628

## UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT EASTERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

HON. OLIVER W. WANGER

J. DOE,	) No. CIV-F-03-6249 OWW
Plaintiff,	<pre>) Plaintiff's Application for ) Judgment by Default</pre>
VS.	{
ALVARO RAFAEL SARAVIA; and DOES 1-10, inclusive,	
Defendants.	3
Fresno, California	Friday, September 3, 2004

REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

Vol. 5, pgs. 628 to 850, inclusive

REPORTED BY: PEGGY J. CRAWFORD, RMR-CRR, Official Reporter

629

APPEARANCES OF COUNSEL:

For the Plaintiff: HELLER EHRMAN

WHITE & MCAULIFFE LLP

333 Bush Street San Francisco, CA 94104-2878 BY: NICHOLAS W. van AELSTYN

RUSSELL P. COHEN

CENTER FOR JUSTICE &

Page 1

# 9-3-04 Trial Transcript ACCOUNTABILITY

870 Market Street, Ste. 684
San Francisco, CA 94102
BY: MATTHEW J. EISENBRANDT
CAROLYN PATTY BLUM

Also Present:

### ALMUNDENA BERNABEU

630

**INDEX** 

#### PLAINTIFF'S WITNESSES:

TERRY LYNN KARL DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR.	van AELSTYN	631 631
NAOMI ROHT-ARRIAZA DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR.	COHEN	734 734

\*\*\*\*

#### **EXHIBITS**

PLAINTIFF'S	Received
45 and 46	728
224 and 225	728
123, 126, 226	732

\*\*\*\*

### KARL - D

631

- Friday, September 3, 2004 Fresno, California 1
- 2 9:00 a.m.
- THE CLERK: Returning to Civil-F 03-6249, J. Doe 3

Page 2

9-3-04	Trial	Transcript

- 4 versus Alvaro Saravia.
- 5 MR. Van AELSTYN: Good morning, your Honor. We would
- 6 like to continue with Professor Karl.
- 7 THE COURT: Good morning.
- 8 THE WITNESS: Good morning, your Honor.
- 9 TERRY LYNN KARL,
- 10 called as a witness on behalf of the Plaintiff, having been
- 11 previously duly sworn, testified as follows:
- 12 DIRECT EXAMINATION
- 13 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 14 Q. Good morning, Professor Karl.
- 15 A. Good morning.
- 16 Q. I would like to continue your testimony this morning. We
- 17 had some discussion of a raid that took place at the San Luis
- 18 Finca. I believe the date was May 7, 1980, and I believe
- 19 there was some testimony about some documents that were seized
- 20 during that raid.
- 21 What is the significance, in your view, of the raid
- 22 at San Luis Finca and the materials that were seized there?
- 23 A. I think they are extremely significant, because the
- 24 documents that are seized in San Luis Finca show that Monseñor
- 25 Romero's assassination was part of a broader conspiracy to

KARL - D

632

- 1 ensure that ultra rightists remained in power, that the
- 2 hardliners that I talked about earlier remain in power. And
- 3 they show that this effort to remain in power depended on
- 4 sowing terror.
- 5 So what is important about this whole event and
- 6 during the arrest is that it shows, in my opinion, that
- 7 Archbishop Romero's assassination, which is a single act, is Page 3

П

- 8 actually a part and pattern of practice of state terror.
- 9 Q. And what are your sources for the information about the
- 10 raid?
- 11 A. The sources that I use for assessing the raid are, first
- 12 of all, that I have seen the documents, the ones that are --
- 13 that are still in public existence, let me put it that way,
- 14 that were taken; that I am relying on the testimony of
- 15 Mr. Garay; the testimony of Ambassador White and a number of
- 16 conversations with him; the Truth Commission Report; the
- 17 Inter-American Commission decision, and a number of
- 18 declassified documents as well.
- 19 I'm also relying on a number of U.S. press
- 20 discussions of this raid and arrest that appeared in places
- 21 like the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor and the
- 22 Washington Post, and most importantly for me, I'm relying on
- 23 my own interviews of people who were involved with the process
- 24 of both taking the documents, copying them and distributing
- 25 them.

П

KARL - D

- 1 And those documents, the whole group of them, I
- 2 think, reveal, as a group, as part of the significance, first
- 3 of all, the very close working relationship that exists, and
- 4 that existed at the time, between members of the armed forces
- 5 and the death squads.
- 6 They also -- this body of information, I think, shows
- 7 very compelling evidence of the D'Aubuisson group's
- 8 involvement in a number of illegal activities, including
- 9 planning a coup, planning assassinations, the defamation of
- 10 Monseñor Romero's character.

11	9-3-04 Trial Transcript And finally, I also think these documents shed new
12	light on the murder of Archbishop Romero.
13	Q. Well, let's turn to those documents. If we could have
14	Exhibit 125, please. Professor Karl, what is Exhibit 125?
15	A. Exhibit 125 is a document in Spanish that was given to the
16	military judge who was appointed to deal with the arrest at
17	San Luis Finca. That judge's name is Miguel Antonio Mendez.
18	And in the process of El Salvador, you make a list,
19	when you arrest people, of everyone who is arrested and
20	everything that's found in their possession.
21	So this is the instructions to the Judge by the
22	arresting officers, essentially, who are part of who are
23	under the command of Colonel Majano, the reformist that I
24	talked about earlier.
25	Q. And a member of the ruling junta?
	KARL - D
	634
1	A. And a member of the ruling junta, that's right. So this

- 2 is a list of the kind of documents they found. And it is also
- 3 a list of the people there. And it is very revealing as a
- 4 list, in my view.
- 5 Q. Let's begin with the people that were there first. Who is
- 6 included on the list of those arrested?
- 7 A. I won't give all the names for reasons of time, and this
- 8 is in the public record, but I want to note that there are 24
- 9 people arrested.
- 12 of them are officers of the Salvadoran Armed 10
- Forces. And that includes Roberto D'Aubuisson and Captain 11
- 12 Saravia.

- 13 12 of them are people that the Salvadorans would
- 14 refer to as "nonofficers," if I could put it that way. And Page 5

15 th	nat i	S	because	the	officer	corps,	as	Ι	explained,	is	SO
-------	-------	---	---------	-----	---------	--------	----	---	------------	----	----

- 16 important in the way Salvadorans understand rank and status.
- 17 And the other 12, which are a series of names listed
- 18 here, includes Amado Antonio Garay, the driver of the
- 19 assassination, and it also includes a number of names of
- 20 civilians and former nonofficers in various services.
- 21 Some of the names, for example, are a Fernando
- 22 Sagrera, who is a civilian, and a very important link between
- 23 Mr. D'Aubuisson and between wealthy land-owning families. He
- 24 was a person of a different status than the officers
- 25 themselves, different social status. He was Roberto

KARL - D

635

- 1 D'Aubuisson's drinking partner and very close friend. And he
- 2 was the one, because he comes from a land-owning background,
- 3 was the most important link with a number of families that
- 4 were financially supporting D'Aubuisson's activities.
- 5 Q. Professor Karl, you have testified about a number of
- 6 documents that you have reviewed, declassified documents, et
- 7 cetera. Are there any generalities that you can draw from
- 8 this collection of names? Have you seen them before?
- 9 A. I have seen, particularly, the officers' names, the 12
- 10 officers that I list, including Roberto D'Aubuisson, and
- 11 Alvaro Saravia. Those officers' names appear over and over
- 12 and over and over again in the declassified documents;
- 13 identified every single one of them as members of death
- 14 squads. And most importantly, they are linked to a series of
- 15 murders, including murders of U.S. citizens at the Sheraton
- 16 Hotel.

П

17 So the names are quite revealing. It's a group of

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript people who all know each other in different ways, who are all
19	identified repeatedly as hardliners, some of whom, by the way,
20	I have interviewed.
21	Q. If
22	THE COURT: Which of this group are included in that
23	description?
24	THE WITNESS: In that description, I would include,
25	if you look from line 3 of this document, Roberto
	KARL - D
	636
1	D'Aubuisson I'm going to say their last names. Cruz Reyes,
2	Staben, S-T-A-B-E-N, Saravia, Alfredo Jiménez, Víctor Hugo
3	Vega Valencia, Eduardo Ernesto Alfonso Avila, Frederico
4	Chacón, Miguel Francisco Bennet Escobar, Rodolfo López
5	Sibrián, Carlos Hernán Morales, Jaime René Alvarado y
6	Alvarado.
7	Those are the most important ones. There are others
8	included.
9	Let's see, did I give you 12 names?
10	THE COURT: I have 11. But there is 12. You gave us
11	12.
12	THE WITNESS: That's right. They were the ones that
13	all have military rankings above them, in front of them. And
14	they end at the name of Señor Antonio Cornejo Hijo, so they
15	stop, not including his name. So all of those names are given
16	in the classified documents given repeatedly.
17	And also, some of those names appear on a list that
18	Vice-president Bush takes to the High Command of the
19	Salvadoran military in 1983, insisting in the name of
20	President Ronald Reagan that they be sent out of the country
21	and removed from officer status inside the Salvadoran Page 7

military.

22

2324

23	So this is a group that is repeatedly mentioned in
24	the declassified documents, repeatedly mentioned as a concern
25	of the United States.
	KARL - D
	637
1	And again, much of this is because some of them are
2	directly involved and named in the declassified documents as
3	killers of U.S. citizens in the Sheraton hotel.
4	THE COURT: And how was the request received?
5	THE WITNESS: The Bush request?
6	THE COURT: Yes.
7	THE WITNESS: The Bush request, as soon as
8	Vice-president Bush went down and insisted and gave a list in
9	a highly confidential set of meetings with the High Command,
10	directly gave a list and basically also a deadline. Said if
11	these people are not out of the military by such and such a
12	day, which was a date prior to a discussion about renewal of
13	U.S. aid, he said that the United States would no longer be
14	able to guarantee assistance to the High Command.
15	What happened right afterwards is several individuals
16	were moved for a short period of time outside of the country,
17	including several of the individuals on this list.
18	And they were then subsequently brought back into the
19	country and renewed their activities inside the country. So
20	there was very little activity and there is actually a
21	classified document that is sent to the U.S. government
22	saying: Here are the results. Because Vice-president Bush
23	asked for followup, he wanted to see what happened. And the

followup document says: They are moving people around to

9-3-04 Trial Transcript 25 please us, but they are all coming back.

KARL - D

638

- 1 And they actually -- there is a series of documents
- 2 tracing their return and their involvement again.
- These are also, by the way, people who are listed in
- 4 the group of kidnappings, the kidnapping-for-profit ring and
- 5 the baby robbers ring.

П

- 6 So these names, not every one of them, but all of
- 7 these names are identified as death squads. And some come up
- 8 in the murder of U.S. citizens. Some come up in the baby
- 9 robbers and some come up in the kidnapping-for-profit ring.
- 10 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 11 Q. Is there anything of significance in Amado Garay's
- 12 testimony about the raid on San Luis Finca, in your view?
- 13 A. Well, I think that Garay is outside of the meeting. He is
- 14 not inside the meeting. He is outside, holding D'Aubuisson's
- 15 gun, according to his own testimony. But he is also outside
- 16 with Nelson Morales, who is one of the people he named in his
- 17 testimony as being involved in the assassination of Archbishop
- 18 Romero.
- 19 And he sees some of these people as his social
- 20 equals, if I could put it that way, but he also sees others as
- 21 wealthier civilians involved in this.
- 22 Q. So there are some inside and some outside?
- 23 A. There is some inside and there is some outside.
- 24 Q. What was done with the 24 men when they were arrested?
- 25 Where were they taken?

KARL - D

- 1 A. Well, they are all taken to different areas, which you can
- 2 see on the document. The document identifies where they are
- 3 taken. I think the most significant, for me, reading this
- 4 document, they are broken up as groups.
- 5 But interestingly enough, if you look in the middle
- 6 of the page, it says, Major D'Aubuisson and Captain Saravia
- 7 are taken together to the Central Headquarters of the Treasury
- 8 Police. So they are actually separated from the other group
- 9 and are kept together.
- 10 And Mr. Garay goes, instead -- you see him down at
- 11 the bottom -- he actually goes with a larger group of people
- 12 which are the civilians. And if you remember, he testifies
- 13 that he's in a room with them and kept with them for some
- 14 time.

- Now, what he says in his testimony is that they were
- 16 actually never interrogated at all. They were kept together
- in a room and then eventually released.
- 18 We have no information, at least I have no
- 19 information, about whether Major D'Aubuisson and Captain
- 20 Saravia were interrogated or not.
- 21 Q. Do you draw any significance from the fact that they were
- 22 separated from the others and taken to a different location?
- 23 A. Well, I think that one of the things that is important in
- 24 this document is that they were repeatedly discussed together.
- 25 It is very clear they were linked in some way. In my reading,

KARL - D

- 1 it is very clear that they are linked in some way.
- 2 Not only are they taken together, but if you look on
- 3 page 2 of the document, there is something that says,

- 9--3--04 Trial Transcript "Evidence Number 7," "Prueba number 7," and that has a part A 4
- 5 and a part B.
- Part A is what we call the "Saravia diary." It is 6
- 7 the book that says, "This book is the property of Saravia
- Alvaro Rafael," and then it is linked to a series of pages 8
- 9 from the Hyatt Regency Hotel of Washington, and also a list of
- 10 names.
- 11 So these documents, because of the way they are cited
- here, are -- and I have other evidence from this as well --12
- are found together and are actually clipped together. 13
- 14 The set B? Q.
- 15 A. The set A and B.
- 16 A was the diary - --
- 17 A. Of Mr. Saravia.
- Q. -- which has previously been described as Exhibit 123 for 18
- 19 identification purposes.
- 20 And then B is?
- A. A series of pages on hotel stationery. And two lists of 21
- 22 names of officers and important people. So those are linked
- 23 together. That's another way that I can see that these two
- are being treated together, Mr. D'Aubuisson and Mr. Saravia. 24
- 25 Q. How do you get Mr. D'Aubuisson in here?

KARL - D

641

- A. Well, when we discuss the documents, I can show you why I 1
- 2 think they are together.
- 3 Q. All right. Perhaps before we turn to that particular
- document, can you tell us if there is anything significant 4
- 5 about any of the other documents that are listed on Exhibit
- 125? 6

A. Well, this is a list, and again, let me just highlight 7 Page 11

- 8 parts of it without translating the entire document. And I
- 9 think that when you -- the titles of the documents actually
- 10 speak for themselves.
- Document number 3 is: 51 copies of a document
- 12 entitled "How to Carry Out a Political Coup d'etat in
- 13 El Salvador."
- 14 THE COURT: Is there any author?
- 15 THE WITNESS: No, there are no authors in these, but
- 16 my interviews reveal that all of these documents were provided
- 17 by Roberto D'Aubuisson. And, by the way, the declassified
- 18 documents also repeat that.
- 19 The second document, which is Document number 4, is a
- 20 document called "The General Organization of the
- 21 Anti-communist Struggle in El Salvador."
- This document, I have never seen, and I do not know
- 23 anybody who has been able to produce a copy of it. However,
- 24 in the interviews I did with the members of the governing
- 25 junta, and -- well, with the members of the governing junta,

KARL - D

642

- 1 the document, according to all of their descriptions, is an
- 2 organizational chart of death squads. And it is an
- 3 organizational chart of death squads, according to their
- 4 description, to unify various death squad activities into one
- 5 set of activities.

П

- 6 Document number 8 is called "F.A.N.," F.A.N., "A
- 7 Political Alternative."
- 8 Q. What is the F.A.N.?
- 9 A. The F.A.N. is the party that Roberto D'Aubuisson is
- 10 forming. I hesitate to use "party." It means the "Frente

9-3-04	Trial	Transc	rrınt

- 11 Amplio Nacional." I hesitate to use the word "party" because
- 12 it's very much conceived of as a party with a paramilitary
- 13 arm, so it's not a party in the way we might think of them
- 14 here.
- 15 So there is a document that is included that has been
- 16 prepared that talks about what the F.A.N. is and how it is the
- 17 new political alternative.
- 18 Q. Do you draw any significance from the fact that its title
- 19 is in English rather than Spanish?
- 20 A. I don't know why that is, unless for anything to be in
- 21 English, it means that they are showing it to English
- 22 speakers. And it is, in other work I have done, the F.A.N. is
- 23 trying to set up an organization that has support branches in
- 24 Miami, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. And so it's likely
- 25 that this is a document that will also go to supporters inside

KARL - D

643

- 1 the United States.
- 2 Q. Were there any other documents of particular note on this
- 3 list?

- 4 A. Another document, which is Document number 18, is called,
- 5 "Knocking on the Door of the Barracks." There are 33 copies
- 6 of that. Excuse me, that's Document 17.
- 7 And then there are a number of documents of Document
- 8 18, which is called, "Classmates, Officers and Heads of the
- 9 Armed Forces."
- 10 And the language that's used there, it's not really
- 11 fully captured by my translation, but it is a way of
- organizing and going into the barracks to make sure that they
- 13 are loyal to this group of people. That's what "knocking on
- 14 the door of the barracks" means.

Page 13

- 15 And there is actually other information here,
- 16 including, in evidence, 1, of a videotape. And I know from a
- 17 number of sources, not only interviews, but declassified, that
- 18 Roberto D'Aubuisson had prepared a series of videos which were
- 19 being shown inside the barracks to soldiers as a way of
- 20 getting them on his side.
- 21 So as a group -- oh, there is one more document I
- 22 wanted to draw your attention to, and that's Document
- 23 number -- it's the document that links -- it's Evidence number
- 24 7A; that's the Saravia diary.
- As a group -- and there are many other things that

KARL - D

644

- 1 are of interest to me -- but as a group, it is a set of
- 2 documents that reveals and revealed, in the opinion of
- 3 virtually everybody who saw them, I actually don't know
- 4 anybody who didn't think this, and that includes both U.S.
- 5 government officials and others, that this was a meeting to
- 6 plan a coup.
- 7 Q. Professor Karl, you mentioned the Saravia diary. Are you
- 8 familiar with the declaration of Todd Greentree in this
- 9 matter?

