



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

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El Salvador - The Issues, 1981.

Trying To Make Sense of El Salvador  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
April 12, 1981

They say that confession is good for the soul, so I'll begin with a confession. I set the topic of El Salvador for this morning more for my sake than for yours. Like so many of you I have been appalled by the pictures of dead bodies which we see on television and <sup>in</sup> the newspapers, often with their hands tied behind their backs, obviously shot down in cold blood. I've been trying to sort out the names, the actors, the faces, the parties, the issues and because, for the most part, news is presented in such a fragmented way I found that I had really no frame of reference in which to understand what was happening in that poor benighted country, and so I thought it would be a good idea to set myself a discipline and have to go through the study, the research, to develop the background. And I had also the feeling that if I was confused you were probably confused too and that we might in a sense share together the framework that I have found which has helped me a little bit, at least, to make as much sense as one can make of an essentially hapless, insoluble political situation.

If you want the bottom line, I have come to the conclusion that El Salvador is the Lebanon of Latin America, destined to suffer, to be broken, to be a place of violence for a long time to come. Now I've had, surprisingly, at least one first-hand experience with Latin American violence, and I hasten to add that that does not make me an expert in the field nor do I ever want to become one.

Some years ago we went on a mid-winter trip down to Guatemala which is the immediate neighbor east and north of El Salvador and went to see some of the great Mayan ruins, monuments, museums and while we were in Guatemala city the American military attache to Guatemala was shot and killed by some assassins and we could stand on the balcony of our hotel and look out across the city to the hills and see rising from the hills the smoke of gun shot and then a second later hearing the gun shot as the patrols went after whatever they were pursuing. Little did I think that that pursuit would somehow engulf us, but the next night I had been invited to

preach in the congregation, Beth El, in Guatemala city and we had a very lovely shabbas dinner in the home of the young rabbi and his wife and we were being driven to the synagogue, a more peaceful undertaking I can't possibly imagine, when suddenly our car was surrounded. We were pushed over into the side of the road and ordered out by young helmeted soldiers at bayonet point, told to put up our hands against the side of the car, frisked, and finally when it was all sorted out, fortunately, the young rabbi was fluent in Spanish and could understand what was being said and done, it turned out that the car model in which we were driving was somehow associated with the assassination and, therefore, we were suspects in this attack.

I am not sure what I said that night. I know I wasn't the calmest I had ever been in the pulpit. And that same week we went to visit the editor of one of the mildly oppositional newspapers, La Prensa, in Guatemala city. Now, we think of visiting a newspaper office as a very simple thing. You go, you make an appointment, you're invited up to the editor's office, you have your talk and you leave. Well, we presented ourselves at the address that was given to us. It was an armed fortress. There were guards. We were searched. We were looked at through a peephole. We were physically searched and when, finally, we had a conversation with the editor, a very interesting one, the conversation was about violence and danger. He apologized for all that we had gone through and a year later when we read in the New York Times that he had been assassinated we understood the importance of these precautions and, really, the inability of these precautions to preserve life in places where life is so cheap and violence is so close to the surface.

In any part of the world you can take it as a given that when illiteracy is rampant and poverty the general order of things, where birth control is not practiced and the population explosion is wreaking its havoc there life will be cheap and life will be easily taken and often taken and that's been the history of Latin America these last years and I'm afraid that may be its history for many years to come.

El Salvador is the smallest, the most densely populated, the most intensely

cultivated and the most illiterate country in Latin America. It's small, 8,600 square miles. On those 8,600 square miles four and a half million people live, largely eeking their livelihood out by some kind of farming. Illiteracy is estimated at some place between 60 and 75 percent. And the standard of living of the average El Salvadorean is the lowest in a part of the world which is not known for its wealth.

Now, El Salvador ought never to have been an independent country. This whole area was conquered by some of the tenants of Cortez in the 1530's and it was ruled from the captaincy of Guatemala for three centuries. All leadership during those centuries was Spanish. The Spanish gave to the area their language, their church, the aristocratic and oligarchical and feudal forms of government and of farming and of commerce which were common in Spain, and a contempt, a racist contempt, for the native, all issues which have generally plagued, to a certain degree, that part of the world.

