

*Election and Intervention,  
the Same Plan*



Apartado Postal No.M-10005  
México, D.F. 06000 México

CENTRO DE EDICIONES "GUAZAPA"

IN ENGLISH

SEMANARIO DE ANALISIS POLITICO

Director  
Alfonso Quijada Urias

No. 3

EL SALVADOR

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# To our people and all the peoples of the world F.M.L.N. COMMUNIQUE

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRESSURED THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT, RIGHT-WING POLITICAL PARTIES, AND PUPPET ARMED FORCES TO HOLD PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. THE AIM WAS TO AID REAGAN IN HIS CAMPAIGN FOR REELECTION AND TO GIVE POLITICAL COVER AND LEGITIMACY TO HIS ESCALATION OF MILITARY INTERVENTION IN OUR COUNTRY.

WASHINGTON SUCCEEDED IN DRAWING THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD TO THE MARCH 25 ELECTIONS, WHICH IT FELT CERTAIN WOULD BE AN IMPECCABLE SPECTACLE BECAUSE OF THE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IT HAD INVESTED IN FINANCING AND MODERNIZING PREPARATIONS AND PROCEDURES.

Confident that the electoral comedy would be impressive and convincing, Reagan authorized General Gorman, head of the Southern Command, to carry out a plan of military aggression at the same time as the elections. Gorman pressed the Honduran army to carry out an incursion across the Salvadoran border, deployed U.S. naval forces and troops to the region, and from Honduran territory directly committed 5,000 U.S. soldiers to the plan. At the same time, as part of the plan, the puppet Salvadoran army carried out a major operation against zones controlled by the revolutionary movement, mainly in Morazán.

Despite the costly and meticulous preparations, the March 25 elections were a failure. The dictatorship could not organize voting throughout the entire country, the elections were held amidst enormous disorder, and they occurred within the framework of a powerful political-military action by the FMLN. The FMLN broke up the puppet army's military operation, thereby frustrating the Yankee's interventionist plan prepared along with the electoral collusion.

Contradictions among the ruling classes were exacerbated by the holding of elections. This in turn increased disorder and multiplied the cases of fraud. On the other hand, despite public pressure, threats of fines, and de facto reprisals, more than half of the electorate did not vote. A large part of the crowds seen in the streets were actually the same people going from one voting center to another, unable to find the correct one in all the disorder.

No vote was held in 86 of El Salvador's 261 municipalities. Thus reality made clear that the FMLN in effect controls one-third of national territory, where there is already in existence a people's power that has emerged in a genuinely democratic way. The reality of March 25 also demonstrated that the FMLN has great influence in the entire country, as well as the capacity to destabilize the military and political plans of both the dictatorship and imperialism.

The failure of this farce, preceded by a nauseating propaganda campaign of insults among the candidates, provoked a greater sharpening of the contradictions between the ruling classes, inside the army, and inside the government. No candidate won a majority, and a second round of voting will be held May 6. In the second round the doors will be open even wider to fraud, as the Assembly has decided to do away with the electoral register. The U.S. embassy on the one hand and the oligarchy on the other are making agitated efforts to impose their respective formulas in prior negotiations among the political parties.

The victor will be whoever is imposed through this struggle taking place behind the backs of the Salvadoran people, who have never had a genuine opportunity to elect their rulers. Once again the vote will be a farce, and the government that emerges will have to follow the dictates of Yankee imperialism. Reagan has already said that he will support any president, including one put in power by a coup, and that he will continue pressing ahead with his plan of war for El Salvador and Central America.

Reagan failed in his aim of improving the image of the genocidal Salvadoran dictatorship. The March 25 elections were a shameful and scandalous manipulation. The Death Squads, firmly rooted in the armed forces that the United States supports, stepped up their massacres. In the U.S. Congress, there has been an increase in opposition to approval of White House requests for military aid to the puppet army in our country. The truth is, however, that this aid has been sent, recently and without interruption, behind the back of Congress.

The CIA's mining of Nicaragua's ports is part of the Reagan administration's plan to regionalize the war in Central America, block the liberation of our peoples, and sink into us even more deeply and lastingly the claws of their domination.

Bipartisan opinion in the United States, as well as many governments and world public opinion, have condemned the mining of Nicaragua's ports and pointed to the Reagan Administration as responsible for it. This is a clear demonstration before the consciousness of the world that Reagan's obstinate aggressive action in Central America directly affects world peace. Reagan is suffering a severe political setback in this affair, but his veto of the UN Security Council resolution and his arrogant statement rejecting in advance the judgment of the World Court convey his contempt for international law and the will of humanity. The FMLN has from the very first moment categorically denounced the mining of Nicaragua's waters and, like the Sandinista National Liberation Front, warns of the seriousness of this act of terrorism by the government of the United States. We reiterate our condemnation and urge that no confidence be placed in those who have earned the rejection of the world. It is necessary to increase pressure to force the Reagan government to retreat from such actions.