П

- 10 A. Yes, I am.
- MR. Van AELSTYN: Your Honor, if I may approach, we
- 12 have additional copies of that declaration, if you would like
- 13 to refer to them.
- 14 THE COURT: Yes, you may.
- 15 Is it your opinion, Professor Karl, that the
- 16 documents that are contained in the Exhibit 123 were all
- 17 D'Aubuisson articles and documents?

9-3-04	Trial	Transcript
9-3-0 <del>4</del>	III I a I	i alisci ipt

- 18 THE WITNESS: I think that one of the documents which
- 19 I will make reference to is actually written and produced by
- 20 someone else, and I will show you why I think that in a
- 21 moment.

П

- 22 But it is clear, in my view, not only from the
- 23 documents here, but from my interviews with Roberto
- 24 D'Aubuisson and my knowledge of how he actually envisioned
- 25 what he wanted to do, and in my first -- first or second day

KARL - D

- 1 of testimony, I had talked about how he was very influenced by
- 2 the Taiwan model of organizing essentially what is a Fascist
- 3 party. And I say that in the traditional sense of Fascism,
- 4 not as an epithet.
- 5 But what we have here is his view, and there are
- 6 other things that are included, including names of people he
- 7 would like to be in governing positions. It's his view of how
- 8 he thinks El Salvador should be governed and ruled.
- 9 So it is a party, a paramilitary apparatus. It's
- 10 part of -- it's the actual operation of the ideology that I
- 11 talked about earlier.
- 12 THE COURT: Thank you.
- 13 MR. Van AELSTYN: Could we have on the screen Exhibit
- 14 123.
- 15 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 16 Q. Professor Karl, Exhibit 123, we have had testimony about
- 17 before. I believe you identified also as one of the -- as the
- 18 declassified version of the Saravia diary.
- 19 A. That's right.
- 20 O. What is contained in the declaration of Todd Greentree.
- 21 but perhaps before I turn to that, let me just read a portion Page 15

of the Todd Greentree declaration.

He states in paragraph 5 -- strike that -- it's

paragraph 4.

"In my first position with the State Department, I

KARL - D

646

1 served as a Desk Officer in the Office of Central 2 American Affairs in Washington D.C. I took this 3 position shortly after the assassination of 4 Archbishop Romero in San Salvador on March 24, 1980." 5 And continue to paragraph 5: "I learned -- again shortly after taking up my position on May 7, 1980 --6 a raid by some of the reformist members of the 7 governing junta in El Salvador, under the direction 8 of Colonel Adolfo Majano, was conducted at a rural 9 10 estate known as the San Luis Finca in San Santa 11 Tecla, El Salvador." He goes on to say at line 15: "A number of documents 12 13 also were seized during the raid, and the originals of a number of those documents were provided to the 14 U.S. Embassy in El Salvador. Included among those 15 documents was a diary that stated on the cover: 16 17 'This book is the property of Saravia Alvaro Rafael.'" 18 19 He goes on to state at the end: "Shortly after 20 arriving at the Embassy, I personally located, 21 identified and copied those original documents seized 22 in the May 7, 1980 raid that had been maintained at the Embassy." And he attaches copies of documents. 23 24 Have you had an opportunity to review these

П

KARL - D

647

- 1 A. Yes, I have.
- 2 Q. Do they differ in any way from Exhibit 123, which was the
- 3 declassified version of the Saravia diary?
- 4 A. Yes, they do.
- 5 Q. How so?
- 6 A. So the diary itself, in what I consider very consistent
- 7 handwriting of Mr. Saravia, is the same.
- 8 What is different is that Mr. Greentree's collection
- 9 of documents is more complete than any one I have ever seen.
- 10 And I should back up a moment to explain why I say
- 11 that. I have seen this diary in the form exactly that it is
- 12 in both the declassified and in Mr. Greentree's copy over and
- 13 over.
- 14 Q. Professor Karl, you say both the form of the document is
- 15 different and the content?
- 16 A. No. The form is the same. I'm sorry if I misspoke. The
- 17 form and content of this diary is the same in every -- in both
- 18 the declassified documents and the Greentree document with one
- 19 exception.
- 20 And that exception is there is an extra piece of
- 21 paper that is in the declassified document which is this piece
- 22 right here, that is slipped in the diary as if it were a part
- 23 of the diary, and yet just looking at it, you can see that it
- 24 is not. It is not the same format. It does not have the
- 25 dates like the diary does, et cetera.

KARL - D

- In Mr. Greentree's version, it is not inside the
- 2 diary, but it is in a separate set of documents that accompany
- 3 Mr. Saravia's diary.
- 4 Mr. Greentree's version is more complete than any
- 5 version I have seen because it has the original Saravia --
- 6 excuse me, not the original -- the Saravia diary.
- 7 And then it has a series of appendages which are
- 8 listed on Judge Mendez's list of evidence. Now, some of those
- 9 appendices or other pieces of evidence either have not been
- 10 declassified or -- have not been declassified or for some
- 11 reason they are not in the declassified -- in the pile of
- 12 declassified documents.
- 13 So to be clear, the Saravia diary is the same in
- 14 both, except for this page and several other pages that I
- 15 would like to talk about that come from Mr. Greentree's copy
- 16 that he Xeroxed in the basement of the U.S. Embassy.
- 17 Q. Okay. What is the significance of this page?
- 18 A. Well, this is an extremely important page. And the reason
- 19 it's important is that --
- 20 Q. I'm sorry, Professor Karl, before we get there. I
- 21 apologize.

П

- 22 Looking at the Greentree declaration, tab 1 appears
- 23 to be the Saravia diary.
- 24 A. That's right.
- 25 Q. And tabs 2, 3, 4 and 5 are the other documents you have

KARL - D

- 1 referred to?
- 2 A. Right.
- 3 Q. And where does this document appear in the Greentree

- 4 declaration?
- 5 A. It appears in tab 3. So that in the declassified
- 6 document, it's inside the Saravia diary. And in the Greentree
- 7 version, it is in tab 3, appended to the Saravia diary, to be
- 8 very clear.
- 9 These are three pieces of paper that are Xeroxed on
- 10 the same page. Colonel Majano told me that they were Xeroxed
- 11 on the same page because they were clipped together, so that
- 12 was a way of showing that they had all come together with a
- 13 clip. May I describe the document?
- 14 Q. Yes.

- 15 A. On the bottom right, it says, "Equipo Operacion Piña," and
- 16 that means the "Operation Pineapple Team." Underneath that,
- 17 it lists "Number 1, starlight; 1, 257"; and I actually cannot
- 18 tell if that's a "257" or "253 Robert's; 4, automatic guns
- 19 and grenades." Then there is a line, and under that, it lists
- 20 "one driver, one shooter, and four security men."
- The second document that was attached to this is on
- 22 the left-hand bottom. That is a list of names. And it
- 23 includes some of the most prominent land-owning families of
- 24 El Salvador. For example, the name Ricardo Sol Meza, the name
- 25 Alfonso Salaverria. These are very, very prominent, these are

KARL - D

- 1 families that are considered among what we once called the "14
- 2 families," when I testified earlier.
- 3 Q. Now, Professor Karl --
- 4 A. There are a series of other names, as well, listed here.
- 5 Q. If I may, are these the papers that were referred to in 7B
- 6 on Exhibit 125?
- 7 A. That's right.

- 8 Q. Separate from 7A, which was the diary?
- 9 A. The diary. In other words, on the way the evidence is
- 10 collected, and on -- in view of the way the evidence was
- 11 collected and the way it's described in the document to the
- 12 judge, and in view of Mr. Greentree's copy and the way that it
- 13 was stored in the U.S. Embassy, these -- this piece of paper
- 14 was not found slipped inside the Saravia diary, but in the
- 15 declassified documents. It is actually slipped inside the
- 16 Saravia diary.
- 17 Finally, there is a document at the top of the page,
- 18 which is in a different handwriting, and while I'm not a
- 19 handwriting expert, it is very recognizable to me as the
- 20 handwriting of Mr. Saravia. And it lists a series of
- 21 payments.

П

- One of those, for example, line 3, is "Amado," which
- 23 is the way in -- the way Mr. Saravia would refer to Amado
- 24 Garay, by the way he would call him by his first name, because
- 25 there is a status difference there.

KARL - D

- 1 Q. What is the name above Amado's?
- 2 A. Saravia.
- 3 Q. By the last name?
- 4 A. Right. So he refers to himself by the last name and the
- 5 driver by the first name. This is my reading of these
- 6 documents. But it is also, I might add, everyone else's
- 7 reading that I have interviewed about these documents.
- 8 So what's important is that these three pieces of
- 9 paper were found together. According to my interviews with
- 10 the members of the junta -- and I should say that when these

documents	were	9-3-04 seized,	Trial they	Tran were	script given	t

- 12 Colonel Majano Xeroxed these documents and gave a
- 13 copy to every member of the governing junta, called them
- 14 immediately into his office, and they sat down and studied
- 15 these documents together.

11

- I have interviewed, I believe, four members, or maybe
- 17 five, of the junta. Four or five of the entire junta. Every
- 18 one has the same impression, which is that when they saw this,
- 19 they all said this is the document about the assassination of
- 20 Archbishop Romero. In other words, they identified Operation
- 21 Pineapple as the assassination of Archbishop Romero.
- 22 Why is that so? It's because the equipment that was
- 23 requested is the same. And it is very unusual type of
- 24 equipment. In a death squad killing, you do not have a
- 25 sharpshooter. You do not have weapons like this. You do

KARL - D

652

o Colonel Majano.

- 1 usually have two cars, so you usually have the killers in a
- 2 car and the security force for the killers who stay outside.
- 3 watch, make sure they are okay, et cetera.
- 4 But this is a very unusual description of an
- 5 operation. And in that sense, they very quickly and strongly
- 6 felt that this was the -- these were the documents, the list
- 7 of things that were going to be needed for the murder of
- 8 Archbishop Romero, some of the financiers of that murder or
- 9 the supporters or someone who was involved, and then, finally,
- 10 a list of some of the payments that were actually made.
- 11 Q. Do you have any opinion as to whose handwriting is on the
- 12 bottom as opposed to the top?
- 13 A. Yes. I am familiar with that handwriting. I think that's
- 14 Roberto D'Aubuisson's handwriting.

Page 21

- 15 Q. How are you familiar with it, Professor Karl?
- 16 A. Well, I saw it quite a bit, actually, in the 1983
- 17 campaign, but I have also seen a number of other documents
- 18 that he has personally written.

П

- 19 Q. Were there any other documents in the Greentree documents
- 20 that were of significance to this matter?
- 21 A. I should just say one other thing, if I may. That my --
- 22 when I say I interviewed the junta, they were quite shocked by
- 23 this, by the way, when they saw it, because they instantly
- 24 believed this was Monseñor Romero's assassination.
- 25 And they, at this point -- at least the members of KARL D

- 1 the junta and Colonel Majano -- did not fully understand from,
- 2 in my opinion, the kind of threat that was growing inside the
- 3 military in El Salvador. And when they saw this, they didn't
- 4 expect to see this piece of paper. They didn't know who they
- 5 thought had killed Monsenor Romero originally.
- 6 The other thing is that the U.S. Embassy declassified
- 7 documents also repeat -- and I showed this and previously
- 8 discussed this in Exhibit 164, as well as Ambassador White --
- 9 that that is what this is.
- 10 That was an opinion shared by the U.S. Embassy and
- 11 also by the members of the governing junta, that this reading
- 12 that I gave of this document is also theirs.
- 13 Q. I would like to come back to that in a moment. But if we
- 14 may, were there any other documents in the Greentree
- 15 collection that bear on this matter?
- 16 A. Yes. There is a document that is in tab 4 of the
- 17 Greentree affidavit.

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript
  Does it appear in the declassified version of the diary? 18
- 19 It does not. Α.
- 20 Q. Well --

П

- 21 A. According to what I have seen of the declassified. If it
- 22 appears, it has not been declassified with the rest.
- 23 It is, in my view, if you look at --
- 24 Q. Which page in tab 4?
- A. I think it's the eighth page, but they are not numbered. 25

KARL - D

654

- 1 It's the eighth page in the way it was Xeroxed by
- 2 Mr. Greentree.
- 3 Q. How does it appear at the top?
- A. It appears -- it is at the top, "Prueba Cuba en 4
- Nicaragua." And that means "Evidence that Cuba is in 5
- 6 Nicaragua." That's what it says.
- 7 Do we not have that?
- 8 Q. No, we don't have that.
- 9 May I translate this document or describe what's in it?
- 10 Q. Sure.
- 11 Your Honor, do you have a copy of this page?
- 12 THE COURT: I have the page that has the words that
- 13 the witness just spoke at the top of it. It's handwritten.
- 14 It appears to be a note pad. At the bottom it looks like the
- word F-R-E-U-T-R --15
- 16 THE WITNESS: The bottom should say "New York."
- 17 THE COURT: At the very bottom on the right. I was
- looking at the left. Yeah, it says "San FR," then I can't 18
- 19 read the next letter.
- THE WITNESS: San Francisco and New York would be the 20
- 21 bottom. I think I have a clearer copy.

Page 23

- THE COURT: This exhibit hasn't been paginated, but I
- 23 have that in front of me.
- 24 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:

25 Q. Is there anything significant on this document?

KARL - D

- 1 A. I think there is something very significant, and I need to
- 2 first refer back to Exhibit 125 in order to explain it.
- 3 MR. Van AELSTYN: Can we have Exhibit 125 up, please.
- 4 THE WITNESS: Exhibit 125 is a list of evidence that
- 5 went to the judge.
- 6 MR. Van AELSTYN: Page 2.
- 7 THE WITNESS: Actually, it's page 3 at the top, the
- 8 very first one. It says, "Evidence Number 10." And it
- 9 describes a document of three pages which is entitled "In
- 10 Relation to the Accusations Made By a South American Informant
- 11 Against Monseñor Oscar Arnulfo Romero, Archbishop of San
- 12 Salvador."
- 13 And after that, it says, "This informant is ready to
- 14 give film and written proof within a period not exceeding 15
- 15 days."
- 16 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 17 Q. This is a document accusing Oscar Romero?
- 18 A. Well, let me say a little bit more about it, if I can.
- 19 And then inside the pages -- this is in my view, the one you
- 20 don't have on the screen.
- 21 Q. Back to the Greentree?
- 22 A. Back to the Greentree in tab 4. This is in Roberto
- 23 D'Aubuisson's handwriting and is with the documents on hotel
- 24 stationery as the same size, et cetera. And it translates --

						Transcrip			
25	Ι	won't	translate	the	whole	document,	but	it	translates

KARL - D

656

1	"Proof	that	Cuba	is	in	Nicaragua,	."	is	the	first	line
_		ciiac	Cubu			iti cai agaa;	,		C		

- The second line says, "Romero P.C. Pendiente." That
- 3 means Romero --

П

- 4 "P.C." (in Spanish) or "P.C." (In English) stands for
- 5 "Communist Party." Partido Comunista.
- 6 And "pendiente" means "I'm waiting for this." It's
- 7 "pending" is the best.
- 8 The document goes on, and I will not translate all of
- 9 it, but it has another line which says "Support from the
- 10 Southern Cone." That means South America, the southern part
- 11 of South America.
- 12 And according to my interviews and an excellent book
- 13 on the subject about the role of Argentinians inside
- 14 El Salvador at this time, it is clear -- and I have
- 15 interviewed one of the people involved in this operation who
- 16 is Argentinian -- it is clear that there was an Argentinian
- 17 support team that was helping Roberto D'Aubuisson in his
- 18 activities.
- 19 This is a support team that came from the network
- 20 that he developed inside the CAL, the Confederation of Latin
- 21 American Anti-Communists that I identified earlier in my
- 22 testimony. There were Argentinians helping him.
- 23 And this refers to, and I draw this conclusion from
- 24 these two documents as well as my interviews, that there was a
- 25 document being prepared that would accuse Archbishop Romero of

KARL - D

- 1 being a member of the Communist party. That that document has
- 2 never surfaced, but was being prepared by Argentinians. And
- 3 it was going to be both a film version and a written version
- 4 giving proof and denouncing him.
- Now, this seems to be in process by the dates of
- 6 these documents and when they occur, after Archbishop Romero
- 7 has been murdered. So I don't know when they actually started
- 8 this denunciation process or to try to identify him as a
- 9 member of the Communist party. But at least following the
- 10 assassination, at the very least, there was an effort to link
- 11 him to the Communist party and to make him a member of the
- 12 Communist party, something which, by the way, is patently
- 13 false.