In 1831 the few barons whose estates were in the El Salvadorean area and one or two of the aristocratic clergy of the area opted for independence of Guatemala and they achieved a measure of independence and most of the nineteenth century was spent fighting against various other robber barons, plantation barons and church primates in Nicaragua and in Guatemala. The problem economically was that there was a very small Europeanized literate class sitting on top of a largely Indian peasant population in a small urban population of half-breeds. The economic problem was a problem that El Salvador alone among the countries of Latin America has no Atlantic port and so whatever products, national resources, she had to export could not be exported directly, had to pay toll. The major export of this area during the early part of the nineteenth century as in the centuries before was indigo, a dye, which was important to the textile industry of Spain and of Europe. But it was a poor part of the world. It remained so. There was not great money to be made. And then you can thank a change in European tastes for the basic change which occurred in Salvador around 1870, 1880, because Europeans around 1870 discovered the glories of the coffee break. Coffee became suddenly a very sheik drink throughout Europe. Coffee

had been grown in small quantities in Salvador as in Nicaragua and Guatemala. Suddenly the landed wealth began to plant whatever acres they owned with coffee trees and they looked eagerly to the rest of the countryside, wherever it was possible, to plant coffee to get that acreage for themselves. Now, the problem was that most of the rest of the country was owned by the Indians, owned by Indian tribes, owned as a tribe, not by individuals. And the Salvadorean wealth recognized that they simply killed the Indians and expropriated their land they might not be able to sell coffee with blood on the beans throughout Europe, so they concocted a scheme. El Salvador owes its constitution to this land grab of 1886. The scheme was simply this. There would be a constitution which would appeal to the United States and appeal to the liberal forces in Europe. That constitution would guarantee elections, a unicameral legislature and the ownership of land, the individual ownership of land. And so Salvador began a land reform program which consisted of taking the lands which had been owned in commune by the Indian tribes and dividing these lands up among the individual Indians who were too poor to buy seed or to have the tools with which to plant the land, and within a year or two the landed wealth went in, offered them a few dollars for the title to their land, and gobbled up almost all the usable Indian territory. By the end of the nineteenth century two percent of the population of El Salvador owned forth percent of the land in El Salvador. And the constitution which guaranteed elections guaranteed elections would be held and the military who alone controlled the counting and the wealth who alone were really the literate part of the population guaranteed that those they wanted to be elected would be elected. And this is the way the situation lasted down through the 1910's and 1920's, but changes were beginning to take place. As commerce became more complex, as coffee brought a measure of wealth to Guatemala, to at least <sup>this</sup> two percent of Guatemala, this two percent began to need lawyers and auditors and factors and salesmen and office managers and doctors and dentists and a small literate urban class began to develop in the small cities of the area which began to desire to have some say over their destiny. They were no longer willing to tolerate the aristocratic feudal elite's control

over the situation.

In the 1920's a lawyer by the name of Aruhol put together a coalition of interest groups, largely from this new middle-class, with some support from the chiefs of the Indian tribes, and in the election in 1930 he was able to win the majority of the votes and somehow to say that these votes would be counted and he was appointed to the head of the government, but he ran immediately into the bad luck and to the polarization of life which has always afflicted Salvador and this area. First of all, the world-wide depression, coffee prices plummeted. Suddenly the income on which he depended for those programs of social reform were no longer possible. And then because repression from the right always leads in an attempt by the left to establish itself he found himself facing a rebellion among the Indian tribes led by a young Indian Trotskyite by the name of Marty, and this rebellion in the coffee plantation areas allowed the extreme right which has always had its own paramilitary troops to go in and with great bloodshed to suppress the revolt and, in the process, to push Mr. Aruhol out of power.

And so this first attempt at evolutionary reform in El Salvador failed. El Salvador returned to oligarchical rule, to the rule of the right which simply had its own way which not only accumulated great wealth at the expense of the poor, not only treated the poor with all contempt, it was nothing simply to shoot a man who did not do what you told him to do, but they took a great deal of its wealth and invested it in Florida and Switzerland and elsewhere so that Salvador has never had the return of its own prosperity to its own land.

This is the way the situation remained during the 1930's and the 40's until the end of the second World War. And then again there was an attempt to liberalize, reform, to create a center party in El Salvador. The man who had been the head of the government during this whole period of time had now had his two permitted terms of office as president, he wanted a third. He was opposed by a liberal colonel from within the army structure. The army is not the monolith that it is sometimes painted

to be by the press, and he simply had this colonel and his supporters killed, and then when the students and the commercial classes of San Salvador, the capital, and the other cities rose up in rebellion he killed a few and then, finally, saying, I can't kill them all, left San Salvador to live with his wealth in Europe and allowed a moderate government to come into being. And that moderate government was immediately pressured from the extreme right with its own private armies and pressured from the increasingly radicalized left, found that it had a great deal of difficulty staying in power, and power was fragmented, it was being unable to create any meaningful reforms and the army and the right wing came quickly back into the saddle.