The removal of General Alvarez and his clique in Honduras brought forth political inconvenience for Reagan. Although the U.S. ambassador in Tegucigalpa and the Pentagon affirm to have means for rebuilding their mechanism of control over the Honduran army, the FMLN believes that this is an opportunity to seek political solutions that will open the road to peace and assure future relations of cooperation and brotherhood among the countries of Central America. To this end the FMLN, conscious of what is represented by the real possibility of taking power and beginning from the fact that most of the border between Honduras and El Salvador marks off territory under our control, publicly declares its readiness to maintain respectful conduct toward the republic of Honduras, so long as Honduras is not used to attack us and so long as the United States does not use Honduran territory to harass and attack us. Despite the positive changes, the U.S. government is maintaining and increasing its military presence in Honduras, building air strips and other installations, stepping up the financing and arming of the Nicaraguan counterrevolution, and carrying out provocative military exercises.

The FMLN reaffirms its condemnation of the United States' interventionist activity in Central America.

Obsessed by the idea of attacking at any cost the people of Nicaragua and El Salvador, President Reagan has put before the Congress of this country a unique bill

that would authorize him to carry out preventive military operations against what he calls "terrorism". But what is really at issue is legitimizing state terrorism on a world level, something Washington is involved in up to its ears.

Before the people of the United States, the FMLN declares: the path taken by Reagan has reached the point that a choice must be made between accepting the FMLN's proposal for dialogue and negotiation, leading to the establishment of a broadly based provisional government, or carrying out against our country a military intervention that is more direct and more massive than the present intervention. It has already been shown that the dictatorship's army is incapable of defeating us and is clearly losing the war, despite Washington's multimillion dollar support and advisers. We reaffirm that a U.S. invasion will meet unyielding armed resistance by the Salvadoran people.

From all of the above, we can conclude:

1. It is a proven reality that the FMLN effectively controls one-third of national territory, and that its political-military struggle exercises a powerful influence in the rest of the country still under the repressive rule of the military dictatorship.
2. It has been demonstrated once again that without the prior establishment of a broadly based provisional government, El Salvador cannot hold genuinely democratic elections within the framework of war.
3. Under the genocidal dictatorship and the schemas imposed up until now by the United States, all elections are a farce. They are part of the United States' aggressive military plans, they lengthen the war, and they increase the suffering of the people, the destruction of the country, and the loss of its independence. Thus the sole genuine alternative for a political solution, of a character that is both national and democratic, is the FMLN-FDR's proposal for dialogue and negotiation -- and not, despite Washington's claims, these electoral farces.
4. The second round of elections will be another farce, and the FMLN will continue carrying out people's war before, during, and after them.
5. The escalation of U.S. military aggression against Nicaragua and against the people of El Salvador constitutes an extremely grave threat to world peace and amounts to a shameless effort to colonize Central America.

The FMLN calls on all workers, in factories and offices, in the countryside and in the cities, on the entire people of El Salvador, to redouble their effort to defeat once again the electoral farce and U.S. plans for intervention, to step up the struggle for the most deeply felt demands, and to join the people's army in massive numbers.

We also direct ourselves to businessmen, and we say to them: You have a place in the independent and free future of the homeland if you do not help the dictatorship to continue to impose bloodshed and if you do not aid the United States in its aggression.

We call on the soldiers and officers of the dictatorship's army to reject the role that has been imposed on them of serving as butchers of the people and instruments of Yankee imperialism. We call on them to join the ranks of those who are fighting for freedom, for social justice, for a just peace, and for independence of the homeland.

The FMLN calls on all the peoples of Central America to unite in defense of our self-determination and peace, to unite in face of the colonial plans of the U.S. government.

We call on the people of the United States and on all the peoples of the world to redouble their effort to stop Reagan's aggressive hand, to defend peace and the right of our peoples to independence, democracy, and social progress.

UNITED IN STRUGGLE UNTIL  
THE FINAL VICTORY!  
REVOLUTION OR DEATH VENCEREMOS!

Central America, April 17, 1984  
FMLN General Command



# HUMANS RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

San Salvador April 10, 1984.

The Socorro Jurídico Cristiano (Christian Legal Aid) a Human Rights Organization in El Salvador makes Known:

1. That during the first 3 months of 1984 (90 days) Socorro Jurídico compiled information on 1144 executions (murders) of civilians non combattants.

The responsibility for these murders is directly that of members of the Armed Forces and paramilitary groups (Death Squads).