- 14 Q. If we could have up, briefly, Exhibit 122, please. If we
- 15 could enlarge the lower portion?
- 16 Professor Karl, this was a cable that was sent from
- 17 the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador dated May 8. We have
- 18 discussed it previously, that reported on the raid, listing
- 19 the officers, et cetera. If you could just briefly --
- 20 A. Right. This actually repeats the names that are on Judge
- 21 Mendez's list. It talks about the raid itself. It says the
- 22 same information I'm given about 24 people.
- 23 It lists 12 officers, including Roberto D'Aubuisson
- 24 and Captain Garay. And the interesting thing about this
- 25 document to me is the very last part of the comment. So

KARL - D

- 1 that's the very last page at the very bottom.
- 2 And without reading it, it indicates that the United
- 3 States is extremely worried about the documents that are found

- 4 on San Luis Finca.
- 5 It says that this is now a crisis, because Colonel
- 6 Majano has moved against D'Aubuisson and has arrested him.
- 7 And it says, in particular, "This was the second attempted
- 8 coup against him," referring to Majano. "The Salvadoran
- 9 military are now presented with evidence that they cannot
- 10 ignore regarding the identity of the plotters."
- 11 It then goes on to say that there is a split in the
- 12 military and "The question is whether Junta Member Colonel
- 13 Abdul Gutierrez," who I previously testified was one of the
- 14 Molina Group, "and Minister of Defense Colonel Jose Guillermo
- 15 Garcia," who I also determine was one of the Molina Group,
- 16 "can continue to paper over this problem or whether some high
- 17 ranking officers will be forced out by the younger and more
- 18 liberal officers."
- 19 So what this cable is indicating to the United States
- 20 is there is a split in the military. This is a very decisive
- 21 moment. And the issue is whether or not the hardliners are
- 22 going to be forced out or the reformers are going to be forced
- 23 out.
- In other words -- and they believe, by the way, the
- 25 comment, the one who made the comment, who wrote this, is

KARL - D

659

- 1 Colonel Majano, and the younger officers will be able to force
- 2 out the hardliners.
- 3 Q. Professor Karl, I would like to show you another document
- 4 that --
- 5 Your Honor, has not been admitted into evidence as
- 6 yet. May I approach the witness?
- 7 THE COURT: Yes, you may.
  Page 27

П

- 8 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 9 Q. I would like to identify this for identification purposes
- 10 as the next exhibit in order, which I believe is Exhibit 224.
- 11 A. This is a declassified document that came in the way that
- 12 I have previously testified the others have.
- 13 O. What is the date of the document?
- 14 A. The document is dated --
- 15 Q. On the very first page?
- 16 A. "May 9th, 1980. Secret cable." And it's cited as "JRG";
- 17 that refers to the "Revolutionary Governing Junta, "faces
- 18 worst crisis yet."
- 19 Q. And this document was sent from whom to whom?
- 20 A. It is sent from the Secretary of State, who at the time is
- 21 Ed Muskie, and it is sent to the Embassy of San Salvador --
- 22 Q. So did they --
- 23 A. -- to the Ambassador, it was sent to the Ambassador.
- 24 Q. Is this a response, then, to Exhibit 122, a cable from the
- 25 Embassy to the Secretary of State dated the previous day, May

KARL - D

660

- 1 8?
- 2 A. Right, exactly. It is a very important cable in that
- 3 normal cable traffic doesn't have the Secretary of State in
- 4 it. When the Secretary of State is answering something, it
- 5 means that it is very, very important, that this is a crucial
- 6 event.
- 7 And what this cable says, and I would turn you to --
- 8 you don't have this on -- let me ask you to look at page 2 of
- 9 the text of the cable.
- 10 It describes U.S. policy as being able to -- as

11	desiring to bring under control the violent left and right and
12	to eliminate any violence or human rights violations
13	associated with the armed forces, that that is what the U.S.
14	is interested in doing.
15	And to this end, it says it describes actions
16	taken against different groups. The last line is important in
17	that second paragraph:
18	"We have considered links between the extreme right
19	and the armed forces particularly dangerous because
20	their persistent coup attempts threaten the very
21	existence of the JRG," that refers to the
22	Revolutionary Governing Junta, "and the continuation
23	of its reform program, as well as tarnishing its
24	image."
25	The third paragraph goes on to say, that, and I'm not
	KARL - D
	661
	661
1	reading it all, that:
1 2	
	reading it all, that:
2	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the
2	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others
2 3 4	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."
2 3 4 5	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."  And then Secretary Muskie says, "We, therefore,
2 3 4 5 6	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."  And then Secretary Muskie says, "We, therefore, believe that prompt and effective action to punish
2 3 4 5 6 7	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."  And then Secretary Muskie says, "We, therefore, believe that prompt and effective action to punish those detained is necessary."
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."  And then Secretary Muskie says, "We, therefore, believe that prompt and effective action to punish those detained is necessary."  Q. Professor Karl
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."  And then Secretary Muskie says, "We, therefore, believe that prompt and effective action to punish those detained is necessary."  Q. Professor Karl  A. And then the cable has lots more details on it, but I
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."  And then Secretary Muskie says, "We, therefore, believe that prompt and effective action to punish those detained is necessary."  Q. Professor Karl  A. And then the cable has lots more details on it, but I think that's the key content for the purposes that we are
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	reading it all, that:  "The evidence uncovered appeared conclusive as to the guilt of those detained, as well as to others implicated."  And then Secretary Muskie says, "We, therefore, believe that prompt and effective action to punish those detained is necessary."  Q. Professor Karl  A. And then the cable has lots more details on it, but I think that's the key content for the purposes that we are talking about right now.

- 15 see is that the coup that was being planned in El Salvador
- 16 effectively is carried out, but in a different way.
- 17 And when I say that, what I mean is we have a series
- 18 of documents at San Luis Finca which indicate a coup of
- 19 hardliners to take over the government is the plan. They are
- 20 arrested by a reformist military officer.
- 21 What happens, what you would expect then -- what I
- 22 would expect, given these kind of documents, is they would be
- 23 detained, arrested and charged. Instead, they are released,
- 24 including Mr. D'Aubuisson and Mr. Saravia. They are released.
- 25 Q. When?

П

KARL - D

- 1 A. They are released several days later. And within two
- 2 days, Colonel Majano, who is the man who ordered their arrest,
- 3 is removed from the High Command of the military. He is then
- 4 threatened several times; his life is threatened. There is a
- 5 bomb put in his car, there are other threats against his life,
- 6 and by December 1980, he is out of the country.
- 7 So rather than have a victory, if I can put it that
- 8 way, by reformist -- by a reformist military officer and his
- 9 cohorts taking control of the Salvadoran military, instead,
- 10 what we actually have is the replacement of reformers with
- 11 hardline military officers.
- 12 And we have that, most importantly, through the
- 13 actions of two other Colonels who are linked -- who are
- 14 members of the Molina Group, which I explained earlier,
- 15 included Mr. D'Aubuisson.
- 16 Q. And those two Colonels are the ones who were referenced in
- 17 the May 8 cable?

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript A. That's right. Colonel Gutierrez and Colonel Garcia. They
19	are referenced in the May 8th and May 9th.
20	MR. Van AELSTYN: If I could have just one moment?
21	THE COURT: Yes, you may.
22	Is this memo simply a statement of the current
23	position of the Secretary of State? Is it an action memo or
24	is it just to communicate the thinking that is currently
25	applicable?
	KARL - D
	663
1	THE WITNESS: There is actually action requested in
2	the last page of the memo. Because there is a great worry
3	about other military officers who are in positions of High
4	Command that are believed to be hardliners, and the Secretary
5	of State is suggesting that they be eased out. In other
6	words, there be some way to remove them. So there is action
7	at the end.
8	But there is it's clear that when this is written,
9	these men are still in jail and Colonel Majano is still in
10	command. So I think that there is no indication in the
11	declassified documents that the Secretary of State or the
12	Embassy expected that Colonel Majano would be forced out
13	instead.
14	So the action is assuming that Colonel Majano is in
15	command, and that not only these officers arrested, but other
16	handliners could be pushed out as well. And in fact that's
17	not what happens.
18	THE COURT: Is this when the war starts, following
19	this?
20	THE WITNESS: The war starts later. At the point of
21	time that this is happening, there is still no single guerilla Page 31

- 22 army. There are five smaller armed factions, but there is no
- 23 guerilla army in existence. That comes later.
- 24 So all of this is in a period of what I would call
- 25 state terror and the disintegration of the old military

KARL - D

664

1	authoritarian	reaime.	There is	s no	civil	war	vet.

- 2 And this San Luis Finca event is so important because
- 3 now we have had the murder of Archbishop Romero, which has
- 4 plunged the country into terror, and we also have this arrest
- 5 that indicates to everyone there that this includes murderers
- 6 of Archbishop Romero or people who were involved in some way
- 7 of the murder of Archbishop Romero, and rather than being
- 8 detained, they are being released.
- 9 We have the hardliners replace the reformists. And
- 10 so this is one of the next most important events to plunge the
- 11 country into civil war. We are not into civil war yet.
- 12 THE COURT: Who replaced Majano as the head
- 13 commander --

- 14 THE WITNESS: Colonel Garcia stays as Minister of
- 15 Defense and Colonel Gutierrez stays in the junta. They are
- 16 both members of the Molina Group. But most importantly, there
- 17 is an organization which is called "COPREFA" which is the
- 18 organization of the High Command of the military.
- 19 And if you remember, I said it operates not just like
- 20 a military, but like a government, and that's where they make
- 21 their decisions.
- The head of COPREFA is extremely important, and that
- 23 is what Colonel Majano was. So he was not only in the
- 24 government, but he is the head of COPREFA. He is replaced as

		9-	3 - 04	Tri	al Tran	scri	pt				
25	head of	COPREFA.	And	the	person	who	replaces	him	is	Medrano'	's
					KARL	- D					

665

_		
1	nephew	
_	HEDHEW.	

- 2 Medrano is the original author of ORDEN, of the
- 3 paramilitary organizations, et cetera. So he is actually
- 4 replaced by a very known hardliner, which then takes over all
- 5 the -- they are basically putting hardliners in all the main
- 6 institutions of the military.
- 7 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 8 Q. If I could have footnote 24 from Exhibit 98, this is the
- 9 Truth Commission Report. And let's draw your attention,
- 10 Professor Karl, to footnote 24, which states, quote:
- 11 "On 12 May, Majano lost his influence when Colonel
- 12 Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez, of the conservative wing, was
- 13 appointed President of the Revolutionary Government
- 14 Junta by the armed forces and, as such, became their
- 15 Commander-in-Chief."
- 16 A. That's right. So what happens is Majano is forced out of
- 17 the junta, but he is also forced out of COPREFA. And these
- 18 are two parallel organizations. One is the official
- 19 government and the other is how -- is the military structure
- 20 itself. And it essentially means that his influence is over.
- 21 From this time on, he has lost all of his influence, and it's
- 22 a question of time when he leaves the country.
- 23 This is the definitive moment when the hardliners
- 24 take over the entire military and security forces of
- 25 El Salvador.

KARL - D

- 1 Q. And D'Aubuisson, at this point, is released?
- 2 A. D'Aubuisson is released, that's right.
- 3 Q. So five days after the raid on the San Luis Finca --
- 4 A. The story is really over in terms of the reformers. And
- 5 the hardliners have taken over, including people who are, by
- 6 evidence gathered here, implicated in the murder of Archbishop
- 7 Romero.
- 8 Q. And Captain Saravia was among those arrested at the San
- 9 Luis Finca?
- 10 A. He was arrested at San Luis Finca and he was subsequently
- 11 released with Mr. D'Aubuisson and went to Guatemala right
- 12 afterwards with Mr. D'Aubuisson.
- 13 Q. Is there any other evidence of Saravia's linkages to the
- 14 assassination of Archbishop Romero?
- 15 A. I want to draw your attention to Exhibit 121. And I will
- 16 follow it up with Exhibit 125. These are more declassified
- 17 documents.
- 18 Exhibit 121 --
- 19 Q. What is the date of this document?
- 20 A. It's November 1980.
- 21 Q. So after the hardliners have come into power?
- 22 A. The hardliners have come into power. Majano is out of
- 23 power. He is still in the country, by the way, but he is out
- 24 of power.

25 And this is a document in which the political officer

KARL - D

- 1 of the U.S. Embassy is reporting his interview with what he
- 2 describes as a low ranking National Guard officer. And he is
- 3 saying that this is a source that he's never met before, his

П

- 8 we go back to the Saravia list that was part of Exhibit 123,
- 9 at least, in one form that it was found, and then separate in
- 10 the U.S. Embassy documents, I thought there that they were
- 11 going to supply the weapon to the shooter; at least you might
- 12 infer that from the supply list.
- 13 THE WITNESS: That's right.
- 14 THE COURT: So would this be consistent with what
- 15 this unconfirmed source, at least as to reliability, the
- 16 National Guard low ranking officer says? By "cartridge," I
- 17 assume that means that the assassin used his own ammunition.
- 18 THE WITNESS: May I talk about the next document
- 19 before I answer that?
- THE COURT: Yes.
- 21 THE WITNESS: This next document --
- 22 MR. Van AELSTYN: Just a moment, Professor Karl.
- 23 THE COURT: There is one more question I would like
- 24 you to think about, and that is how does that square with
- 25 Garay's testimony that it was the decision, inferentially, of

KARL - D

669

- 1 Saravia, D'Aubuisson and anyone else who was on their level,
- 2 to bring in the assassin; they chose the shooter. Not -- they
- 3 didn't do it by lot.
- 4 THE WITNESS: Right.
- 5 MR. Van AELSTYN: Your Honor, if I may just describe
- 6 the document that Professor Karl has. We have provisionally
- 7 identified it as the next in order, Exhibit 225, and it
- 8 appears to be another declassified document dated April 23,
- 9 1981.

П

10 THE WITNESS: This is a document from the Embassy

Page 36

11	9-3-04 Trial Transcript back to the Department of State, and it is actually a followup
12	conversation with the same source that the November 1980
13	declassified document refers to. It's called "Security Force
 14	Officer Comments on Sheraton Murders."
15	Just to situate the document, the Sheraton murders
16	are murders in the Sheraton Hotel of two U.S. citizens. And
17	so the interest of the United States in finding these
18	murderers is extremely high, which is why there is so much
19	being uncovered, because they are pushing very hard to find
20	out who killed these two U.S. citizens who are working in the
21	land reform and are representatives of the U.S. government
22	through USAID.
23	So what is important in this document, this is an
24	April 22nd conversation with a security force officer who
25	gives details about the Sheraton killing. And it also says in
	I/ARI D
	KARL - D
	670
	670
1	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described,
1 2	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and
_	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described,
2	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and
2	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."
2 3 4	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5
2 3 4 5	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
2 3 4 5 6	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5  BY MR. Van AELSTYN:  Q. On the second page of the document?
2 3 4 5 6 7	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5  BY MR. Van AELSTYN:  Q. On the second page of the document?  A. On the second page. And the whole document is quite
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5  BY MR. Van AELSTYN:  Q. On the second page of the document?  A. On the second page. And the whole document is quite interesting for a lot of reasons, but I'm going to just hone
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5 BY MR. Van AELSTYN: Q. On the second page of the document? A. On the second page. And the whole document is quite interesting for a lot of reasons, but I'm going to just hone in on a few things.
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5 BY MR. Van AELSTYN: Q. On the second page of the document? A. On the second page. And the whole document is quite interesting for a lot of reasons, but I'm going to just hone in on a few things.  Where it says "Extreme Rightist Doings." "The
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	the summary on this is number 2, "The officer described, for instance, some of the details of the planning and execution of the Archbishop Romero assassination."  If you look at number 5  BY MR. Van AELSTYN:  Q. On the second page of the document?  A. On the second page. And the whole document is quite interesting for a lot of reasons, but I'm going to just hone in on a few things.  Where it says "Extreme Rightist Doings." "The officer gave" this is the source reporting, the

15	participated in several of these activities until
16	mid-1980. He said, for example, that he had
17	participated in the dynamiting of the BPR
18	Headquarters, the dynamiting of the Catholic radio,
19	YXAS, and the dynamiting of the Central American
20	University," which we have heard referred to
21	repeatedly. He said, "He engaged in these activities
22	under the activity of Captain Victor Hugo Vega
23	Valencia," who is one of the officers arrested in San
24	Luis Finca. "The officer said he ended his own
25	participation after finding out his friends were
	I/ADI D

KARL - D

1	being paid for their activities, while he had felt
2	obligated to do these things out of conviction."
3	And then, again, I'm moving through the document.
4	"Number 6. Among the source's most interesting
5	comments were those he made about the murder of
6	Archbishop Romero. He repeated what he had said to
7	Political Officer in November," and that is what I
8	read earlier, so I won't repeat it.
9	But what is new in this version of the story, if you
10	look on the final page, he repeated the story he said before,
11	but he gives new details.
12	"Participants at the assassination planning session
13	were D'Aubuisson, Soravia," which is misspelled,
14	Amaya Rosa."
15	And then it says, "Comment." That means it's now the
16	officer, the Political Officer in the Embassy commenting.
17	"Captain Alvaro Soravia and Lieutenant Amaya Rosa were

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript arrested with D'Aubuisson in March. The source said
19	that Amaya Rosa at first did not accept his loss to
20	Douglas." And that's referring to the fact that this
21	so-called Douglas is the one who won the right to
22	shoot Archbishop Romero, "but then grudgingly
23	accepted at least the getaway car driver's role in
24	the operation. The officer ended by saying
25	emphatically that the weapon used to kill Romero was
	KARL - D
	672
1	not a .22 caliber, but was instead a 9 millimeter.
2	The source said, as he did in November, that he gave
3	the bullets to the assassin."
4	So this is a sort oh, let me read one more thing.
5	"9. The Embassy officer who has this contact believes
6	that his interlocutor reports accurately, but from
7	his own curious and limited perspective. The data
8	given has not been and may never be substantiated.
9	Though much of what the Embassy officer has told may
10	appear incredible to someone outside El Salvador, the
11	events described and the alleged participants would
12	raise few eyebrows here. Unfortunately, for 50
13	years, the Salvadoran security forces have engaged in
14	kidnapping, murder, bombings, torture and assorted
15	mayhem at the service of the wealthy families; only

Now, in order to answer the question you raised, sir, the last one first, other cables show that, and my interviews show, that claiming credit for being involved in the Page 39

security forces."

the scale and atrociousness of the crimes this

officer describes are out of the ordinary for the

16

17

18 19

20

- 22 assassination of Archbishop Romero was actually a fund-raising
- 23 tactic. If you could show you were involved in the
- 24 assassination, you were more likely to get some financing for
- 25 your activities or your death squad or whatever from sources

KARL - D

673

1 of financing.