During the late 1960's the Christian democratic parties of Europe tried to create through various kinds of support a Christian Democratic Party in El Salvador which would act as a centrist group between this impossible group on the right, these oligarchs and tyrants, and the increasingly violent groups on the left which were bent on a total revolution. And in 1972 a man by the name of Jose Napoleon Djuarta who is now the president of Salvador but in a different context, was elected on a Christian democratic platform pledge to social reform and somehow the votes were counted and somehow he was placed in the chair. He lasted several weeks until the right wing simply came into the presidential palace, picked him up, put him in prison, tortured him, put him on a ship and sent him away from the country. That's the way things are done in El Salvador.

And then from 1972 to 1979 the right wing was in control. The iron hand of the right wing saw to it that things went the way they wanted them to go. And finally, frightened to a large degree by the growing Sundenista power in Nicaragua, desiring if they could to again attempt a centrist government in El Salvador, our own government helped to stage-manage a moderate revolution, a modest revolution, which led ultimately to new elections in which a coalition group, a supposedly centrist group, came to power, and that's the group that still rules almost all of the men who were elected in 1979 have long since either been exiled, left, killed or one thing or

another because things change. There is no principle of continuity in that part of the world.

In a review of the situation in El Salvador which was done for foreign affairs a month or two ago, the observer was simply reporting, made these basic comments.

In surveying the contemporary scene, an outside observer is assailed by two overwhelming impressions: the sense of fragmentation everywhere in the social and political body; and the climate of indiscriminate, almost pathological, violence.

The current state of play within El Salvador can perhaps best be conveyed as a series of propositions:

(1 The population overwhelmingly wants an end to the violence, and this desire now transcends political differences within the the general populace. Violence is almost the central reality dictating the way forces maneuver.

2) The left-wing insurgents have not gained in popular support; although clandestine acquisition of military equipment from Cuban and other external sources, however, they have accumulated significant military capability. In what appeared to be an effort to replicate the Sandinista strategy in Nicaragua the extreme left launched a widescale assault against government forces in early January in a major effort to bring down the government coalition and to consolidate their leadership and control over all other opposition forces because in El Salvador the opposition is not simply the extreme left wing, Cuban-trained insurgency group and a whole conjuring variety of peoples from all walks of life who know what it is to suffer under the harsh rule, the arbitrary rule of the right wing.

3) Elements of the traditional economic oligarchy continue to try to use their old military channels to stop reform measures and restore the traditional power pattern. They have influence over some officers, but not the power over the military as an institution that they once had.

4) The government represents the shaky center ground on which the military and the Christian Democrats have met. The understanding between the military and the Christian Democrats now constitutes the new basis for official political power, but the understanding

is a fragile one, for the participants' multifarious views are hard to reconcile. The military wants to concentrate on the elimination of the insurgency. For the Christian Democrats the problem is more complex than public order; they advocate a process of social and political reform as a basis for re-forming an internal political consensus, isolating the extreme Left, and making armed insurrection less appealing.

5) Most everyone agrees on the need to reestablish order and eliminate the violence rocking the country; but the nature and extent of military enforcement operations, how to control the military and security apparatus, and how to eliminate the various extra-official violence are all questions that have persistently threatened the survival of the present Christian Democrat-military coalition.

Now, the situation seems to be composed of many many parts which most of us who are only skimming the surface as best we can obviously cannot know all of the details. El Salvador is a Catholic country. The Catholic Church for the first four hundred years of its history was an aristocratic church aligned with the oligarchy. In the last twenty years or so, largely because the essentially Spanish church had now been essentially a European and North American church, a large number of priests and nuns had gone to work in the countryside and with the poor and they have been to a certain degree radicalized by their experience, they've seen it firsthand, the carnage of the right, and they have adopted what is called a liberation theology, a theology which speaks to the point that the most important mission of the church before the saving of souls must be the saving of lives. And they have aligned themselves with the extreme left, with the peasantry. Some of them have gone so far as to take up arms against the government. Others have tried to walk that very difficult road between complete sympathy and support of the oppressed people and the essential pacific and peaceful nature which a church mission should have. The leadership of the church has been divided. It is still largely Spanish in tradition, but with the assassination last year of Archbishop Romero who had been radicalized by much that he had seen the church has taken a more and more liberal position towards the countryside as a whole.

At the same time, the church remains adamantly opposed to birth control, adamantly opposed to any of those solutions which would allow this population to cease growing, to take hold of itself, because the population is increasing numerically every year, that is the numbers of illiterates are increasing, the number of poor are increasing, the countryside simply does not have the ability to sustain livelihood nutrition levels, provide housing nor does it have a school system in place to provide even the rudiments in education.