II. In March, 1984 no less than 430 civilians were murdered. The murders were reported to Socorro Jurídico as follows:

Pesants	14
Workers	9
Students	3
Teachers	2
Professionals	4
Servants	4
Business People	7
Unknown Profession	387
TOTAL	430

III. In the week between 23 - 29 March, 1984 the period in which the presidential elections were held in El Salvador Socorro Jurídico became aware of the following:

1. In San Salvador 13 civilians were killed by paramilitary groups (Death Squads).

2. On March 25, election day, an unidentified body was found in San Benito barrio of San Salvador, showing clear signs of having been tortured and with the initials of the paramilitary group Secret Anticommunist Army.

3. The Government Armed Forces carried out seven important military operations in different parts of the country which resulted in no less than 40 deaths which were reported to Socorro Jurídico.

4. Socorro Jurídico received 13 denunciations of arbitrary detentions carried out both by army soldiers and by members of the 'security' and civil defense corps.

IV. In the first 15 days of March no less than 172 civilians were killed, while in the latter 2 weeks of the same month (16 - 31 March) no less than 258 civilians (non combattants) were killed, these cases all being reported to Socorro Jurídico.

V. Recently Socorro Jurídico asked the Procurator of the Republic publicly for the renewal of the investigation into the killing of the Archbishop of San Salvador Oscar A. Romero, who was killed on March 24, 1980.

Based on the newly approved Constitution the investigation has been solicited to clarify the supposed participation of people who have been mentioned publicly both in the United States and in El Salvador since January of this year as responsible for his death.

To this date no reopening of the criminal procedure has been ordered and therefore the legal process remains on file.



Woman holds pictures of her three children, snatched from her home by unidentified armed men.



The Reagan Administration will place the blame on our fronts, particularly the FMLN. They will claim that the bureaucratic problems were just that, problems and not the intrinsic weaknesses of an electoral project carried out in the context of war. They will single out our military activity as one of the factors, if not the principal factor, explaining the failure. It is important to stress that we were not the ones who carried out, programmed, developed, and dictated these elections. It was the decision of the Reagan Administration to hold them, and to hold them under the worst possible conditions for the Salvadoran Government.

# ON THE ELECTORAL FAILURE

Dr. Guillermo Manuel Ungo, President of Democratic Revolutionary Front



We believe that the proposal for a Broadly Based Provisional Government will have more strength today because it has been demonstrated that without our fronts there is no political solution in El Salvador. It's totally illusory to pretend that it can only be Washington or the Salvadoran Government who can impose by blood and fire a political or a military solution in El Salvador. We believe that this electoral failure and the fact that it could only be carried out with great fraud, vices, defects, problems, and great disorder indicates that a climate of peace and democracy is necessary-- a climate that isn't possible without the participation of our fronts.

Regarding the observers, it is necessary to distinguish between different classes of observers. The majority of those who came had a position favorable to the Salvadoran Government. They will try to cover up the whole failure as much as they can, passing it off as a series of minor deficiencies. But I believe there will also be many journalists, correspondents, and political figures who will have a version closer to reality, who will contribute to raising further questions about the elections and their legitimacy.

## THE ELECTORAL FAILURE

We had already anticipated in our press conference in Mexico at the beginning of February that the elections would have a result similar to those held in 1982 but with even greater deterioration. Conducted in more precarious conditions, they were a mask that would turn out very badly and wouldn't hide the reality of the critical situation faced by the Salvadoran Government and the Reagan Administration.

Regarding the repercussions, we can anticipate that the different parties will have many reasons to question the results, depending on how they do in the vote count. There are now many more elements of evidence for charging that there was fraud, that many of their supporters weren't able to vote. This will generate more contradictions and internal disputes among the right-wing parties that make up the Salvadoran Government.

Internationally, the repercussions will depend on how the results are handled -- how the fraud is handled. It is also going to create divisions, clashes, and contradictions among the different international forces that support the government. As well, the great majority of governments and political and social forces will have more elements of evidence for questioning the path of a military solution, and of elections that were intended to promote this solution. Today's elections give greater basis, justification, and timeliness to a political solution such as the one we've presented.

After the failure and the culmination today of the elections in the voting centers, now another electoral theater of negotiations, disputes, and understandings will open in the U.S. ambassador's residence in San Salvador.

The intervention of the U.S. ambassador in El Salvador will be similar to then Ambassador Hinton's in 1982, and to that of General Vernon Walters, who arrived in order to put the results and disputes in order.

## FOR A GOVERNMENT OF BROAD NATIONAL PARTICIPATION

We said to our people that these elections were not for the people but rather were against our people, against their interests. They were not elections for peace but for war. And that this was one more day of war. Therefore, our message was, is, and will continue to be that the struggle continues, the military struggle, the political struggle for peoples' victory and for a Broadly Based Provisional Government. Now is a new moment in which there will be better possibilities, more space, and greater credibility for our proposal.