- So what we see in the declassifieds are there are
- 3 some people who claim credit for having the bullet, for
- 4 wearing the bullet, for giving the bullet to their girlfriend,
- 5 all kinds of things like that which are simply, in my view,
- 6 not credible. And there are people claiming involvement.
- 7 What is credible, in my reading of the declassifieds,
- 8 is that when the same name is repeatedly involved in a set of
- 9 meetings. And what is also credible is that there was a
- 10 meeting to decide to kill the Archbishop. And in that
- 11 meeting, it was decided that a sharpshooter was necessary. In
- 12 other words, not any old shooter could kill him. And when you
- 13 look at the people involved in this, very few of them are
- 14 actually sharpshooters.
- So if there is a drawing for lots, the drawing for
- 16 lots is the right to get the sharpshooter. It is not the
- 17 right to kill the Archbishop himself, because this is always a
- 18 plan to hide who is killing the Archbishop. This is,
- 19 remember, the first major important political murder, and when
- 20 I say that, of someone of a stature like this in El Salvador.
- 21 So the idea is to kill him without anybody being able to know
- 22 who exactly did the killing.
- 23 But I do think that we see people claiming credit for
- 24 being involved in the killing and then later on in the

25	declassified	9-3-04 T documents,			that	as	the	Embass
			KAI	RL - D				

674

4	The second second					- C		4 - 4 - 4 7 -		
1	peains	το	realize	tnat	some	ОТ	tnese	details	are	 tnat

- 2 people are claiming credit so that they can actually raise
- 3 money from landowners by saying they were involved in the
- 4 assassination.

П

- 5 I'm not sure if that answered both of your questions.
- 6 THE COURT: Yes, I think so. Thank you.
- 7 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 8 Q. Professor Karl, in your opinion, based upon your research
- 9 concerning the death squad activities, is there any way to
- 10 sort out the statements that may be braggadocio for
- 11 fund-raising and some that may have some actual validity?
- 12 A. Yes. I think in my -- when I read these documents, I look
- 13 for what I call a "core of consistency." And by that, I mean
- 14 that in every document there are certain things that are
- 15 consistent.
- 16 I also, by the way, never just rely on declassified
- 17 documents. It's very important to me that I do my own
- 18 research and investigation. And there are other testimonies
- 19 available that I cited earlier, Mr. Garay's testimonies; there
- 20 are some secret testimonies of Mr. Saravia. There are other
- 21 things that I have had access to which helps me separate out
- 22 the wheat from the chaff, if I could put it this way.
- 23 And I think that the core of consistency, in all of
- 24 the declassifieds, my interviews, these other sources, that I
- 25 have given, all have a core of consistency about the role of

KARL - D

- 1 Roberto D'Aubuisson and the role of Mr. Saravia as his chief
- 2 aide.
- 3 THE COURT: When you refer to secret testimony of
- 4 Saravia, do you mean that in a technical sense, that this was
- 5 a statement under oath?
- 6 THE WITNESS: May we hold that question for a bit,
- 7 your Honor? It's -- there are testimonies of Mr. Saravia, but
- 8 not under oath in a court of law.
- 9 THE COURT: All right. It would be hard to call it
- 10 testimony then.
- 11 THE WITNESS: Right, excuse me.
- 12 THE COURT: Statements?
- 13 THE WITNESS: Statements, thank you.
- 14 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 15 Q. When last week we were following the chronology, I believe
- 16 you testified that your understanding was that following the
- 17 San Luis Finca raid, D'Aubuisson and Saravia went to
- 18 Guatemala?
- 19 A. That's right.
- 20 Q. Bring us up to date through the early 80s.
- 21 Well, actually, if I may, before you do that, could
- 22 we please have Exhibit 45 and then 46?
- 23 Can you identify Exhibits 45 and 46, Professor Karl?
- 24 A. I can identify the person in the pictures. That's Roberto
- 25 D'Aubuisson.

KARL - D

- 1 Q. And the date here is March 26, 1984, taken from Newsweek
- 2 magazine. And if we could go back to the previous one.
- 3 A. The one that says "D'Aubuisson: I'm not an angel."

- 4 Q. Right, also from Newsweek. Do you know what these
- 5 photographs are of, other than the individual, the context?
- 6 A. Yes. These are photographs of Roberto D'Aubuisson on the
- 7 presidential campaign trail.
- 8 Q. So in March of 1984, he is running for president of
- 9 El Salvador?
- 10 A. That's right. So --
- 11 Q. A few years after he had been arrested at the San Luis
- 12 Finca?
- 13 A. That's right.
- 14 Q. How did he get there?
- 15 A. Well, very briefly, he goes to Guatemala, where he is put
- 16 under the protection of a man called Mario Sandoval Alarcon,
- 17 who is the godfather of death squads in Guatemala, which has
- 18 the same operation of El Salvador going on at the time.
- 19 When he is there, he works on the design and the
- 20 organization of the F.A.N., the political party that he
- 21 found -- political party/paramilitary organization that later
- 22 becomes the ARENA Party. That is the party that governs
- 23 El Salvador today.

- 24 He returns to El Salvador, Mr. D'Aubuisson, with
- 25 Mr. Saravia. I don't know if they actually came back

KARL - D

- 1 together, but they both return to El Salvador from Guatemala.
- 2 Roberto D'Aubuisson becomes the President of the
- 3 Legislature first, of the Constituent Assembly. And in that
- 4 position, he brings Mr. Saravia to work in the security forces
- 5 of the Legislative Assembly, and they are both working in the
- 6 security forces of the Legislative Assembly through the '84
- 7 campaign.

8	Now, what is important about that is at the same time
9	this occurs, a death squad starts operating out of the
10	Legislative Assembly out of the Office of the President. This
11	is the office of Roberto D'Aubuisson that is made up of
12	members of the security guards, the security force of the
13	Legislative Assembly. That is the assembly where Mr. Saravia
14	is working.
15	Afterwards, there is a Mr. D'Aubuisson has wanted
16	to be President for some time, and he actually wins an
17	election in El Salvador with the United it is an interim
18	presidential election. And he actually wins that election.
19	The United States is so upset that he might be the
20	temporary president of El Salvador until the 1984 elections,
21	that it actually intervenes very strongly, and the new
22	president is appointed named Magana. So the United States
23	actually opposes D'Aubuisson as President.
24	And instead of D'Aubuisson or Duarte, who are the two
25	candidates of the interim presidential period, a third person,
	KARL - D

678

- 1 who actually doesn't even run in the elections and is the
- 2 banker of the military, a civilian named Magana, is actually
- appointed president. 3
- 4 So this is now an effort of D'Aubuisson to become
- 5 president, but also with the opposition of the United States.
- And these pictures in Newsweek are portraying that. 6
- 7 And he has Mr. Saravia with him in the Constituent
- 8 Assembly, and there is very ample evidence of a death squad
- operating out of that Assembly at the time. 9
- 10 THE COURT: What was the process by which he became

11	9-3-04 Trial Transcript initially the President of the Legislative Assembly?
12	THE WITNESS: There was a deal made, which is a
13	political deal. It had actually nothing to do with the
14	electoral results.
15	The United States, the Reagan Administration, felt
16	that if Mr. D'Aubuisson became the president of the country
17	with his very notorious reputation as a death squad organizer
18	and leader, that it would be impossible to get military aid
19	through the U.S. Congress.
20	At that point, a deal was made that he would take a
21	lesser profile position, which was President of the
22	Legislature, and Mr. Magana, who had not actually even been a
23	candidate in the elections, was appointed president. So it
24	was to give him a power base, but a less visible one, if I can
25	put it that way.
	KARL - D
	679
1	
1 2	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?
	679  THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did
2	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?
2	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA
2 3 4	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and
2 3 4 5	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and when ARENA wins control of the legislature, which happens in
2 3 4 5 6	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and when ARENA wins control of the legislature, which happens in these interim elections, ARENA appoints him a head of the
2 3 4 5 6 7	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and when ARENA wins control of the legislature, which happens in these interim elections, ARENA appoints him a head of the Constituent Assembly. That's the way the political system
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and when ARENA wins control of the legislature, which happens in these interim elections, ARENA appoints him a head of the Constituent Assembly. That's the way the political system works there or worked at that time.
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and when ARENA wins control of the legislature, which happens in these interim elections, ARENA appoints him a head of the Constituent Assembly. That's the way the political system works there or worked at that time.  THE COURT: In this photograph, is he wearing a
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and when ARENA wins control of the legislature, which happens in these interim elections, ARENA appoints him a head of the Constituent Assembly. That's the way the political system works there or worked at that time.  THE COURT: In this photograph, is he wearing a uniform?
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	THE COURT: When he returned from Guatemala, then did they have public elections? Did he run for public office?  THE WITNESS: No. What he does is he forms the ARENA Party. He becomes a representative of the ARENA Party, and when ARENA wins control of the legislature, which happens in these interim elections, ARENA appoints him a head of the Constituent Assembly. That's the way the political system works there or worked at that time.  THE COURT: In this photograph, is he wearing a uniform?  THE WITNESS: No, the colors that he used all the

- 15 presents itself with red, white and blue, and you can see on
- 16 the side of the man behind him, the ARENA Party signature,
- 17 which is on his sleeve.
- 18 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 19 Q. This is during a campaign?
- 20 A. Yes. And that happens earlier.
- The 1984 elections now is once again an election
- 22 between Duarte and D'Aubuisson. D'Aubuisson is once again
- 23 running for president.

П

- The United States is again against his candidacy for
- 25 the same reason as before, because they believe that if he

KARL - D

- becomes president, there will be no possibility of providing
- 2 aid to El Salvador.
- And so once again, he is running, but the United
- 4 States is now giving a great deal of money to support the
- 5 candidacy of Mr. Duarte.
- 6 THE COURT: Who votes in this election?
- 7 THE WITNESS: In this election -- well, that was a
- 8 very controversial question. Because at the point of time we
- 9 are talking about, violence has risen to the highest it has
- 10 ever been. And I will give you some statistics later.
- In this period of time, from 1980 to 1984,
- 12 El Salvador is at a level of extremely high violence. State
- 13 terror, primarily committed by the Salvadoran Armed Forces.
- 14 So voting in the elections under the conditions of
- 15 state terror, there are no candidates participating at all
- 16 from what I would call the center left or the left. Even
- 17 though there is quite a constituency from them, there are no

- 18 candidates that represent that position.
- 19 And there is no one participating in the elections
- 20 and voting from that sector if they have choice. There are
- 21 people being taken to the voting centers, et cetera. So this
- 22 is an election held under conditions of really extreme
- 23 violence.

П

- 24 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 25 Q. Professor Karl, very briefly, what is going on with the

KARL - D

681

- 1 investigation of the assassination of Archbishop Romero during
- 2 this period in the early 80s?
- 3 A. Well, in the early 80s, then, we have ARENA in control of
- 4 the legislature, but ARENA is the new party now, that used to
- 5 be the F.A.N., and is now the party/paramilitary organization
- 6 of El Salvador.
- 7 ARENA is controlling the Assembly, but it also has
- 8 very important control over some of the courts, particularly
- 9 the Supreme Court and the public attorneys -- or Attorney
- 10 General, Public Prosecutor's Office, excuse me.
- 11 So ARENA, appoints, as Public Prosecutor of
- 12 El Salvador, Jose Francisco Guerrero. We have heard about him
- 13 before. He was the representative who went to the CAL
- 14 meetings with Roberto D'Aubuisson, the meetings of the network
- 15 of extreme rightists that I talked about earlier, but he was
- 16 also D'Aubuisson's personal lawyer. So the Public Prosecutor
- 17 is D'Aubuisson's personal lawyer.
- 18 And what he does, essentially, is make sure that the
- 19 investigation of Romero's assassination is quashed. And there
- 20 has been previous testimony to show that judges, in general,
- 21 are unwilling to take this case.

Page 47

22	So if anyone was going to take it, it would have to
23	be unwilling and unafraid to take this case, if anyone were
24	to take it, it would have to be the Public Prosecutor, but the
25	Public Prosecutor is Roberto D'Aubuisson's personal lawyer.
	KARL - D
	682
1	Q. Did the Public Prosecutor, Jose Francisco Guerrero, submit
2	any evidence to the court, the Fourth Criminal Court that had
3	been investigating the Romero assassination at this time?
4	A. He does. And what is important is that he submits in
5	August 1985 what is called the "Pedro Lobo confession." He
6	submits this to the Fourth Criminal Court of El Salvador. And
7	this is a confession that proves later to be fraudulent.
8	He gets the confession, the Pedro Lobo confession,
9	from Roberto D'Aubuisson. It's a tape that is actually
10	produced by Roberto D'Aubuisson.
11	It is a tape of a man whose name is Roberto Delbert
12	Salazar Collier, and he is also called Pedro Lobo. He is a
13	man who confesses to the murder of Archbishop Romero.
14	The problem is that when Archbishop Romero was
15	murdered, Pedro Lobo was incarcerated as a common criminal
16	inside jail in El Salvador, so he could not possibly have been
17	the killer.
18	When it is revealed that he was incarcerated during
19	this period of time, Pedro Lobo then says that he was offered
20	\$50,000 to confess to being an accomplice in the murder of
21	Archbishop Romero.
22	So the Pedro Lobo confession is produced by
23	D'Aubuisson, given to his personal lawyer, who is Jose
24	Francisco Guerrero. The personal lawyer is the Public

		9	-3-04	Tr	ial T	ransc	rip	t			
25	Prosecutor.	And	then	he	puts	that	in	evidence	and	then	it

KARL - D

683

- 1 later proves to be fraudulent.
- 2 Q. If we could go back for a moment to Exhibit 45, the
- 3 campaign photograph. I would like to draw your attention,
- 4 Professor Karl, to page 129 of Exhibit 98, the Truth
- 5 Commission Report.

П

- 6 THE COURT: While you look for that, I have to
- 7 conduct a proceeding in another case. It won't take me long.
- 8 Let's take the morning recess now, and we will resume about
- 9 ten minutes of 11:00.
- 10 MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, your Honor.
- 11 THE COURT: We will stand in recess until that time.
- 12 (Recess)
- 13 THE COURT: Back on the record in Doe versus Saravia.
- 14 I apologize for the time. We will try to make it up at the
- 15 noon hour in the other proceeding.
- 16 We are going to go on now with the testimony of
- 17 Professor Karl.
- 18 MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, your Honor.
- 19 BY MR. Van AELSTYN:
- 20 Q. Professor Karl, right before we left, I asked you to look
- 21 at Exhibit 98, the Truth Commission Report. If I could have
- 22 Exhibit 45 up again.
- 23 Did you have an opportunity to look at that during
- 24 the break, Professor Karl?
- 25 A. Yes.

KARL - D

- 1 Q. Did it refresh your recollection?
- 2 A. Yes. The testimony I gave about the Pedro Lobo
- 3 confession, I would just like to add that that tape was
- 4 produced for Roberto D'Aubuisson's campaign. In other words,
- 5 the original tape was done to make it look as if the left had
- 6 killed Archbishop Romero, which is what Pedro Lobo was
- 7 confessing to.
- 8 The authenticity of that tape had been discredited
- 9 during the campaign itself, so that when the Public
- 10 Prosecutor, Mr. Guerrero, presented that tape, it had already
- 11 previously been discredited, and it had already been
- 12 identified as a false confession and publicly identified as
- 13 such.
- 14 Q. Did that prosecution in 1985 make any progress against
- 15 those responsible for the assassination of Monseñor Romero?
- 16 A. No, it made no progress. Eventually, another
- 17 investigation is opened up, and we discussed that the other
- 18 day.

П

- 19 That is the investigation that President Duarte
- 20 appoints of the Special Investigative Commission. That
- 21 includes the Mr. Lopez who Amado Garay testifies comes to meet
- 22 with him, and that is the testimony that we talked about that
- 23 results in the Supreme Court decision that is -- of
- 24 El Salvador that is sent to the United States that cancels the
- 25 extradition request from Mr. Saravia.

KARL - D

- 1 THE COURT: The year of that?
- THE WITNESS: That is in 1988. And that was on -- I
- 3 testified, I believe my last day of testimony, in some detail

- 4 about that case.
- 5 So that what we have in the 1980s is blocked
- 6 investigations, an investigation with false documentation
- 7 presented by the Public Prosecutor, and false documentation
- 8 that is already discredited.
- 9 Then we have President Duarte trying to open up
- 10 another investigation in 1986. At some period during this new
- 11 investigation, Mr. Saravia leaves El Salvador and comes to the
- 12 United States.
- 13 It is that 1986 investigation that eventually leads
- 14 to the request for extradition of Mr. Saravia. He is arrested
- 15 and jailed in Miami. He -- and I, again, testified to this,
- 16 he is -- his lawyer is provided by D'Aubuisson. He calls
- 17 D'Aubuisson from jail.
- 18 I presented the Mariscos Tazumal fax that the
- 19 administrative decision from the Supreme -- the administrative
- 20 decision was faxed to the United States from, and we went over
- 21 Ambassador Walker's cable talking about the obstruction of
- 22 justice in this case. So --
- 23 Q. Professor Karl, at the time of the December 1988 decision
- 24 of the El Salvador Supreme Court to negate and the
- 25 investigation of Alvaro Saravia, was Jose Francisco Guerrero

KARL - D

686

- 1 still the Public Prosecutor?
- 2 A. No. He had been elevated to President of the Supreme
- 3 Court.
- 4 Q. The same Supreme Court, then, that issued that
- 5 decision closing --
- 6 A. That's right. So he, at this point, when that decision is
- 7 made, Roberto D'Aubuisson's personal lawyer is elevated to Page 51

- 8 President of the Supreme Court, which subsequently makes the
- 9 decision that is sent to the United States and that results,
- 10 eventually, in Mr. Saravia's release from jail.
- 11 Q. So in 1988, he has been released from detention, no longer
- 12 subject to extradition. What is his immigration status at
- 13 that point in the United States and has that ever come up for
- 14 review?
- 15 A. Yes. Apparently, his immigration status is not
- 16 regularized. And so the next time we have documentary
- 17 evidence of Mr. Saravia's -- at least I have documentary
- 18 evidence of Mr. Saravia, is in a series of negotiation
- 19 meetings that occur in 1990 around his immigration status.
- MR. Van AELSTYN: Could I have Exhibit 165, please.
- 21 THE WITNESS: This is a document that I need to go
- 22 over in some detail. This is a very important document.
- 23 It is sent in a much more secret way than other
- 24 declassified documents. If you see on the top, it says,
- 25 "Never sent as cable." That means this is delivered in a

KARL - D

687

- 1 different way.
- 2 There are -- the way declassified documents work,
- 3 some are sent as regular cables and others are sent in other
- 4 more "back channel" ways, so that they don't appear as part of
- 5 the regular cable traffic.
- 6 This is a, from the Embassy of the United States, and
- 7 it is for Bernie Aronson, who, at that point, is Assistant
- 8 Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs.
- 9 Q. Professor Karl, if I may just ask one question by way of
- 10 clarification. It says here from the Legal Officer of the

П

- 11 Embassy, San Salvador. But the first sentence here says, "On
- 12 May 14, legal officer met with Alvaro Saravia in the offices
- 13 of Miami attorney Neal Sonnet"?
- 14 A. That's right.
- 15 Q. So the San Salvador officer is reporting on a meeting in
- 16 Miami?