The commercial classes in El Salvador would like to see the emergence of a centrist government, one which would create peace and the opportunities of business to take place. They are not tied to the old-lined landed baroncies who have for so long ruled the country, and they have been largely supportive of measures which have been to a large degree initiated in and sponsored by Washington, especially since 1979, which look toward large scale land reform of a meaningful nature which would take the vast states of this two percent and divide them up among those who actually do the farming. The first stages of this land reform were attempted a year, year and a half ago. The right wing has reacted bitterly against them. You may remember just a few weeks ago the American representative of the AFL-CIO who was down in Guatemala to lead the land reform program and two of his assistants were assassinated while they were having coffee in the hotel where they were living by right wing groups.

The land reform has gone slowly because of the violence in the countryside, because of the inadequacy of the government apparatus, but the United States government and this middle group are committed, or seem to be committed to carrying it through and if they manage it will be a major step forward for that benighted country.

The left? The Left has many concerns and many interests. Some of them are purely ideological. They derive from the ideology of Castro in Cuba and of Marx. They lead towards the establishment of a Marxist government in all of Latin America and to the restructuring of all of the political institutions in that part of the world, to insist and to achieve Marxist control.

Now, between these groups, the Right fighting to hold on to privilege, fighting largely through proxies, through mercenaries, most of the rich barons are living outside of El Salvador and much of the recruitment for their armies is taking place among professional soldiers who can be bought in Europe or in the United States to go down and do the fighting for them while these men and women and their families live rather comfortably in Miami or in Geneva or in London. The Right simply wants to keep things as they are. The Left wants a complete and total overthrow and the imposition of a new authority and the center is trying to balance out as best it can the real problems, poverty, illiteracy, housing, unemployment, underemployment, all the problems of that part of the world and to maintain some sense of stability. It's very difficult, perhaps it may be impossible because violence is so much a part of life in that world that no one trusts anyone else. The army is an army except many people in the army are also members of other armies, private armies, and they work in those private armies at night. The National Guard is a National Guard except that many of those who are Guards are also part of private armies during the night. And sometimes members of the Army who fight in the same division during the day are exchanging gun fire, one against the other, during the night.

The insurgent groups are also not united. There was an attempt about a year and a half ago to bring the leaders together in Cuba to forge an overall command and it lasted about two months. We brought into being by the DRU this extreme group a few months ago for the January offensive. When that offensive failed in its purposes the insurgent groups began to fight one another as much as they fought against the right wing in the government.

And, of course, those who suffer, as always, are the poor, the farmer, the peasant, the Indian, the plantation worker, the urban masses, the people who are simply trying to survive.

Is there a solution? I'm intrigued as much by our American reaction to what's happening in El Salvador as I am by the complexity of the problem itself. There are those among us who seem to be saying, I simply don't want to think about it, the

Vietnam psychology. We've been burnt once, I don't want to think about it, isolationism, no responsibility. And these are often aligned with those groups in the United States who are making a great noise about the fact that we ought not to be sending aid of any kind down to El Salvador.

Now, it's very attractive to say that El Salvador should be an area to which no one should send arms because these arms are used indiscriminately. They're used for massive killing of innocents. But if United States does not provide the moderate center with arms you can be sure that Libya and the PLO and the Soviet and Cuba are providing the insurgents with arms. An armed insurgency in Latin America is no longer a matter of old rifles and pistols but of some of the most refined weapons in any modern military arsenal. And so unless there was a way of avoiding sanitizing the area so that no arms came to anyone it's hard to see how a unilateral action by our own government would make a contribution towards the solution of the problems unless - unless we were among those who believe that any change is for the better and that even if that change is one which brings in a Marxist government which restructures the society and destroys whatever opportunity it has to move towards some kind of freedom, unless we're of that opinion, it's hard to see how we cannot take certain kinds of actions.

There are two lessons that we send from Vietnam. The first lesson is that when you fight the colonial war or the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time you can be badly hurt and badly defeated. The other is that those whom we were fighting in Vietnam created the boat people and that is that after we left tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of Laotians and Cambodians and Vietnamese were sent to reeducation camps or arbitrarily put on small boats to make out as best they could on the seas were simply killed.

And as long as Poland is the image which is so much before us, a country struggling for a modicum of freedom, a modicum of decency for the laborer against a government which in the name of labor has imposed a 1984 kind of structure on the body

politic, a totalian structure on the body politic. It's hard for us who have learned that second lesson of Vietnam not to say that we must be concerned with the nature of change and that it's too facile simply to make the case that given the ugliness, the violence, the bloodiness of the right any change is for the better.