Each one of us must work in a different way, in a different form, according to our possibilities, depending on if we are inside or outside the country. We must defeat the political and military plans of the oligarchy and the Reagan Government, in order to draw closer every day to the democratic and revolutionary victory of our people.

## A FAILURE OF THE UNITED STATES

It is their failure because these elections were imposed in circumstances that were very difficult for the Salvadoran Government. We are now seeing the consequences of this: disorder not only in rural areas but also in the urban sector, including the capital itself. There, compulsion to vote, based on threats and fear, brought many citizens to the electoral urns. But once there they faced a long wait, and many ended up unable to vote, as the government desired.

Even sectors of the government itself are questioning these elections, their results and the way in which they were carried out. For example, Democratic Action held an emergency meeting to consider what action to take, to decide whether they would challenge the elections or not. Foreign journalists who were there are aware of this, as is the Voice of America, which has spoken of disorders and bureaucratic problems. But all this was predictable once it was decided that elections would be held in the context of war. The war made voting in the whole of the country impossible, as there are zones controlled by our fronts where elections did not take place. There are places where military activity prevented access to the elections. Besides this, around 800,000 persons are living as refugees in other countries and are prevented from participating in the elections. All of this confirms that the elections are very limited in scope. They didn't have the character of national elections.

## ELECTIONS ARE NOT THE SOLUTION

This reaffirms to our people that the 1982 elections and today's elections are not a solution and are not the road to peace but rather the opposite -- they are the road to war. It makes clear that the conflict and its causes continue to be present and increasingly evident. So much is this the case that it is an experience that will serve to strengthen our positions as well as our proposals.

The United States Government has two options before it. One of them is to recognize this failure and act differently, particularly in the military sphere and in its intervention in the Salvadoran army high command. In this sense, the statements of Colonel Monterrosa, an important member of the high command, raise both suspicion and interest. Monterrosa dismissed the politicians as unqualified, acknowledged the disorder

in the organization of the electoral process, and said that the Central Election Council was responsible. This raises suspicion because it implies thinking along the lines that the army has now regained its health, that they have carried out their task but that the political sector hasn't carried out theirs. This could provide the basis for a greater intervention of a political character, with the army presenting themselves as the principal and real power and taking a political decision to marginalize and disqualify the elections, so that they themselves can take on the task of restructuring the government. The other possibility is that they will continue to insist on a cosmetic base to cover up all this failure, disorder, anarchy, the mistakes, the fraud -- continue insisting that there is progress in the political development of the country and that the elections were exemplary.

Without a doubt, today's elections will be a point on the agenda next week in the U.S. Congress. There will be voices that will present evidence that no matter how one wishes to describe all this disorder and failure, it remains clear that there were no national elections, that they had a very partial effect, a very limited effect, in a climate of war that didn't give them the character of legitimacy.

## IMPERIALIST REACTIONS

The Reagan administration will place the blame on our fronts, particularly the FMLN. It will state that the bureaucratic problems were just that, problems and not the intrinsic weaknesses of an electoral project carried out in the context of war. They will single out our military activity as one of the factors, if not the principal factor, explaining the failure. It's important to stress that we weren't the ones who carried out, programmed, developed, and dictated these elections. It was the decision of the Reagan administration to hold them in the worst conditions possible -- in conditions of war that were very unfavorable to the Salvadoran government.

The failure of the elections is another step in the growing political and military deterioration of the Salvadoran government and the Reagan administration. In addition, it means that our positions and proposals have even greater validity and timeliness. It means that we continue to advance toward victory. And, if a greater intervention from the United States and a prolonged conflict is to be avoided, our proposal of negotiation for a Broadly Based Provisional Government is still on the table.



# FMLN-FDR Statement on the Elections

## OUR ASSESSMENT

### THE FACTS

1. The elections were held in an atmosphere of generalized military confrontation, created by the military operations the U.S. -Salvadorean high command carried out in the days preceding the elections.

--On February 9, the FMLN-FDR stated publicly that it would not consider the electoral process as a military target.

-- On March 10 the army initiated a large-scale operation against FMLN positions in the center of the country, including prolonged aerial bombardment and artillery shelling, as well as the deployment of several thousand troops. This operation continued March 18 in the San Vicente region.

-- On March 12 the army launched an operation of major proportions, including the use of 5,000 troops, against FMLN positions in the eastern part of the country.

-- On March 23 the army initiated operations in the north, in the departments of Cabañas and Chalatenango.

-- The U.S. army began military exercises March 22 in the border area between Honduras and El Salvador, exercises that involved 2,500 troops. They also intensified the number of their spy flights over Salvadoran territory during the month of March.