- 17 A. Yes. In my view, it is a very unusual event that officers
- 18 from the Embassy would be meeting with somebody in Miami
- 19 rather than in El Salvador.
- 20 Mr. Saravia is in the United States, and apparently
- 21 this meeting did not take place in El Salvador, so I think
- 22 that he probably preferred to have it in the United States,
- 23 but I don't know that. It did not take place in the offices
- 24 of Neal Sonnet, who was the attorney that had helped him on
- 25 the extradition case. He was the attorney that was

KARL - D

- 1 purportedly paid by the ARENA Party or by ARENA members of the
- 2 party, and he was the attorney, very high priced attorney,
- 3 that seemed -- and if you remember in the cable by Ambassador
- 4 William Walker, he comments that this attorney is out of the
- 5 price range of someone like Alvaro Saravia, and discusses the
- 6 D'Aubuisson aid to Saravia while he is in jail in Miami.
- 7 So he is now out of jail. He is meeting in the legal
- 8 offices of the same attorney. And he is offering, if you read
- 9 this cable, to cooperate with the United States in developing
- 10 key criminal investigations in El Salvador in return for a
- 11 regularization of his immigration status, and for that of his
- 12 family, and also for providing for their security.
- 13 If you look at number 2 on the memo, he says -- it
- 14 says.

"During this initial interview, Saravia was asked to 15 16 provide information on the Romero assassination. He 17 was asked to limit discussion only to what he could bear personal witness to. The following is a 18 summation of the relevant points." 19 20 Part 3 is -- point 3 is the Romero Case. 21 "Saravia confirmed that D'Aubuisson gave the order to 22 murder Archbishop Romero on March 24, 1980. He has no firsthand knowledge, however, on what meetings, if 23 any, took place prior to March 24th to discuss the 24 murder of Romero. 25

П

16

17

KARL - D

689

1 "On the morning of March 24th, 1980, there was a 2 meeting of ten persons, including Roberto 3 D'Aubuisson, Captain Avila and 'Negro' Sagrera at a house in Escalon." 4 5 And I should say that "Negro" Sagrera is the same as Fernando Sagrera; that's his first name. 6 Where is Escalon? 7 Ο. Escalon is the wealthy area of San Salvador. 8 9 "Captain Avila arrived for the meeting with a daily 10 newspaper and pointed out that Romero would be giving a Mass that afternoon at the Church of Divine 11 12 Providence. He suggested it would be a good 13 opportunity to kill him. 14 "D'Aubuisson agreed and asked if a gunman could be found. One of the ten, only identified as the son of 15

an ex-president of El Salvador, said he knew of a

gunman and was ordered by D'Aubuisson to contact him.

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript "D'Aubuisson put Sagrera in charge of the operation,
19	then left for San Miguel to attend previously
20	arranged meetings.
21	"Sagrera, the gunman, and two others met in the
22	parking lot of the Camino Real Hotel a half hour
23	before the murder to finalize the plan. From this
24	meeting the gunman went to the church and murdered
25	Romero.
	KARL - D
	690
1	"The gunman was paid 1,000 colones. Approximately
2	U.S. \$200. Saravia does not know if the money came
3	from D'Aubuisson.
4	"The weapon used was an M-16.
5	"Part 4 of the comment of the officer: There are
6	some contradictions between Saravia's version and
7	that given earlier by Garay, the alleged chauffeur.
8	Amado stated that Saravia" "Amado stated he took
9	Saravia to D'Aubuisson's house after the murder,
10	where he overheard Saravia report the success of the
11	mission. D'Aubuisson claimed that at the time when
12	Saravia allegedly was reporting to him, he,
13	D'Aubuisson, was outside of San Salvador.
14	D'Aubuisson could be telling the truth and still be
15	guilty of ordering the murder.
16	"5. It is hardly plausible that the murder of Romero
17	was decided on the spur of the moment. Saravia,
18	however, could be telling the truth when he says he
19	was not aware of any prior planning; he was asked to
20	limit discussion to facts he could attest to. It is

more probable that the decision to kill Romero was Page  $55\,$ 

24

22	made elsewhere, but the details of when and how were
23	left to D'Aubuisson. Avila's suggestion was merely
24	opportune."
25	Q. Could you address a couple of the discrepancies that have
	KARL - D
	691
1	appeared here?
2	A. Yes. In the first instance, this is a description, like
3	all other confessions, or what I call "death squad
4	confessions," which I mentioned earlier, that there is always
5	a pattern of attempting to distance one's own personal
6	involvement. So the kinds of confessions, the interviews that
7	I have had: "I know, I saw, I drove," but one's own personal
8	involvement is not highlighted in any of these confessions. I
9	only know of one case where somebody actually confessed to
10	what he personally did in these.
11	So what is notable in this is Mr. Saravia is telling
12	a story in which he has knowledge but he doesn't personally
13	appear as the person who sent his driver, for example.
14	So that's one of the discrepancies in the story.
15	That's a common pattern, in my view.
16	Q. And the discrepancy about the alleged conflict in
17	testimony between himself and Amado Garay?
18	A. Well, Amado Garay says that he was working for Saravia,
19	that he left from Saravia's home, that he drove the gunman,
20	that he returned to Saravia's home, so all of that would
21	implicate Mr. Saravia very, very deeply in this story, and he
22	is not telling that story in the same way.
23	Q. No. I'm talking about the conflict that the officer

recording this document notes between regarding the report to

9-3-04 Trial Transcript
25 Roberto D'Aubuisson of the mission's success.

KARL - D

692

1	Δ	Ωh	T'm	sorry.
_	Α.	OII,	T III	5011 y .

П

- 2 The Garay's testimony is that -- of that mission's
- 3 success actually is reported several days later. And so there
- 4 actually isn't an inconsistency. It's not clear from this
- 5 report here when that actually took place. So it is not
- 6 necessarily an inconsistency.
- 7 Q. Is there anything else in this document that you found
- 8 noteworthy?
- 9 A. Yes. I would like to point out a couple of other things.
- 10 On point 7, it says that: The details are incomplete
- and would be expanded only after reaching an
- 12 agreement with Saravia as to his immigration status
- and ability to safeguard his family."
- 14 It talks about additional information that he might
- 15 be able to provide, and I think the relevant part here is we
- 16 might be able to provide information -- he might be able to
- 17 provide information on how the Salvadoran court decision in
- 18 his extradition proceedings was manipulated.
- 19 It might be that the current President of the Court,
- 20 Mauricio Gutierrez, this is the man that replaces
- 21 D'Aubuisson's personal attorney, Guerrero, it might be that
- 22 the current President of the court, Mauricio Gutierrez, was
- 23 involved in that decision.
- 24 Gutierrez is certainly D'Aubuisson's man and was a
- 25 member of the previous court.

KARL - D

1	Then I would like to draw your attention to part 9
2	where it says.
3	"Next steps: If we are to exploit Saravia's full
4	potential to clear up missing pieces of the Romero
5	assassination, and possibly other cases, we will have
6	to come to an understanding with him. We are asking
7	him to provide testimony which will implicate, by
8	eyewitness testimony, D'Aubuisson in murder.
9	D'Aubuisson could resort to threats or use of
10	violence against Saravia and his family. Saravia
11	believes that his life will be in danger as soon as
12	D'Aubuisson is aware of his cooperation."
13	And then it repeats his concerns about his
14	immigration status.
15	If I could draw your attention to point 10.
16	"Our first step would be to delay Saravia's June 14th
17	hearing before the immigration judge. This should
18	not be difficult to arrange." And then it says,
19	"Comment: Done.
20	"The additional time will enable us to work with
21	Saravia and develop his information; it will also be
22	proof of our good faith. The next steps should be
23	discussed with immigration, but could include not
24	opposing the asylum request for his family and
25	working out an appropriate security arrangement. If
	KARL - D
	694

we agree to legitimize his immigration status, it should be our last act after we are certain that he has cooperated fully with us."

Page 58

1

2

4	9-3-04 Trial Transcript And then it goes on to talk about the deal in the
5	making. His immigration status is not regularized, to my
6	knowledge, to this date, so
7	Q. Professor Karl, this is contained in a communication from
8	the legal officer of San Salvadoran to Bernie Aronson?
9	A. That's right.
10	Q. The Assistant Secretary of State?
11	A. That's right.
12	Q. What happens after this document is sent, based upon the
13	materials that you have reviewed?
14	A. Okay. Then we can turn to regular cable traffic. So this
15	is the back channels detailed cable.
16	And if you could turn to Exhibit 97. This is a
17	regular cable which repeats some, but not all, of the
18	information in the cable I previously read.
19	Q. This is addressed to the Secretary from Bernard Aronson?
20	A. This is to the Secretary of State.
21	Q. It's been kicked up a level?
22	A. It's been kicked up a level, exactly. And it's called
23	"Discussions with D'Aubuisson Accomplice."
24	I think that what is most important is this is
25	following a much higher level.
	KARL - D
	695
1	It says, "We have been in contact with Alvaro
2	Saravia, formerly an accomplice of ultra rightist
3	Salvadoran politician, Roberto D'Aubuisson."
4	I'm taking this from paragraph 1. And, again, I'm
5	not going to repeat things that have already been read. But
6	let me just say that this cable says to the Secretary of the
7	United States:

Page 59

8	"Saravia has already told us that he was present when
9	D'Aubuisson ordered the 1980 assassination of
10	Archbishop Romero. While unsurprising, Saravia's
11	story is convincing. We believe that Saravia knows
12	more about the Romero case and may have additional
13	information about D'Aubuisson's involvement in death
14	squads and kidnapping-for-profit."
15	And then if I could just read one more bit of this
16	cable, the next paragraph.
17	"Obviously, we would prefer that his information be
18	used in Salvadoran prosecution, but there is little
19	prospect for this time. D'Aubuisson appears to have
20	significant control on the Salvadoran judiciary."
21	The rest of the statements repeat what I read from
22	the previous cable.
23	THE COURT: What is the date of this communication?
24	MR. Van AELSTYN: I believe it is undated.
25	THE WITNESS: It is undated.
	KARL - D
	696
1	THE COURT: Is there a stamp or anything on it?
2	THE WITNESS: There is a stamp.
3	MR. Van AELSTYN: The stamp
4	THE COURT: 9/23/93.
5	THE WITNESS: That's the declassified stamp. That
6	just shows you it was part of the declassified documents. It
7	is a top secret document, and there is no statement of a date.
8	BY MR. Van AELSTYN:

10

Page 60

THE COURT: There is a date right there.

9 Q. Could we have Exhibit 95, please.

11	9-3-04 Trial Transcript MR. Van AELSTYN: Yes, that also was
12	THE COURT: Looks like
13	MR. Van AELSTYN: May 5, 1990. That is part of the
14	declassification process. So, again, we don't know if that is
15	an accurate date or not.
16	If you go to the next page, please.
17	THE WITNESS: I don't have a copy of this up here
18	with me.
19	Exhibit 95 already notes that there have been several
20	conversations, and that they are asking the FBI to participate
21	in the interrogation of Mr. Saravia.
22	So in this document, as well, Mr. Saravia says that
23	he was D'Aubuisson's personal and private secretary. So he
24	does not identify himself as Chief of Security. He identifies
25	himself in this document as D'Aubuisson's personal and private
	KARL - D
	697
1	secretary.
2	But this is also further documentation that he was an
3	official of the Security Forces of the Constituent Assembly in
4	1983 and 1984.
5	My previous testimony said that that is the same
6	force that a death squad was operating out of in the
7	Constituent Assembly. So they do note that in the document as
8	well.
9	And if I could turn to page
10	Q. The next page of Exhibit 95?
11	A. The page prior.
12	Q. Yes.
13	A. Yes, thank you. And if you could thank you.
14	One of the concerns is that they would like to find Page 61

- 15 out who is threatening U.S. officials as well. And so the
- 16 rest of this document is about targeting U.S. officials.
- 17 There is a plot -- the first one is a plot to
- 18 assassinate the Ambassador to El Salvador from the United
- 19 States. This is the Ambassador during the Reagan and Bush
- 20 period -- the Reagan period.
- 21 And D'Aubuisson blamed U.S. intervention on his
- 22 defeat in the '84 elections. He is very angry because the
- 23 United States funded the candidacy of Duarte, and there are a
- 24 number of reports that D'Aubuisson is going to kill the U.S.
- 25 Ambassador.

П

KARL - D

- 1 As a result of these reports, which are taken
- 2 extremely seriously by the United States, the United States
- 3 sends General Vernon Walters to speak to D'Aubuisson about
- 4 the -- about this charge that he is trying to assassinate the
- 5 United States.
- 6 There is also charges about drive-by shootings at the
- 7 U.S. Embassy.
- 8 And if I could draw your attention also to the
- 9 declaration of California Representative George Miller.
- 10 O. It was submitted in this case?
- 11 A. Yes, it was submitted in this case. Representative Miller
- 12 testifies in his declaration, he says that he is warned by
- 13 U.S. officials that Roberto D'Aubuisson is sending a security
- 14 man to, quote, and this is his language, "investigate
- 15 Representative Miller for the positions he is taking inside
- 16 the U.S. Congress."
- 17 And they warn Representative Miller that actually he

_	_				
9_	ια_	()4	Trıal	Trans	crint

- 18 is in danger. They also say that he should not go to
- 19 El Salvador. He cancels a trip to El Salvador.
- 20 So now they are asking Mr. Saravia to also try to
- 21 shed light on these attacks against U.S. Embassy and U.S.
- 22 officials.

П

- 23 Q. To your knowledge, Professor Karl, what became of these
- 24 negotiations with Mr. Saravia in May, approximately, of 1990?
- 25 A. Well, I think what is especially important is that

KARL - D

- 1 Mr. Saravia is, to my knowledge, his immigration status is
- 2 never regularized, and that was supposed to be according to
- 3 these cables, the last act of a series of negotiations. So
- 4 that does not occur. And that means that Mr. Saravia's
- 5 immigration status is irregular.
- 6 Q. Has there been any prosecution of Roberto D'Aubuisson or
- 7 Mr. Saravia, to your knowledge?
- 8 A. There has not been any prosecution, but there has been
- 9 further attempts to discover what happened in the Romero
- 10 assassination from Mr. Saravia.
- 11 Q. What were those?
- 12 A. Those attempts came in the process of some -- some
- 13 background, if I may.
- 14 In 1992, the -- both sides in the Salvadoran Civil
- 15 War signed a peace agreement that was sponsored by the United
- 16 Nations and negotiated from the Secretary General's office of
- 17 the United Nations.
- 18 Q. What was the date of the agreement?
- 19 A. January 1st, 1992.
- 20 Q. So approximately six months after these meetings with
- 21 Mr. Saravia?

- 22 A. That's right. So there is a peace agreement now that has
- 23 been signed in El Salvador. Mr. Saravia is in the United
- 24 States at the time, as far as we know.
- 25 When the peace agreement is signed, the peace

KARL - D

700

- 1 agreement establishes what is called the "Truth Commission,"
- 2 and that is a commission which is charged with investigating
- 3 not all crimes in El Salvador, because there are far too many,
- 4 but a number of murders, assassinations, death squad killings,
- 5 formal military killings of civilians, et cetera.
- 6 And it conducts an investigation of these. As part
- 7 of this investigation, Mr. Saravia is interviewed in New York
- 8 for the Truth Commission, and he has an attorney with him,
- 9 although it is no longer the same high-priced attorney that he
- 10 had in Miami.

- 11 So he is now operating in a different way. He gives
- 12 a secret -- he gives a series of statements to the Truth
- 13 Commission in secret. Those statements are recorded. There
- 14 are summaries of them and there are transcripts of them, and I
- 15 have seen most of them. Not all.
- 16 Q. Okay. Is there anything of particular note that you want
- 17 to mention about these documents before we move on?
- 18 A. Well, I think I would just like to say that in those
- 19 testimonies, they are the fullest statements that I have seen
- 20 of Mr. Saravia's discussion of the Romero assassination.
- 21 And in those statements to the Truth Commission,
- 22 accompanied by his lawyer, given in New York City, Mr. Saravia
- 23 states that Roberto D'Aubuisson brought arms, including arms
- 24 for death squad assassinations, and for this particular

9-3-04 Trial Transcript 25 action, that he introduces them clandestinely into El Salvador

KARL - D

701

- 1 to Guatemala in the United States.
- 2 He testifies as to how the videos are made to be
- 3 shown in military barracks. He testifies to the group
- 4 receiving money and to some of the financiers behind the money
- 5 that they were raising.

