP: VIERA ALTAMIRANO, LUIS ESCALANTE, ARTURO MUYSHONDT, THE SALAVERRIA BROTHERS (PROBABLY JULIO AND JUAN RICARDO), AND ROBERTO EDGARDO DAGLIO. ALL ARE IN MIAMI. WATCH PLOTS, HOLD CONSTANT MEETINGS AND COMMUNICATE INSTRUCTIONS TO D'AUBUISSON. 9. COMMENT: THE EMBASSY HAS HEARD THIS CONSPIRACY DESCRIBED BY SEVERAL EARLIER SOURCES AND HAS REPORTED DETAILS, INCLUDING NAMES, TO THE DEPARTMENT.

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[REDACTED] FOR THE LAST TEN MONTHS, MANY SALVADORANS AND SOME OFFICIAL AMERICANS HAVE BEEN AWARE THAT RIGHTIST DEATH SQUADS ARE FINANCED AND DIRECTED BY A GROUP OF SELF-EXILED MILLIONAIRES IN MIAMI, THAT THE PUBLISHER OF THE DIARIO DE HOY, N. VIERA ALTAMIRANO IS A PRINCIPAL FIGURE, AND THAT MANY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN BRIBED TO COOPERATE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO OVERTHROW THE JRG, REIMPOSE THE STATUS QUO ANTE AND KILL HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SALVADORANS SUSPECTED OF LIBERAL OR LEFTIST SYMPATHIES. NOW WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT TWO OFFICIALS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FREE LABOR DEVELOPMENT WERE TARGETTED AND MURDERED BY RIGHTIST DEATH SQUADS WHO MAY BE ACTING UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE "MIAMI SIX". THIS MAY MEAN THAT ANYONE ACCUSED BY THEM OF BEING A "SOCIAL DEFORMER", WHETHER SALVADORAN OR AMERICAN, IS A

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TARGET FOR MURDER. IT IS UNACCEPTABLE THAT SUCH AN OPERATION IS GUIDED FROM A MAJOR AMERICAN CITY AND THAT NOTHING CAN BE DONE TO STOP IT BEFORE ANOTHER AMERICAN OFFICIAL OR CONTRACT EMPLOYEE IS MURDERED HERE. WE ARE UNAWARE OF ANY STEPS TO INVESTIGATE THE INFORMATION ON THIS OPERATION THAT HAS BEEN PROVIDED BY THE EMBASSY IN THE PAST. WE BELIEVE THAT STEPS MUST BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THESE CHARGES AND THAT, IF PROVEN, THE GUILTY SHOULD BE PROSECUTED TO THE LIMIT OF U.S. LAW.

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