2. These elections, the most expensive in the history of our country, were directly financed by the U.S. government and organized by the U.S. embassy. The cost to the people of the United States was \$10.5 million.

-- \$3.4 million to draw up the list of qualified voters.

-- \$500,000 to publicize the elections in El Salvador.

-- \$800,000 for transportation and accommodations for the delegations of foreign observers.

-- \$2.5 million for the administration of the elections, including printing of the ballots and purchase of ballot boxes.

-- \$1 million to cover unanticipated and miscellaneous expenses.

-- According to aides to Ambassador T. Pickering, they themselves monitored and directed the work of the Central Election Council.

3. The elections were held in an atmosphere of generalized disorder and administrative chaos, a product of the inefficiency of the Central Election Council.

-- The system of computerized registration worked so poorly that it was abandoned at the last minute.

-- In the capital, polling places were changed at the last minute.

-- A great number of places did not receive the items necessary for voting, or received only part of them. Missing were ink, ballot slips, lists of qualified voters, etc.

-- In the capital and surrounding area in particular, administrative deficiencies were so great that leaders of the Christian Democratic Party have stated that a third of the voters were unable to cast a ballot.

-- At the end of the day chaos was so great that the Council decided to do away with the voter lists, thus opening the door to fraud and confusion.

Inefficiency was so great as to lead to the belief that it was intentional. That is, that the aim was not to enable the people to cast their ballots, but rather to provide scenes of citizens strolling in the streets for the consumption of foreign observers and media.

4. The elections were not general but partial.

-- In a total of 89 municipalities out of the 261 in the country (34 percent), there was no voting.

-- In Chalatenango, there was no vote in 30 of the 33 municipalities.

-- In Morazán, there was no vote in 19 of the 26 municipalities.

-- In Usulután, there was no vote in 8 municipalities.

-- In San Miguel, there was no vote in 13 municipalities.

-- In La unión, there was no vote in 6 municipalities.

Comparison with the elections of 1982 makes evident: the advances and amount of control the FMLN forces have gained.

1. The elections constitute the Reagan administration's greatest political failure in El Salvador.

-- It was the administration that pushed to have these elections held.

-- It was also the U.S. government that financed them and encouraged the use of the computers.

-- It was the U.S. embassy in San Salvador that took direct responsibility for the organization of the elections.

2. The elections were a grave military failure for the United States, because:

-- The United States planned and directed all military operations, with the declared aim of guaranteeing the elections, especially in the departments to the east of the country.

-- They sent U.S. and Honduran troops to the border with El Salvador.

-- They used spy planes, pilots, and an intelligence batallion of the U.S. army to guarantee the elections.

3. It was the armed forces of El Salvador that paid the price of the electoral disaster. They were sacrificed and took intense losses in order to guarantee a U.S. project that was condemned to failure in advance.

4. This failure confirms once again that the viable and rational alternative for attaining peace and democracy in El Salvador is the proposal for a Broadly Based Provisional Government, formulated by the FMLN-FDR January 31. The events of March 25 make even more urgent the initiation of dialogue and negotiations between the belligerent parts in the Salvadorean conflict.

5. Continuing the present policy of the United States will lead to greater chaos, more strikes and popular protests, deepening of the contradictions between the political parties that participate in the government, greater levels of military confrontation, and bigger defeats for the government's army--resulting inevitably in greater U.S. intervention in the war.

FMLN-FDR POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC COMMISSION

Mexico City, March 26, 1984.

## MUNICIPALITIES

## THAT

## DIDN'T VOTE

### SAN MIGUEL

1. San Antonio
2. San Gerardo
3. Carolina
4. San Luis
5. Nuevo Edén de San Juan
6. Lolotique
7. Ciudad Barrios
8. Chirilagua
9. San Jorge
10. Sesori
11. Chinameca
12. San Rafael Oriente
13. Nueva Guadalupe

### CUSCATLAN

1. Tenancingo
2. Monte San Juan
3. Santa Cruz Michapa

### SAN VICENTE

1. San Sebastián
2. Santa Clara
3. San Lorenzo

### LA UNION

1. Anamorós
2. Polorós
3. Lislique
4. El Sauce
5. Nueva Esparta
6. Concepción de Oriente

### CABAÑAS

1. Tejutepeque
2. Jutiapa
3. Cinquera

### MORAZAN

1. Arambala
2. Cacaoopera
3. Corinto
4. Delicias de Concepción
5. El Rosario
6. Gualococti
7. Joateca
8. Jocoaitique
9. Jocoro
10. Sociedad
11. Perquín
12. San Isidro
13. San Fernando
14. San Simón
15. Sensembra
16. Meanguera
17. Torola
18. Yoloaiquín
19. Yamabal
20. Osicala