П

- 6 Mr. Saravia says that he, Mr. Saravia, knew who
- 7 provided the red Volkswagen to be driven to the assassination
- 8 of Archbishop Romero.
- 9 He says -- Mr. Saravia says that he -- again,
- 10 Mr. Saravia -- participated in a meeting the day after the
- 11 assassination, and present in that meeting was this President
- 12 of the Supreme Court, Francisco Guerrero. So it was a meeting
- 13 about the assassination.
- 14 Q. He was not the President of the Supreme Court at that
- 15 time, was he?
- 16 A. He was not President of the Supreme Court at the time this
- 17 testimony is given. But at the time the meeting occurred,
- 18 Mr. Saravia -- at the time Mr. Saravia gets -- Mr. Guerrero
- 19 gets to Mr. Saravia's attention, he knows him as President of
- 20 the Supreme Court.
- 21 Q. I see.
- 22 A. So just to be clear, he was not President of the Supreme
- 23 Court when Mr. Saravia says that Mr. Guerrero took part in
- 24 these meetings. But Mr. Saravia identifies him as President
- 25 of the Supreme Court, and that's because he says in the

KARL - D

- 1 testimony that he knows that he is the person -- Mr. Guerrero
- 2 is the person who helped intervene in his extradition hearing.
- 3 So that is how he knows of him so well. That's one
- 4 of the ways he knows him and that's the way he identifies him
- 5 in these testimonies.
- 6 He says that the plan to murder the Archbishop was
- 7 widely known among a group of landowners who helped to pay for
- 8 it. That the Archbishop's murder actually helped them a great
- 9 deal, this group, because it permitted them to continue fund
- 10 raising. It gave them a lot of prestige among the landowners
- 11 because they had been involved in the assassination of
- 12 Archbishop Romero.
- And he repeats something that I have found out from
- 14 other sources, that because there is so much prestige
- 15 associated with the murder of Archbishop Romero in this
- 16 particular group, that a number of people are claiming credit
- 17 for being involved in it who weren't actually involved.
- And, finally, he also confirms, once again, that he
- 19 calls Mr. D'Aubuisson from prison in Miami, that he gets his
- 20 lawyer from Mr. D'Aubuisson. He says that ARENA women raised
- 21 \$250,000 to help his family while he, Mr. Saravia, is in jail
- 22 in Miami. And he once again says that he was freed through
- 23 the efforts of the President of the Supreme Court,
- 24 Mr. Guerrero.

25 Q. Okay. Professor Karl, do you have any opinion with regard

KARL - D

- 1 to the impact of Monseñor Romero's assassination?
- 2 A. I do.
- 3 Q. And what is that?

~ ~ ~ 4		_	
Q = A = UA	Traal	Trancc	rınt
J J U <del>T</del>	II I a I	Transc	ıpt

- 4 A. I think that there are a number of ways you can measure
- 5 the impact. I should say that I do not feel qualified to talk
- 6 about his theological impact or his religious impact inside
- 7 the Church.
- 8 But we look for what we call "cultural indicators,"
- 9 for example. So the fact that there are plays about
- 10 Archbishop Romero that are in -- that are put on in France and
- 11 in Germany and the United States, in Latin America, in Spain.
- 12 The fact that there are novels about him. The fact that there
- 13 are at least nine biographies that I know of about him. The
- 14 fact that he has thousands and thousands of entries on the
- 15 Internet and depending on whether you enter his complete name
- 16 or not, you get a difference in those numbers, but at least
- 17 14,000 entries.
- The fact that there is a requiem written in his honor
- 19 from Harvard University. The fact that there is a major
- 20 Hollywood film starring Raul Julia called "Romero."
- The fact that there are medical clinics, community
- 22 centers, bearing his name, including one here in Fresno called
- 23 the Archbishop Romero Center.
- 24 The fact that there are academic scholarships
- 25 carrying his name, including the Oscar Romero Sage Scholars

KARL - D

704

- 1 Program at the University of California at Berkeley.
- 2 All of those are indicators of the reach of
- 3 Archbishop Romero and his importance.
- 4 Q. So, without doubt, it appears that his importance is
- 5 great.

П

- 6 What was the impact of the killing of this important
- 7 man?

- 8 A. I think that the killing of Archbishop Romero was one of
- 9 the most important events provoking a civil war in
- 10 El Salvador. It's very important that when this occurs, there
- 11 is no civil war, and there is an ability to stop the violence
- 12 in El Salvador.
- 13 In my view, as a political scientist, a bridge
- 14 person, somebody who could try to build consensus within the
- 15 moderate right, the center and the moderate left, could in
- 16 fact have avoided a civil war in El Salvador.
- 17 So the fact that that bridge, which I, Robert White,
- 18 and others, identify as Archbishop Romero, as the most
- 19 important person who could have been a bridge to come up with
- 20 an agreement that would have had a nonviolent solution to
- 21 El Salvador's problems or a non civil war solution to
- 22 El Salvador's problems, the fact that that bridge is removed,
- 23 means that El Salvador starts to descend into civil war.
- 24 Q. And how did that happen and how fast does that happen?
- 25 A. It happens very fast. It happens very fast. Let me give

KARL - D

705

- 1 you some examples of how fast it happens.
- 2 The first thing that happens is the importance of the
- 3 arrest at San Luis Finca of the coup plotters that also
- 4 have -- that are also implicated by their papers in the
- 5 involvement and murder of Archbishop Romero.
- 6 Because of that event and because the reformists are
- 7 pushed out of the military and the hardliners take over, it
- 8 means that there is no countervailing force inside the
- 9 military to stop the state terror that is being launched by
- 10 hardline Salvadorans.

П

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript And does that level of terror increase? 11
- 12 That level of terror increases quite dramatically. But
- 13 prior to showing you that exactly in statistics, there is a
- 14 couple of other pieces that I think will show why that's so.
- 15 So his murder removes the bridge. It is one of the
- pieces that removes the countervailing force inside the 16
- 17 military of a more reformist or moderate way of dealing with
- 18 the problems of El Salvador.
- But it also helps to destroy the center and -- which 19
- 20 was one of the goals. And I had testified that earlier, that
- 21 that was Roberto D'Aubuisson's goal, to tar the center and to
- 22 identify it as Communist so it would in fact not be able to
- act as a political center. 23
- 24 But furthermore, it is one of the most important
- events unifying the left. And it's important, again, that 25

KARL - D

706

- there is no unified armed or unarmed left at this time. 1
- 2 This time being the --
- A. The murder of Archbishop Romero. 3
- 4 So what happens, first, in the unarmed, or the
- nonviolent left, his murder results in the unification less 5
- than one month later, in April 1980, of what is called the 6
- 7 "Frente Democratico Revolucionario," or the FDR, which is the
- first organization in the history of El Salvador to unite all 8
- 9 factions of the unarmed left and much of the center.
- So what this shows is it reflects the extent to which 10
- the actions of military hardliners had actually destroyed the 11
- 12 center already and driven moderates of the center to ally with
- the left. So it actually pushes some of the center to the 13
- 14 right and the rest of the center to the left, and destroys the Page 69

- 15 center. It further polarizes the country.
- 16 And Archbishop Romero actually becomes their rallying
- 17 cry. It is actually his murder that ends up splitting the
- 18 center and making the unification of the left -- he becomes
- 19 the rallying cry for the unification of the unarmed left.
- 20 What is important about this is the FDR is formed and
- 21 there are six civilian leaders of the FDR. They are all
- 22 subsequently murdered by the Salvadoran military and security
- 23 forces on one day.

П

- 24 Q. On one day, all --
- 25 A. On one day. And, therefore, not only destroyed the bridge KARL D

- 1 that might be able to be the bridge in the series of
- 2 negotiations, but you have also destroyed the moderate and
- 3 unarmed left that would have been the negotiators.
- 4 And so that means that those two pieces are not
- 5 there, and they are critical for any avoidance of civil war.
- 6 Q. Approximately when were the six FDR leaders killed?
- 7 A. November or October 1980.
- 8 Q. Is there anything else going on on the left at that time?
- 9 A. Yes. The other thing that is happening at this time, and
- 10 again, I believe this is very much linked to the destruction
- of the center and the kinds of events that were catalyzed by
- 12 Archbishop Romero's murder, the five armed factions that I
- 13 discussed earlier unite for the first time and form the Frente
- 14 Farabundo Marti para La Liberacíon, or what is called the
- 15 "FMLN."
- 16 This is the first guerilla army united under a single
- 17 command. This is a formation of an opposition army with many

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript new recruits now because they are being -- people are running 18
- 19 to them not only because of the assassination of Archbishop
- 20 Romero, but because of the huge state terror that is now going
- 21 on in the country. They are actually recruiting on this
- 22 basis. And so you have a very rapid growth of an armed army
- 23 on -- of opposition.

П

- 24 So now we have two armies in El Salvador. One is the
- 25 Salvadoran military and security forces. The second is the

KARL - D

- 1 FMLN. And now we are descending basically into a state of
- civil war. So we have moved, catalyzed by his assassination, 2
- 3 from widespread social conflict to a state of civil war.
- Before the year is out? 4 Q.
- 5 Before the year is out.
- And what were the costs of that war? 6 Q.
- 7 I don't really even know where to begin.
- 8 The war resulted, depending on how you -- whose count
- 9 you accept, in somewhere between 75,000 and 85,000 deaths.
- 75,000 is the statistic that is generally used by 10
- 11 organizations like USAID. The World Bank uses 80,000.
- 12 Salvadoran Church uses 85,000, but they include people who
- 13 have been disappeared. For example --
- 14 Q. Professor Karl, if I may back up for a moment. Are these
- total deaths during the war combatants? 15
- 16 A. No, this is only the death of civilian noncombatants.
- 17 have no knowledge of how many combatants have died. So the
- total I am giving you, these numbers are civilians. They do 18
- 19 not, in general, include people like Pedro N. Martinez.
- 20 O. Who was that?
- A. That is the man -- and I want to correct the record. I 21 Page 71

- 22 called him Nelson Martinez, and his name is Pedro N. Martinez.
- 23 He is the man that we saw in the photos carrying Archbishop
- 24 Romero's body out of the church after he has been murdered.
- 25 He is the man wearing the tie. His name is Pedro N. Martinez,

KARL - D

709

- 1 and somebody who has been disappeared, meaning he has been
- 2 taken by a group of men and his body has never been found,
- 3 someone like him, we have no accurate count.
- 4 Q. And so the number of disappeared may or may not be
- 5 included in the estimates of civilian deaths?
- 6 A. Right. And those estimates, as I said, range from 75,000
- 7 to 85,000. This is in a country of approximately 5 million
- 8 people.

- 9 One of the things I would like to say is that the
- 10 beginning of this massive state terror, because the
- 11 overwhelming majority of civilians are murdered by the
- 12 Salvadoran security -- military and security forces and the
- 13 death squads, and I will show you some evidence in a moment of
- 14 that.
- But what is so important is that Archbishop Romero is
- 16 murdered on March 24th.
- 17 In February, the statistics for deaths in
- 18 El Salvador -- and I want to say that all of these statistics
- 19 have to be taken as broad indicators, because it was
- 20 impossible to gather fully accurate statistics under these
- 21 conditions. But in February 1980, before Archbishop Romero's
- 22 assassination, there were 230 deaths recorded by the Catholic
- 23 Church in El Salvador by the Office of the Archdiocese.
- 24 Q. When you say deaths, do you mean death squad killings?

				9-3-04 Tri	al Trans	cript		
25	Α.	Murders	of	civilians,	what we	call	political	killings.

KARL - D

710

- 1 Q. Approximately 230 in the month before?
- 2 A. 237 in the month of February 1980.
- 3 Archbishop Romero is killed on March 24th. And by
- 4 June, the numbers of murdered are running about 1,000 a month,
- 5 which is an extraordinary statistic in a country this small.
- I can give you some sense of the scale of this, if I
- 7 may have Exhibit 160. I just want to show you that these --
- 8 this is what's called a "Scale of Terror." This is how we
- 9 measure terror.
- 10 And without going through the whole thing, what is
- 11 important is the highest levels, the orange and red, the
- 12 level --

П

- 13 Q. Level VIII terror?
- 14 A. Levels VI through VIII. And what happens after the murder
- of Archbishop Romero is we actually are moving up the scale,
- 16 we are moving towards the red, and very, very quickly.
- 17 So that change in monthly statistics from 237 to
- 18 1,000 from February to June is actually a rapid shooting up
- 19 toward the red in the Scale of Terror. And so we are moving
- 20 in what we call mass -- a situation of mass state terror.
- 21 If I may have Exhibit 161, Please. This is from the
- 22 U.N. Truth Commission, which I talked about earlier. What I
- 23 want to point out here is not only are the numbers rising, but
- 24 the type of state terror has changed dramatically.
- These are some important events that I have put on

KARL - D

- 1 this. And what I would like to just highlight on this, you
- 2 can see the Romero assassination. What I would like to
- 3 highlight is San Francisco Guajoyo, Rio Sumpul, and a number
- 4 of others, El Mozote, for example, Los Hojas, all of those are
- 5 massacres.
- 6 Rio Sumpul, for example, the estimate ranges,
- 7 depending on whose testimony you accept on this, or whose
- 8 statistic you accept on this, between 600 and 800 people
- 9 massacred at that one massacre.
- 10 El Mozote ranges between 700 and 1,000, again,
- 11 depending on the names and records you examine.
- 12 So we have moved from killing people in operations,
- 13 meaning that you move in a house and you kill one or two
- 14 people, to now massacres that are happening with great
- 15 regularity and are occurring throughout this period. We are
- 16 moving to an absolutely different level of terror.
- 17 If I may have Exhibit 156, please. This is a pie
- 18 chart that I made to show how the -- what the compilation of
- 19 the complaints given to the Truth Commission is. The Truth
- 20 Commission, after the Salvadoran Peace Agreements, asked
- 21 Salvadorans to come forward and actually file a complaint with
- 22 them.

П

- There was a great deal of fear at this time because
- 24 the regular army and security forces had not been disbanded at
- 25 all and were still in power. So there was a great deal of

KARL - D

- 1 reluctance to come forward. And yet the Truth Commission was
- 2 able to gather 22,000 complaints.
- 3 I have shown you those complaints based on the

4	9-3-04 Trial Transcript testimony of who people say took their loved ones or the
5	people who were disappeared, murdered, et cetera. So these
6	complaints are categorized by who they identify as the
7	perpetrator, if I can put it that way.
8	And if you see under Persons Reported to Have
9	Committed the Violence, 60 percent are armed forces personnel.
10	That means they are identified in uniform.
11	20 percent military escorts and civil defense units.
12	That means military escorts are again in uniform. Civil
13	defense units is the old ORDEN or the paramilitary, and those
14	people are often recognized by villagers because they live in
15	the community and they know them.
16	25 percent are members of the security forces.
17	Again, that means the security forces and not the regular
18	armed forces. And that's, for example, the police, the
19	Treasury Police, the National Police, for example, or the
20	National Guard. They are not considered the Salvadoran army
21	or Air Force.
22	And then, finally, 10 percent are death squads, which
23	are a description of armed men in civilian clothes.
24	And finally, 5 percent are people who are recognized
25	or identified as the FMLN, which is the guerilla army that is
	KARL - D
	713
1	formed in opposition to the government.

2 The other thing that I want to show is that between

3 1980, the assassination of Archbishop Romero, and 1983, ending

4 with 1983, which is the visit of Vice-president Bush reading

5 the riot act to the Salvadoran High Command, that is when the

6 overwhelming number of abuses occur.

7 And when I say that, I want to be very careful, Page 75

- 8 because El Salvador is still, '84, '85, '86, '87, '88, '89,
- 9 '90, '91 and '92, and significantly past the peace agreements,
- 10 one of the leading human rights abusers in Latin America.
- 11 So it moves from massive state terror to what we call
- 12 targeted state terror. It's still state terror, but it's a
- 13 lower level.
- 14 Q. How does that level of terror that exists in El Salvador
- 15 compare with that we are familiar with in other Latin American
- 16 countries?
- 17 A. May I have Exhibit 154, please. The compilation of deaths
- 18 shoots up enormously, again right after Archbishop Romero's
- 19 assassination. It goes from a little over 1,000 in 1979 to
- 20 11,895 in 1980. So that's a huge increase, again, in just
- 21 that period of time.
- 22 If you take the estimates of the civilian murders,
- 23 which I have done here, and you compare them by population to
- 24 two other military authoritarian regimes, which are quite well
- 25 known for their violation of human rights -- one is the

KARL - D

714

- 1 Pinochet government, Chile, 1973 to 1990. That's the one on
- 2 the far right. The other one is the Argentinian military from
- 3 1976 to 1987 -- and you compare them on a per capita basis, if
- 4 I can say that, and you look at the estimates of civilian
- 5 murders, you will see that even though Chile and El Salvador
- 6 are often better known as cases, El Salvador has had a far,
- 7 far, far greater number of murders.
- 8 This is one of civilian murders. This is one of the
- 9 most egregious examples of state terror. It is one of the
- 10 probably two most egregious examples of state terror in the

- 11 history of Latin America.
- 12 Q. In addition to the violence, were there other costs
- 13 associated with this period of conflict in El Salvador?
- 14 A. Again, there is tremendous economic and societal
- 15 destruction.
- I was trying to give you just some indicators of it,
- 17 because it is very difficult to measure the loss to a country
- 18 of a decade of civil war. It usually involves generations of
- 19 loss from a development point of view. So a country is
- 20 actually pushed backwards and dedeveloped during civil war,
- 21 and it's very hard to give exact numbers of that. But I would
- 22 like to point out some numbers that might give an indication.
- 23 Infrastructure damage was estimated by USAID as \$2.2
- 24 billion alone. And by that, I mean damage to schools,
- 25 hospitals, clinics, roads, energy plants, factories, et

KARL - D

715

- 1 cetera. That was also the estimate that was used by the United
- 2 Nations Development Program. You can also --
- 3 Q. \$2.2 billion?
- 4 A. In a country of 5 million people, that's right.
- 5 If you look at the pattern of public expenditures,
- 6 you can also see some of the impacts of this. And I have
- 7 taken this from a normal set of statistics that come from the
- 8 IMF, the International Monetary Fund, the government of
- 9 El Salvador, the World Bank, et cetera, these are our normal
- 10 sources, and I would like to give, again, some indication of
- 11 what this has meant to El Salvador.
- 12 First of all, health expenditures in El Salvador by
- 13 the end of the war were only a third of Latin American
- 14 averages. In other words, they couldn't spend any money on Page 77

- 15 health at a time when so, so many people were dying. A third
- 16 of the average.
- 17 The country's domestic investment, which is so
- 18 important, because without domestic investment, you can't
- 19 grow, drops from 22 percent of gross national product to 12
- 20 percent between the years 1979 and 1989. This is a huge drop.
- 21 And it means that the future of the economy is jeopardized.
- Per capita income, which is already extremely low,
- 23 drops by 25 percent. The literacy among adults becomes almost
- 24 twice the average in Latin America. Infant mortality is much
- 25 higher than the average of Latin America.