Now, having said that the Carter administration, and now the Reagan administration, have embarked on policies which are difficult in the extreme. The observer whom I quoted to you who spoke of the fragmentization of political power spoke of the fact that really no one in El Salvador trusts anyone. There is no center, just a lot of people who would like to survive and who would like to have the opportunity to survive. It's going to take time. It's going to take patience. It's going to take a bit of good luck, a great deal of good luck in order for any shoring up of this center to give the country a chance for its freedom. If the American policy shades over out of frustration to a desire to eliminate the Left, in General Haig's views that Communism must be fought in all ways at all times, becomes the predominant one of this administration, then there's a great danger that what begins has been presented to us and I think truly so as an attempt to shore up the center. will become a rather indiscriminate arming of government, largely the forces who are sympathetic to the Right and will simply see that there is now a clamping down again, as there has been in the past, of authority, of tyranny, on a poor suffering mass. It's going to be a very difficult task because America is largely ignorant of the facts of Vietnam as I still am except for the understandings that we have gained. Because the people there move we can't always understand where they are and what they are espousing because guns sent down for one purpose can be used for another, because bloodshed is endemic and violence is a way of life.

I said earlier that the bottom line of all of this, in my opinion, is that El will be the Lebanon of Latin America. I see only one way out. It is a way that was suggested as early as the 1960's by the Kennedy administration. The Kennedy Administration attempted to create in Latin America a common market so that the countries

of Latin America, which are essentially one in language, in racial stock, in culture, which were one for three hundred years in terms of Spanish colonial authority, could share their resources, essentially their man power resources which are in such short supply, develop some of the economic institutions which are necessary to compete in the world market today. If Nicaragua, Honduras, Melese and Guatemala and Salvador were to come together to some kind of economic union, if not a governmental union, they would have some economic power, they would have some clout, there might be an opportunity for enough wealth to come down into that part of the world because the natural resources are there for the economy to emerge and for these countries to begin to move into the twentieth century.

On her own El Salvador lacks the economic resource to achieve this. She lacks the educated human resource to make it possible. She lacks the climate which would allow her to farm in more varigated ways so she wasn't so dependent on the world coffee market. She really lacks, even if she did not have this tragedy of violence which sweeps over the land, she lacks, really, the wherewithal to become a modern nation. Given those facts as the foundation, given the reality of bloodshed, ten thousand people were killed in Salvador last year, five thousand by the Right, five thousand approximately by the Left. The bloodshed has continued. It seems to be mounting in violence.

I conclude with this, simply this. I think the American government is right in attempting to shore up the center. I think aid is necessary. I think that aid must be given discriminately. I think we must see to it that the land reform measures which were begun are carried through. We must see to it that the banking resources of the country are made available to the farmers so that they will have the money to purchase seed and to harvest their crop and send it to market. We'll have to send down all manner of technicians, economic technicians, agricultural technicians, irrigation experts to allow the country to use the few resources it has as intelligently as it can. And we will have to be patient because politically I can't see any way

in which an arrangement can be brought into being now in a country where everybody has guns and where votes simply do not count. The guns count. In a country where everybody has guns there will be no agreement between idealogues and tyrants and the Latin idealogues and tyrants of the Right the center now hasn't the strength to achieve. It's a sad picture. It's one of the tragedies of the twentieth century. I wish I could present another picture, but this is El Salvador as I have come to understand it.





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all rules given by the committee - The committee  
 should not be given by the committee - The right  
 of the committee - - - - - who shall be ready to  
 be sent on the land of a justice - - - - -  
 of the committee.

Under the committee - - - - -  
 3281 The committee - - - - -  
 may be sent of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -

1) The committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -



2) The committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -

Violence - - - - -

of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -  
 of the committee - - - - -

What's about for El Solida

Clear to people and secret / press / invest like  
anyone else - many of election - But can we  
not a good deal of trust in the country - needed  
to build - but is clear

Private comes many discovery

in 2nd order of desert bill - but is clear  
for needs put us solidly - El Solida's offer -  
- no long secret will be - but is clear /  
Venezuela has been in the past years must be  
referred - which will be the main issue will be  
many will it - the needs will be the  
need is 100% has been is very to be  
but 25 years - is in process cancel - to  
process.

How to deal will be the main issue will be the main issue  
process - my will be the main issue will be the main issue -  
done it will be the main issue will be the main issue -  
will be the main issue will be the main issue -  
deducted is the main issue will be the main issue -

2 in it will be the main issue will be the main issue

As the us - but secret - number can  
they can use can & number to secret

all the secret time / secret / secret -

& if the can say but & say -