### USULUTAN

1. Jucuapa
2. Estanzuelas
3. Nueva Granada
4. Mercedes Umaña
5. San Agustín
6. San Francisco Javier
7. El Triunfo
8. Puerto Parada

### CHALATENANGO

1. Agua Caliente
2. Arcatao
3. Azacualpa
4. Citalá
5. Comalapa
6. Concepción Quezaltepeque
7. Dulce Nombre de María
8. Dulce Nombre de Jesús
9. El Carrizal
10. La Palma
11. La Laguna
12. La Reina
13. Las Vueltas
14. Nueva Trinidad
15. Ojos de Agua
16. San José Las Flores
17. San José Cancasque
18. San Antonio Los Ranchos
19. San Antonio La Cruz
20. San Fernando
21. San Rafael
22. San Francisco Lempa
23. San Francisco Morazán
24. San Ignacio
25. San Isidro Labrador
26. San Luis del Carmen
27. San Miguel de Mercedes
28. Santa Rita
29. Tejutla
30. Potonico





# The Woman and the Revolution

by Norma Herrera



Lil Milagro Ramírez

From Guazapa, the heroic hill which simbolizes "a dart in the enemy's heart", we interviewed the companion Clara Cienfuegos, who belongs to the Propaganda Colective of the Guazapa Front in the Central Zone of the country.

Clara Cienfuegos, one of the hundreds of women who are integrated in the struggle in the Battle Fronts, explains to us why the Salvadorean woman has incorporated herself in the liberation fight. She speaks of exploitation she has been suffering for more than a half of a century and about her decision to participate actively in the social change which is occurring in our country. She tells what their activities either in the liberation zones or in the battle fronts, are. She also makes a call to the woman to continue incorporating to the fight in order to cut the oppression chains and the social exploitation which exists in El Salvador.

## THE WOMAN EXPLOITATION

"The liberation struggle of the Salvadorean people has deep historic roots", she says. "We are right in the decisive battles which get un nearer to the revolutionary succed and to the consolidation of our greatest ideals: liberty and social justice".

Traditionally, the woman has been considered as a mother and as a housewife, and has been submitted to the worst ideological enagenation. The country field woman and the worker one, she adds, has a worse position, the society, than the men; since her own condition of woman, she receives less salary even for the same work. In the factories, for example, the woman suffers the worst vexation from the employers. If she is married, she doesn't have the right to the job because it means "children, pregnancy, permissions, etc.". In the last years, to get a place in any factory, women have to pass a physical test to see whether they are pregnant or not.

On the other hand, withing her home, woman has been exploited, because she works till late hours at night without receiving any salary and even without a free day. This means, she has been doubly exploited. This is because the alienated system we have lived in, since woman, from her childhood, has been taught to serve and to obey men, beginning from her father and brothers. Under such conditions, she has not had a real

education, because she has not had the opportunity to develop her capacities neither to follow a systematic education. Country field and worker woman principally, has seen denied the possibility to move herself in the political, economical and cultural field, due to the exploitation and oppression she has lived in, having always to face an economic and ideologic problematic.

"But there is something very important", continues Clara, "and it is that since the growing of the revolutionary mass organizations, the Salvadorean woman was having opportunities of superation. Little by little, she was getting conscius of the real roll she has to play in the society and, right now, the woman participation is the result of all the revolutionary and democratic organizations work. The Salvadorean woman has gotten by her work, by her incorporation into the liberation fight, not to be considered a personal use object anymore, becoming a man's fight companion".

"In our actual revolutionary process, she is working in positions of great responsibility. As a leader, as an intermediate member or as a base, but always giving whatever any revolutionary can do for his country; and even giving her life for the revolution and the built of the socialism".

"In the revolutionary work, we have many examples of heroic women", Clara says. "One is the companion Mercedes Recinos, a worker who, because of her qualities of good organizator and of her political clearness, had, in the moment she was assasinated by the dictatorship, position of leader in one of the strogest syndical federation in El Salvador: FENASTRAS. We also remember the fellow Lil Milagro Ramírez, a University leader who together with Roque Dalton, gave a lot in the expanding of the theory of the Salvadorean Revolution. Among the teachers, has an important place, the Comander Ana María, who founded the Association of the Salvadorean Teachers ANDES 21 DE JUNIO and who is a martyr of the revolutionary unity".

"These examples can give us an idea of the capacities that for a long time have been refrained in the woman", ends Clara.

Could you tell us in what other fight fronts is woman participating? Clara Cienfuegos answers: "The Salvadorean woman is participating in our country liberation, demanding and denouncing the respect of the human rights. This denouncing has received the sincere and strong acceptance on the female arms and on the angry voices of the Salvadorean woman. Martyrs of the struggle for the defense of the human rights in El Salvador are the companions Marianella García Villas, Elizabeth Henríquez and América Perdomo -among others- who died seeking our country freedom".