KARL - D

716

- 1 And the military expenditures in El Salvador, which
- 2 is money that cannot be used for welfare, are the highest in
- 3 Latin America during this period, with the exception of
- 4 Nicaragua.

П

- 5 Q. Professor Karl, you -- in discussing all of this monetary
- 6 reflection of the conflict, you mentioned before that you did
- 7 review the declaration of Representative George Miller.
- 8 Didn't he discuss U.S. aid to El Salvador at this time?
- 9 A. Yes. And what is very striking is El Salvador, at this
- 10 point in history, is the third largest recipient of U.S. aid.
- 11 Q. Are there any approximations of the amount of U.S. aid
- 12 during this period?
- 13 A. I think -- I actually don't remember his actual number,
- 14 but I believe it's about \$6 billion, and it comes out to about
- 15 a million dollars a day during the conflict.
- 16 So what is extraordinary is that with all this money
- 17 pouring in, you have all this tremendous economic and societal

18 loss.

П

- 19 And that continues, by the way. Because the war is
- 20 over, the patterns of violence continue in the country, so
- 21 that El Salvador today has one of the highest homicide rates
- 22 in the world, one of the highest murder rates in the world,
- 23 and is now one of the most violent countries in the world.
- 24 Q. To what extent, in your opinion, are those levels of
- 25 violence still related to state terror --

KARL - D

- 1 A. Well --
- 2 Q. -- or political violence?
- 3 A. I think two points here. One is there has been a profound
- 4 psychological disruption of the population in El Salvador. A
- 5 number of people have been displaced.
- 6 And the numbers are extraordinary here. This is a
- 7 country in which one-third of the population was displaced
- 8 from its home. 600,000, at least, in internal refugee camps.
- 9 They are called "internally displaced." Those numbers come
- 10 from the United Nations.
- And probably, we don't know the exact number because
- 12 so many are illegal, but at least a million people who leave
- 13 the country, most of them coming to the United States.
- 14 So there is this tremendous disruption of the
- 15 population and a tremendous psychological disruption for those
- 16 who come here or stay behind.
- 17 And what is important in that is that we see the same
- 18 pattern in that psychological disruption. The kind of cruelty
- 19 you see in El Salvador is extremely difficult to describe.
- 20 The kind of cruelty that I have personally seen in
- 21 El Salvador.

I described events in my previous testimony about

23	people being tortured. I described seeing a woman with her
24	left breast cut off. I described graphic pictures of torture.
25	I think we identified pictures of death squad killings. I
	KARL - D
	718
1	showed pictures of El Playon, the body dumps. I have
2	personally viewed numbers of people who have been tortured and
3	interviewed them.
4	The inability of family members to even identify
5	their the bodies of their loved ones, because their faces
6	are smashed. The inability of people to cope with the
7	condition of their son or their daughter or their mother or
8	their father who is missing body parts, whose legs are cut
9	off, whose thumb may be cut off, whose tongue may be cut off,
10	all of those things has led to what psychologists call a
11	constant problem of disassociation; very high incidences of
12	psychosomatic complaints; nightmares, fear of being
13	recognized; constant reliving of trauma; memory problems; and
14	a profound sense of loss that affects every single Salvadoran
15	that I have ever interviewed and certainly every single one
16	that has testified in this court.
17	There are people who testified in this court, like
18	Father Jon Cortina, who did not say that virtually every
19	single priest that he has worked with in his life in
20	El Salvador is now dead.
21	So there is a profound set of psychological
22	dislocations as well, and a profound fear that affects the
23	ability of Salvadorans to come forward and testify. It is a
24	very brave thing to do, if I can put it that way. People are

_	_	_		
1		Cal	vadoi	_

П

- 2 Q. And are these fears today entirely psychosomatic?
- 3 A. No, they are not entirely psychosomatic.
- 4 If I may, my own research in El Salvador continues,
- 5 really, through the year 2000, and I would like to say one or
- 6 two highlights to show that people have reason to still be
- 7 afraid.
- 8 In 1995, it was clear that there were still death
- 9 squads operating out of the new National Civilian Police,
- 10 which is the reformed police after the peace agreements; a
- 11 death squad that called itself the Black Shadow Death Squad.
- 12 In 1997, that death squad was operating directly out
- of the Public Security Ministry, which is the public
- 14 intelligence agency of the National Civilian Police.
- 15 This, by the way, has been widely reported in the
- 16 U.S. press, including one report by the Chicago Tribune about
- 17 how the Black Shadow has threatened to execute six judges, and
- 18 that one of those jurists who was threatened to be killed
- 19 tried to resign, but his resignation was rejected by the
- 20 Supreme Court and all six have subsequently demanded
- 21 protection. And the Black Shadow continues to appear.
- There is also another death squad that appears in
- 23 1996 that calls itself the Major Roberto D'Aubuisson
- 24 Nationalist Force in its communiques. And it threatens to
- 25 execute foreign journalists, any dissidents inside ARENA and

KARL - D

- what it calls "false nationalists."
- 2 And it is the one that the U.S. Embassy has
- 3 identified in bombing, actually, the house of the President of
- 4 El Salvador during the split in the ARENA Party.
- 5 And I think further evidence of fear and reason to
- 6 fear is that the governing party is ARENA to this date. In
- 7 1997, when Mr. Calderon Sol became President of ARENA, he went
- 8 to the grave of D'Aubuisson to pay respects to the grave.
- 9 And he said the following. This is in 1997, the last
- 10 time that I was able to follow this as closely inside the
- 11 party. He said, quote, "Roberto, we know you never died."
- 12 And he is standing in front of the tomb of Roberto
- 13 D'Aubuisson. He is, by the way, surrounded by TV cameras, so
- 14 this is all on television and being shown all over
- 15 El Salvador. He says, "Roberto, we know you never died. You
- 16 live on in all of us."
- 17 So on television, the President of El Salvador is
- 18 paying homage to the man who is repeatedly identified as the
- 19 murderer of Archbishop Romero.
- 20 O. Calderon Sol became the President of El Salvador?
- 21 A. That's right.

- 22 Q. What does this tell us about the institutions of
- 23 government in El Salvador?
- 24 A. Well, I think that the Supreme Court and the way that it
- 25 is -- I think that there is real -- there is de jure and de

KARL - D

- 1 facto power in El Salvador. That the messages that are
- 2 constantly being sent is that Roberto D'Aubuisson is the
- 3 founder of the party in government. He is an honored person.

4	9-3-04 Trial Transcript He is considered, if I may, a hero to them. They always pay
5	homage to his tomb.
6	It means that the Legislature, where there has been a
7	death squad operating, the Supreme Court, which has been
8	manipulated, the governing party, all of this, sends the
9	signal that something is still not right in the country of
10	El Salvador.
11	And I think that what is so important about this, if
12	I may say, in conclusion to my testimony, is that
13	El Salvador's civil war is framed by two extraordinarily
14	important murders. And when I say that, I'm speaking as
15	political murders. Obviously, every murder in El Salvador is
16	important. But two extraordinarily important murders.
17	The catalyst for civil war, one of the main catalysts
18	is the murder of Archbishop Romero. But when this occurs, the
19	people who carry it out try to hide their responsibility by
20	using death squads. They try to show El Salvador that, look,
21	you we can kill an Archbishop; we can kill anyone. But
22	they do that in a secret way, trying to disassociate
23	themselves from the military High Command, trying not to show
24	the links with the military.

25 The civil war in El Salvador ends. The catalytic

KARL - D

- event to end it is in 1999, November 16th, with the murder of six Jesuit priests.
- But this time, when these priests are killed, the
- 4 decision to murder them is taken inside the High Command, with
- 5 members of the High Command holding hands and making a
- 6 collective decision to kill six Jesuit priests. To do it
- 7 inside the institution, not to bother with the death squad.
  Page 83

8	It has this murder of six Jesuits who were the
9	colleagues of Father Cortina, who testified here, and who only
10	wasn't murdered because he was not at the home where he
11	sleeps, where the priests sleep.

Jesuit priests -- this is a picture that was shown earlier, in which you see Archbishop Romero, but you also see one of the

If I may have Exhibit 101. This murder of the six

- 15 priests that was murdered, Father Ellacurría.
- 16 Q. This is the photograph that the Reverend Wipfler showed to
- 17 us in the press conference following Monseñor Romero's final
- 18 homily?

12

П

- 19 A. That's right. So this is a civil war that is framed by
- 20 the murder of priests. The priests that were murdered on
- 21 November 16th, 1989, their murder so significantly shocked the
- 22 United States that it led to what was going to be the clear
- 23 removal of U.S. military aid unless the Salvadoran government
- 24 began to negotiate a peace agreement. So it is this event
- 25 that catalyzes the peace agreement in El Salvador.

KARL - D

723

1	Several of the priests who were murdered, including
2	Father Ellacurría in this picture, had been offered Tinker
3	visiting professorships at Stanford University, where I teach
4	And I called them personally on November 14th, because I had
5	grown so acute in my understanding of pattern and practice
6	that I knew they were going to die.

7 So I called Father Ignacio Martin-Baro up, and I 8 pleaded with him to leave the country. I told him that we had 9 visiting professorships for them. They were the President and 10 the Rector of the Central American University, the UCA. I was

$\alpha_{-3}$	Traal	Transcript
3-3-U <del>1</del>	III I a I	II alisti ibt

- 11 so sure that they would be murdered, I asked them to leave.
- 12 And they said that, like Monseñor Romero, they needed to stay
- 13 in El Salvador.
- 14 And after they were killed, I thought about their
- 15 decision. And I thought about something that Father
- 16 Martin-Baro said to me in trying to encourage me in my own
- 17 work, which has been very difficult, in El Salvador.
- 18 He said, "The worst thing that could happen is not
- 19 that Monseñor Romero was killed, but the very worst thing that
- 20 could happen would be if he continued to die over and over
- 21 again because the truth would be buried with him."
- 22 MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, Professor Karl. I have
- 23 no further questions.

- 24 THE COURT: Thank you, Professor Karl. You may step
- 25 down. I said we would try to make up a little time.

- 1 MR. Van AELSTYN: I have a couple of housekeeping
- 2 matters, your Honor, if we could address those. There are a
- 3 number of exhibits that have not been admitted into evidence
- 4 that we would like to request their admission.
- 5 The first are those Exhibits 98, 99 and 158, for
- 6 which we submitted a written request that they be admitted
- 7 into evidence as self-authenticating documents. These are the
- 8 United Nations Truth Commission Report of March 15, 1993, and
- 9 that is Exhibit 98.
- 10 Exhibit 99 is the Inter-American Commission of Human
- 11 Rights Decision in the matter of Monseñor Romero's killing.
- 12 And also Exhibit 158, which was a report of a
- 13 Congressional caucus concerning violence in El Salvador.
- And as I mentioned, these are the subject of a Page 85

	9-3-04 Trial Transcript
15	written request for their admission into evidence as
16	self-authenticating documents under the public records
17	exception to the hearsay rule, 803(8)(C).
18	And then there are a few others. Would you like for
19	me to go through them all right now?
20	THE COURT: Let's focus on these first three. In one
21	area, there was a request for judicial notice of some of these
22	documents.
23	And under 201(b) of the Federal Rules, "A judicially
24	noticed fact must be one not subject to reasonable
25	dispute, in that it is either generally known within
	725
1	the territorial jurisdiction of the trial court; or
2	two, capable of accurate and ready determination by
3	resort to sources whose accuracy cannot reasonably be
4	questioned."
5	And what is often the case, courts are asked to take
6	judicial notice of proceedings of other courts, of documents,
7	pleadings, of commission reports. And what I believe the law
8	requires is that without the indisputable, if you will, nature
9	of the contents, we can take notice that these are officially
10	constituted, in the case of the Truth Commission, a report by
11	the agency that authorized, ordered and implemented its
12	preparation and completion.

As to the other two, the Inter-American Commission, and the report of the -- I believe was that a Congressional 14 15 committee?

MR. Van AELSTYN: Congressional caucus. 16

THE COURT: Congressional caucus. Again, those are 17

	0.2.04 Tuis] Tagasanist
18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript reports that are conducted by government. It does not
19	necessarily establish the truth of everything that's in those
20	reports. It doesn't establish, quite frankly, the
21	admissibility that is everything that is of everything in
22	the reports.
23	And so there are hundreds of pages of materials here.
24	And what I think is preferable is that for the foundation
25	under 803(8), I need to be provided with the circumstances of
	726
1	the report's preparation, the agency and authority that was
2	preparing it, to determine if we will be able to qualify in
3	the following respect.
4	The rule specifically calls for: "Records, reports,
5	statements or data compilations in any form of public
6	offices or agencies, setting forth activities of the
7	office or agency, matters imposed by and pursuant to
8	a duty under law to report; excluding in criminal
9	cases, matters observed by police officers and law
10	enforcement personnel, or in civil actions or
11	proceedings, and against the government in criminal
12	cases, factual findings resulting from an
13	investigation made pursuant to authority granted by
14	law," which I think we are getting very close to that
15	subsection C, if you will, exception to the public
16	report admissibility exception to the hearsay rule.
17	In other words, it's an exception to the exception.
18	And so I do have some concern about the overall admissibility
19	of these and I don't think we have time, if we took the whole
20	day on it, to go through every document and every entry.
21	And so what I will do is I will take judicial notice Page 87

- 22 of the existence of these reports and that they are in fact
- 23 true and authentic copies of the reports prepared by those
- 24 agencies.

25 And if there is a foundational statement, I would

- 1 like you to supplement the exhibits to provide the
- 2 foundational statement about who the author of the report is,
- 3 under what authority -- second, under what authority the
- 4 report was promulgated; third, a brief description of the
- 5 circumstances concerning the mechanics of reporting, in other
- 6 words, how information was gathered, how information was
- 7 verified, what was done to assure the reliability and/or
- 8 accuracy of the contents of what is contained in the reports,
- 9 and then I will have a better ability to determine the
- 10 applicability of the 803 subsection 8 exception and the sub C
- 11 exception to the exception.
- 12 MR. Van AELSTYN: I appreciate that, your Honor. We
- 13 will be very happy to provide the foundational material in
- 14 writing, I assume it would be the preference of the Court.
- 15 THE COURT: I think that would be most appropriate.
- 16 MR. Van AELSTYN: Is there a time by which the Court
- 17 would like to receive that?
- 18 THE COURT: Again, I will let you set the time that
- 19 it will take you to do it. In other words, I would like to
- 20 have it as soon as possible, but I recognize that you are away
- 21 from your law offices and the equipment you need to prepare
- 22 it.
- 23 And so I will let you tell me what would be a
- 24 reasonable time to provide it.

- 1 we will get back to you on that.
- 2 THE COURT: Yes.

П

- MR. Van AELSTYN: There are a few other exhibits that 3
- 4 have been marked for identification thus far only. First, we
- have Exhibits 45 and 46. 5
- THE COURT: Those are the photos. 6
- 7 MR. Van AELSTYN: Of Roberto D'Aubuisson.
- 8 THE COURT: Those are received in evidence.
- MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, your Honor. 9
- 10 (Plaintiff's Exhibits 45 and 46 were received.)
- MR. Van AELSTYN: And we have the two new 11
- 12 declassified documents, which were identified as Exhibits 224
- 13 and 225, and which Professor Karl identified as being part of
- the same set. 14
- THE COURT: Those can come in under the same 15
- 16 exception, the public records exception. Those are U.S.
- 17 government documents. Those are received in evidence.
- 18 MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, your Honor.
- (Plaintiff's Exhibits 224 and 225 were received.) 19
- 20 MR. Van AELSTYN: And, lastly, we would like to
- return to an issue touched on --21
- THE COURT: Again, not necessarily for the truth of 22
- 23 what underlies the statements by Captain Saravia and others
- 24 that are reported to, but the fact that that was information
- that the government was generating, and it was using to 25

- 1 conduct its business.
- 2 MR. Van AELSTYN: Understood, your Honor, and we
- 3 agree.
- 4 The last category are a couple of documents that
- 5 were -- we touched on this before, that came to us, again,
- 6 through the same declassification process, in the case of
- 7 Exhibits 123 and 126.
- 8 123 is the Alvaro Saravia diary. 126 is the English
- 9 translation of that diary that was prepared by the U.S.
- 10 Embassy and was maintained by the Library of Congress.
- 11 And in addition to that, we have those versions of
- 12 the documents seized at the San Luis Finca, that were
- 13 delivered to the United States Embassy and came into the
- 14 possession then of Todd Greentree, in accordance with his
- 15 declaration that has been submitted to the Court.
- So there are three documents, then, that we would
- 17 seek to have admitted. Exhibits 123 and 126, which were
- 18 declassified versions of the Saravia diary, and then those
- 19 documents appended to the declaration of Todd Greentree, which
- 20 came from the same source, the United States Embassy in San
- 21 Salvador.

П

- 22 THE COURT: There are levels of difficulty with
- 23 these. I recognize that the diary is reputed to be, through
- 24 its collection by the government, what it purports to be,
- 25 although I believe, if my memory serves me, that one witness

- 1 testified about recognizing handwriting of some portion of
- 2 that diary.
- And you do not have to be a handwriting expert, if

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript you are familiar foundationally with the handwriting, and I do 4
- believe that Professor Karl said that she had seen lots and 5
- lots of known handwriting of both D'Aubuisson and Saravia and 6
- 7 was, therefore, able to recognize the similarity. And I
- believe that for authenticity purposes, that that qualifies 8
- 9 those portions that she looked at.
- 10 I don't think it's a public record. And in terms of
- 11 authenticating it, it comes in through an American Embassy
- custodian, who is an ambassadorial officer, at least, of the 12
- 13 U.S. government.
- 14 And I think that we can take cognizance that this is,
- 15 if you will, official information and material that's been
- maintained in the regular course in the time it was collected 16
- 17 by the U.S. government, and it is potentially incriminatory
- and representative of admissions by the persons whose writing 18
- 19 appears in it to the extent it's been identified and only to
- 20 that extent.