"Another fight front is the Committee of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Dissapeared and Assasinated of El Salvador. In such Committee, the Mothers, Sisters and Daughters have showed their fighting capacity and there are many mothers and relatives who, when lounding their voices for the freedom or the whereabouts of their relatives, have fallen shouted by the enemy. However, for the 4 years we have been in war, under a constant Siege's State, sometimes under a Martial Law, followed constantly by the "Squadrons of death", the paramilitar bands, etc., they have been the ones who have kept a combative position, facing the dictatorship with its oppressive laws and even holding starving strikes, marches, interpelations to the U.S. ambassador, to the Minister of Defense, to the senators of the National Assembly and doing all kind of denunciation through the communications means in order to condemn the facist methods of repression.

What does woman do in the revolutionary army? "Women are working together with men, fighting strongly against their class enemy. Women are in charge of the communications, of the sannitary work, of the political education or as fighters. Our participation as fighters is less that the men's, but it has much significance since the fact that to live in a "guerrilla campmen", doing any type of work, it shows the valenty and the conviction we have aquired".

"In the 'guerrilla campments', women have cooking and production tasks. Sometimes, the female cookers, when moving together with the army, have suffered ambushades. The sannitary women have to cure and put the wounded off, even among the combats and the bombs. The ones in charge of the communications, have to transmit the details of the combat development from its very place of realization. Finally, in the revolutionary struggle, not only the fighters show their valenty and intrepidity but everybody who decided to fight for a new country.

## ZONES UNDER CONTROL

From the Guazapa Front, scarcely at 35 kilometers from the capital, you can see the flashing lights of San Salvador streets. Here, in the liberated zones, the Salvadorean woman has a massive incorporation, either in the alfabetization or in the production; in the health brigades or in the women associations, producing and preparing the clothes and foods for the revolutionary army and its structures. The woman in the liberation zones, has a very important roll. For example, says Clara, in the Guazapa Front, in "Palo Grande" works a teacher, Maribel. She attends one of the 45 schools that the FMLN has opened in the war front in Guazapa. She teaches Social Sciences, Math, Natural Sciences, Spanish, Civism, which are the subjects of the scholar program. Like Maribel, there are many women incorporated either in the education or alfabetization or in the other typical labours of the zone.

When finishing our interview, we ask Clara Cienfuegos, if she wants to send a message to the Salvadorean woman. "Efectively, I want to tell my countrywomen, that this is the moment to cut the repression structures, the oppression and injustice to which the dominat class has submitted us in El Salvador, to decide all together to fight arm in arm to men in order to end with poverty, prostitution, alcoholism, bamdolerism, etc., which exist in our country. Not to think that we are weak and indefense; on the contrary, I want to tell them that we are strong and able to do huge sacrifices. We have never been afraid of work; on the opposite, today more than never, we must use all our energies to the work the revolution demands of us, so, we shall soon see a free country which will have for everybody: bread, education, health, house and work".

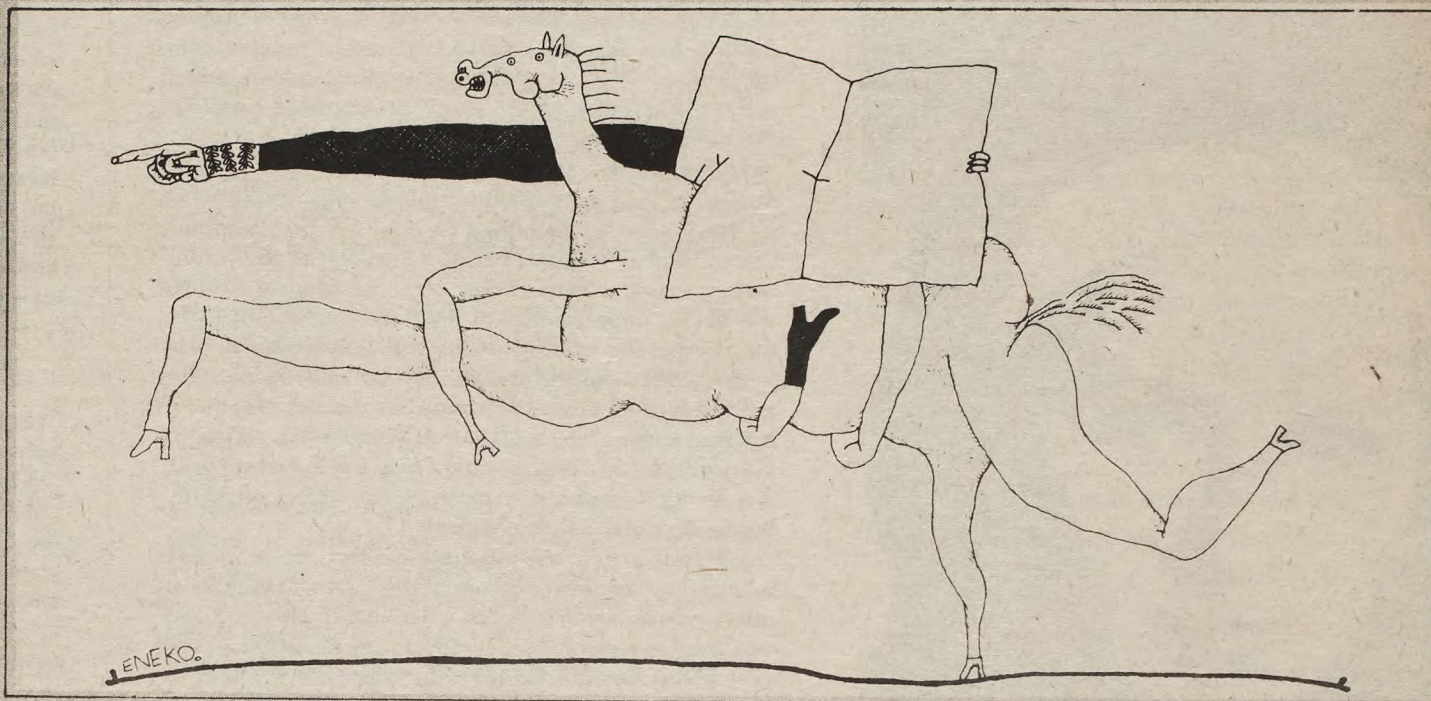


Comandante Ana María





# ARTISTS CALL AGAINST U.S. INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA



If we can simply witness the destruction of another culture, we are sacrificing our own right to make culture. Anyone who has ever protested repression anywhere should consider the responsibility to defend the culture and rights of the central american people.

The arts are used by our government as evidence of creative freedom, and the lack of censorship in a democracy. At the same time, the Reagan Administrarion denies the people of Central America the right to self-determination and to independence.

It is of the utmost importance that the people of North America express now our concern for peace and freedom in Central America, where the situation becomes more critical each day.

The U.S. Government continues to amplify its military presence in the region, and in the case of Nicaragua, to impose unjust economic sanctions that make life even harder for its inhabitants. Honduras has been transformed into a gigantic military base, the ongoing genocide of Guatemale indians is ignored, and an undeclared overt war is being waged against Nicaragua. Extensive military assistance is given to a Government in El Salvador that violates internationally recognized human rights by subjecting prisoners to inhumane punishment, by closing the National University and by tolerating political assassinations by right-wing Death Squads.

According to a report submitted by Amnesty International to the Committe on Foreing Affairs of the U.S. Congress on July 26, 1983, teachers and academics in particular have been targeted for repression because, as potential community leaders, they focus opposition to the authorities. Artists, writers, poets, musicians, journalists, workers, union members and medical personnel are also among the 35,000 victims of murder and torture by the U.S. Backed forces in El Salvador in the last three years. Over 1000 people, many of them innocent civilians, have been killed by the U.S. Backed counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua in the last year.

The U.S. Government recognizes Human Rights laws as binding on the international community and at the same times gives military and economic support to a Government in El Salvador that openly violates these lwas. The U.S. Government recognizes the right to national self-determination, and at the same time, support daily incursions into Nicaragua.

We call upon the Reagan Administration to halt military and economic support to the Governments of El Salvador and Guatemala, to stop the military buildup in Honduras and to cease support of the contras in Nicaragua.

Intervention by the U.S. Government inevitably reinforces colonialist and oligarchical elements hostile to the people, as the invasion of Grenada demostrates. Therefore, we call upon the Reagan Administration and the U.S. Congress to respect the right of the Central American peoples to self-determination and to stop interfering in their internal affairs. We must speak out against these burning injustices now and we will continue to do so as long as it is necessary.

Artist call against U.S. intervention in Central America is a nationwide mobilization of artist organizing out of New York City. A huge series of exhibitions and events will be centered around January 22nd – The 52nd Anniversary of the 1932 Massacre in El Salvador which marked the beginnin of the systematic destruction of the salvadoran culture. In conjunction with the INALSE (The Institute for The Art and Letters of El Salvador in Exile) and in cooperation with the ASTC (The Sandinista Association of Culture Workers) – artists call will jointly wxhibit art from Central America, art about Central America and art in support of Central America, as a political and esthetic strategy to call attention to Central American issues. Artist call represents the outrage of thousands of artists and intellectuals concerned with the repression of the crucial cultural rights of all people.