П

- 21 And so I think it's going to be a limited purpose for
- 22 which those documents are received. They will be received as
- 23 representative copies of the diary that was provided to the
- 24 U.S. Embassy. Although I will say that the chain of custody
- 25 is a little fuzzy as to how it gets from -- I'm assuming that

- it was the National Police or some other agency then who 1
- 2 effectuated the arrests of the ten, and then picked up the
- 3 documents. And then all we know is that somehow those
- documents got to the U.S. Embassy. And there was some 4
- 5 testimony about a source, but that source wasn't, to my
- 6 understanding, the person who actually delivered the
- 7 documents.

- 8 MR. Van AELSTYN: Your Honor, if I may? 9 THE COURT: Yes. 10 MR. Van AELSTYN: I believe the testimony of Ambassador White, as well as that of Professor Karl, whose 11 12 information was based on interviews with those persons, so it 13 is one step removed, but Ambassador White did testify that the 14 materials, the documents were delivered to him by Colonel 15 Majano. And there is quite a deal of evidence in the record 16 that the raid on the San Luis Finca was conducted by members 17 of the First Brigade of the Salvadoran army under the 18 19 direction of Colonel Majano. 20 So while we don't have direct testimony concerning 21 how those documents got from the soldiers at the finca who 22 seized them to Colonel Majano, their authorizing officer, that 23 link we don't have direct testimony to, I acknowledge. But
- 25 THE COURT: But it goes to its weight, not its

admissibility. 1

what we do have --

24

7

П

2 MR. Van AELSTYN: And the chain of custody does get

732

3 you from Colonel Majano, who was the officer who authorized

the operation in the first place, to the U.S. Embassy. 4

THE COURT: All right. I believe that that is a 5

sufficient authentication for chain of custody. And again, I 6

will give those documents such weight as the testimony would

8 indicate they would deserve.

9 The points where what appear to be admissions are

10 identified will have greater weight than, quite frankly, other

```
9-3-04 Trial Transcript portions of the diary that are translated that do not have any
11
     support or other foundation other than that they are part of
12
13
     the diary that came from the source that has been identified.
14
              With those limitations and for those limited
     purposes, Exhibits 123, 126 -- and the other declaration with
15
     the attached exhibits of Todd Greentree is which exhibit
16
17
     number?
18
              MR. Van AELSTYN: That would be 226, I believe, to be
     next in order.
19
              THE COURT: 226 are received in evidence for those
20
21
     limited purposes.
              (Plaintiff's Exhibits 123, 126, 226 were received.)
22
23
              MR. Van AELSTYN: We are ready for our next witness.
24
              THE COURT: We will take the noon recess at this
25
     time. The court reporter needs a break. We will stand in
                                                                  733
 1
     recess until 1:30 p.m.
 2
              MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, your Honor.
 3
              (The lunch recess was taken.)
```

```
5
 6
 7
 8
 9
10
11
12
13
14
```

# 9-3-04 Trial Transcript 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 Roht-Arriaza - D 734 1 AFTERNOON SESSION 2 1:30 p.m. THE COURT: Going back on the record in Saravia. 3 4 Mr. Cohen, you may call the next witness. 5 MR. COHEN: Thank you, your Honor. We would like to call Professor Naomi Roht-Arriaza. 6 7 NAOMI ROHT-ARRIAZA, called as a witness on behalf of the Plaintiff, having been 8 first duly sworn, testified as follows: 9 10 THE CLERK: Please state your name for the record. 11 THE WITNESS: Naomi Roht-Arriaza. 12 **DIRECT EXAMINATION** BY MR. COHEN: 13 14 Q. Good afternoon, Professor. 15 A. Good afternoon. THE COURT: Good afternoon. 16 17 BY MR. COHEN:

- 18 Q. Professor Roht-Arriaza, do you have a copy of your CV with
- 19 you?

П

- 20 A. I do.
- 21 MR. COHEN: Your Honor, if I could provide one to the
- 22 Court as well?
- THE COURT: Yes, you may.
- 24 BY MR. COHEN:
- 25 Q. Professor, can you tell me your current occupation?

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 A. I'm a Professor of Law from the University of California,
- 2 Hastings College of the Law.
- 3 THE COURT: If you would, Professor, bring that
- 4 microphone just the whole thing, closer to you so the court
- 5 reporter can hear you.
- 6 BY MR. COHEN:
- 7 Q. Could you repeat that first answer?
- 8 A. Professor of Law, University of California, Hastings
- 9 College of the Law, in San Francisco.
- 10 Q. And for how long have you been a Professor of Law?
- 11 A. Since 1992.
- 12 Q. In your current title, when you say "Professor of Law," is
- 13 that a designation?
- 14 A. Yes, it is. Full professor.
- 15 Q. Is that a tenured position?
- 16 A. Yes, it is.
- 17 Q. What positions have you held prior to being a tenured
- 18 Professor of Law at Hastings?
- 19 A. I was an associate professor before that. Before that, an
- 20 assistant professor. Before that, I held a Fellowship at
- 21 University of California Berkeley in International Law.
  Page 95

- 22 Q. When were you promoted to full Professor of Law at
- 23 Hastings?
- 24 A. 1997.

25 Q. What are the courses you teach at Hastings?

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 A. I teach International Human Rights Law. I teach a seminar
- 2 in Accountability For Human Rights Violations, and I also
- 3 teach Torts.
- 4 Q. Why don't we talk a little bit about your educational
- 5 background, starting with the last degree that you achieved.
- 6 A. Well, my J.D. is from the University of California
- 7 Berkeley, Boalt Hall. I also had a Masters in Public Policy,
- 8 also from the University of California Berkeley. My B.A. is
- 9 from the University of California Berkeley.
- 10 Q. Let me ask you about the areas of your research.
- 11 A. Well, since about 1990, I have concentrated my research on
- 12 accountability for past human rights violations, with an
- 13 emphasis on Latin America, but also some comparative work in
- 14 other regions. Also transnational prosecutions, transnational
- 15 judicial proceedings in cases of human rights violations,
- 16 other related areas in the human rights field.
- 17 Q. And can you tell me about your publications in these
- 18 areas? Have you published any books?
- 19 A. I published one book. I have another book forthcoming.
- 20 The first book is entitled, "Impunity and Human Rights in
- 21 International Law and Practice." That was published in 1995,
- 22 by Oxford.
- I have a book forthcoming in December. The name of
- 24 it is, "The Pinochet Effect: Transnational Justice in the Age

1 Pennsylvania Press.

П

- 2 Q. And in the area that we are going to be talking about
- 3 today, impunity, accountability, amnesty, have you written
- 4 articles in this area as well?
- 5 A. Yes, I have. I have written a large number of articles in
- 6 this field. Probably the most relevant to this discussion is
- 7 an article -- well, several. Old article, 1995, it is the
- 8 second one down. "Truth as Justice: Investigatory
- 9 Commissions in Latin America." One of the major focuses of
- 10 that article was the El Salvadoran Truth Commission.
- 11 Also an article on "The Developing Jurisprudence on
- 12 Amnesty" in the 1998 Human Rights Quarterly, which looked at
- 13 amnesty laws in a number of countries, with a focus on Latin
- 14 America, although not exclusively.
- 15 A number of articles on Processes of Accountability,
- 16 which also look at what governments can, should and must do in
- 17 the wake of past human rights violations.
- 18 Those would probably be the most relevant.
- 19 Q. And in addition to the books and these articles that you
- 20 have mentioned, have you been involved in other professional
- 21 activities bearing on these subjects?
- 22 A. I have. I have participated in numerous conferences, both
- 23 conferences involving governments, nongovernmental
- 24 organizations, United Nations personnel, the development of
- 25 guidelines within the U.N. Human Rights Commission on impunity

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 as well as on reparations for victims. I have been involved,
- 2 given a large number of public talks on the subject.
- 3 Q. Thank you. Professor, you mentioned that one of your
- 4 articles dealt with the subject of El Salvador and, in
- 5 particular, the amnesty. Do you have any other specific
- 6 experience with El Salvador?
- 7 A. I was in El Salvador for the trial of the military
- 8 officers accused of killing the six Jesuit priests and their
- 9 housekeeper and their daughter that was referred to in earlier
- 10 testimony. I was a trial observer as part of a delegation of
- 11 the Lawyers Committee -- what was then the Lawyers Committee
- 12 For Human Rights in New York, and prepared a report for the
- 13 San Francisco Bar Association on that proceeding.
- 14 THE COURT: What was the proceeding in New York?
- 15 THE WITNESS: No, the Lawyers Committee was based in
- 16 New York. The proceeding was in El Salvador.
- 17 THE COURT: You were there as a trial observer?
- 18 THE WITNESS: As a trial observer. There were trial
- 19 observers from all over the U.S., as well as all over Latin
- 20 America, because it was a very well known case. And the
- 21 soldiers, the lower ranking soldiers up to the level of
- 22 Colonel were the accused.

- 23 THE COURT: Was it a criminal trial?
- 24 THE WITNESS: Yes, it was a criminal trial.
- THE COURT: With a jury or without?

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 THE WITNESS: With a jury, but with a very different
- 2 conception of what a jury is and what a jury is supposed to do
- 3 than what we have here.

4	9-3-04 Trial Transcript The jury listened to written testimony that was read
5	into the record by the judge. Asked no questions. There were
6	no live witnesses. And the jury was asked to come to a
7	conclusion without any jury instructions, any rules, were
8	asked to come to a conclusion based on what their heart told

- 10 THE COURT: Thank you.
- 11 BY MR. COHEN:

them.

9

12 Q. Can you tell me in what language do you conduct your

So it was a rather different proceeding.

- 13 research and studies?
- 14 A. Mostly in Spanish.
- 15 Q. Let me ask you a question about professional
- 16 organizations. Can you tell me some of the organizations that
- 17 you participate with?
- 18 A. well, I'm on the board of a number of human rights
- 19 organizations and have been over the years.
- I am part of the National Advisory Board of Human
- 21 Rights Advocates. I'm on the Advisory Board of the Notre Dame
- 22 Center For Human and Civil Rights.
- 23 I have been on task forces set up through what was at
- 24 the time the Lawyers Committee For Human Rights in New York on
- 25 specific areas of international law.

# Roht-Arriaza - D

740

- 1 I'm on the Legal Advisory Board for the Center of
- 2 Justice & Accountability in San Francisco.
- 3 Q. Let me ask you about the last one you mentioned, the
- 4 Center for Justice & Accountability. What are your
- 5 responsibilities on that board?
- 6 A. The Legal Advisory Board of CJA is basically there as a
- 7 group of experts that can provide expertise to the lawyers of Page 99

П

- 8 the staff of the Center on specific questions of law.
- 9 And I think my particular expertise is on sort of
- 10 comparative aspects of criminal law and criminal procedure,
- 11 especially in Latin America, although not exclusively.
- 12 Q. Is this a board that meets regularly?
- 13 A. No.
- 14 O. And are you remunerated in any way for your participation
- 15 on that board?
- 16 A. No.

П

- 17 MR. COHEN: Your Honor, at this time, I would like to
- 18 ask the Court that Professor Roht-Arriaza be accepted as an
- 19 expert witness to testify today to the issues that are within
- 20 her expertise, which I would put forth are aspects of
- 21 international and national law regarding obligations to
- 22 achieve accountability for past human rights violations; the
- 23 range of mechanisms for achieving accountability, including
- 24 truth commissions, criminal prosecutions, civil liability and
- other mechanisms; amnesty laws from a comparative perspective,

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 and the role of national courts in Latin America in applying
- 2 human rights law to obtain justice for past violations.
- 3 THE COURT: All right, the understanding the Court
- 4 has of the proffer of Professor Roht-Arriaza, I find that she
- 5 is qualified in the fields of international and national law
- 6 that concern the areas of accountability for human rights
- 7 violations, although in this proceeding, we are focused on a
- 8 trial that concerns the wrongful death of an individual under
- 9 applicable laws, the Alien Tort Claims Act, and the Torture
- 10 Victim Protection Act, which, although certainly grounded in

11	9-3-04 Trial Transcript such legal principles, are more specifically directed to those
 12	who are seeking compensation for the deprivation of the life
13	of the victim. And I do not understand that society, at
14	large, is or has standing to be a party to this proceeding.
15	I find that Professor Roht-Arriaza is qualified to
15 16	offer opinion testimony on the international and national law
17	systems or mechanisms that relate to accountability, whether
18	it is civil or criminal, in the justice system of El Salvador,
19	its courts, and the comparative significance or ramifications
20	of, in issues of choice of law, the United States justice
21	system compared with the El Salvadoran justice system.
22	And I further find that the Professor is qualified to
23	offer opinion testimony about the composition, function and
24	effect of truth commissions, and the operation, function, and
25	competency of courts in the country of El Salvador.
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	Roht-Arriaza - D 742
1	
1 2	742
	742 And I do want to ask a foundational question by way
2	742  And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.
2	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been
2 3 4	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been studying El Salvadoran justice, its laws and its court system?
2 3 4 5	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been studying El Salvadoran justice, its laws and its court system? And, if so, the second question is: What is the span of time
2 3 4 5 6	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been studying El Salvadoran justice, its laws and its court system? And, if so, the second question is: What is the span of time that your study and that your personal knowledge encompasses?
2 3 4 5 6 7	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been studying El Salvadoran justice, its laws and its court system? And, if so, the second question is: What is the span of time that your study and that your personal knowledge encompasses?  THE WITNESS: I first began studying the question of
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been studying El Salvadoran justice, its laws and its court system? And, if so, the second question is: What is the span of time that your study and that your personal knowledge encompasses?  THE WITNESS: I first began studying the question of accountability for past human rights violations in 1989. I
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been studying El Salvadoran justice, its laws and its court system? And, if so, the second question is: What is the span of time that your study and that your personal knowledge encompasses?  THE WITNESS: I first began studying the question of accountability for past human rights violations in 1989. I published an article in the California Law Review looking at
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	And I do want to ask a foundational question by way of voir dire.  Do you have a time frame in which you have been studying El Salvadoran justice, its laws and its court system? And, if so, the second question is: What is the span of time that your study and that your personal knowledge encompasses?  THE WITNESS: I first began studying the question of accountability for past human rights violations in 1989. I published an article in the California Law Review looking at the international law that applied to the question of what a

scholarly attention on the question of what different Page 101

- 15 governments in Latin America, especially, but also 16 encompassing that to some degree in Europe, have done in the 17 wake of past human rights violations, both in terms of 18 prosecution, but also in terms of civil justice, compensation systems, truth commissions, and a series of other mechanisms. 19 20 So I would say from 1989 to present. THE COURT: To present? 21 22 THE WITNESS: Yes. 23 THE COURT: Thank you. 24 All right. You may proceed. 25 MR. COHEN: Your Honor, just so it is clear to the Roht-Arriaza - D 743 1 Court, we are not putting forth Professor Roht-Arriaza as an 2 expert on the domestic laws of El Salvador. We are putting 3 her forward as an expert on international law and the 4 implementation of some of those principles in the amnesty law 5 in El Salvador and in the mechanisms for achieving accountability under the laws that have been implemented in 6 El Salvador. 7 THE COURT: All right. Well, we will take it 8 question by question. 9
- 10 MR. COHEN: Your Honor, one additional area in which
- 11 I had asked that Professor Roht-Arriaza be qualified as an
- 12 expert would be in the area of amnesty laws from different
- 13 countries. And if you mentioned that, I apologize, I didn't
- 14 hear that.

П

- 15 THE COURT: I intended to mention it; I may not have.
- 16 Again, what would be helpful to the Court, because it
- 17 is ultimately for the Court to determine what expert testimony

$\alpha_{-}$ 3 $ \alpha_{1}$	Traal	Transcript
3-3-U <del>4</del>	III I a I	II alisti ibt

- 18 is and is not helpful, what would be helpful to the Court
- 19 would be any amnesty law that we heard testified to in this
- 20 court that was applied to the alleged perpetrators of the
- 21 murder of Archbishop Romero, and what the consequence in terms
- 22 of a practical meaning and effect of amnesty for those persons
- 23 is as it relates to, first, criminal prosecution within the
- 24 courts of El Salvador; and, second, the seeking and obtaining
- 25 of any civil remedy in the courts of El Salvador; and

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

744

- 1 comparatively, third, and most importantly, the relationship
- 2 of the availability or nonavailability of remedies in
- 3 El Salvador to the relationship and availability of remedies
- 4 in the United States courts over the same period of time.
- 5 You may proceed.
- 6 MR. COHEN: We will address each of those questions,
- 7 your Honor.

П

- 8 BY MR. COHEN:
- 9 Q. Professor, can I ask you what you have done to prepare to
- 10 testify today?
- 11 A. I looked at a number of documents. I looked at the
- 12 amnesty law in El Salvador itself. I looked at the
- 13 Inter-American case involving Monseñor Romero. I looked at
- 14 some background material on the Salvadoran justice system and
- 15 the Salvadoran Truth Commission.
- 16 I looked at the Truth Commission findings on the
- 17 judicial system and the availability of judicial remedy at
- 18 that time in El Salvador.
- 19 I have read the complaint. I looked back over some
- 20 Salvadoran court cases that are pertinent to the question of
- 21 the amnesty law.

- 22 Q. Thank you. Is there an understanding, Professor, of
- 23 impunity as a specific problem to be addressed under
- 24 international law?
- 25 A. Yes, there is.

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 Q. Could you explain that?
- 2 A. The definition of impunity is the nonaction by government
- 3 in light of evidence that crimes have been committed, almost
- 4 always by people in positions of power, whether that be
- 5 governmental or nongovernmental.
- 6 So it's the complete lack of action by the judicial
- 7 system and by other organs of government in the face of
- 8 evidence that serious crimes have been committed.
- 9 And this is usually a problem where you have a
- 10 government that is either engaging in or allowing a campaign
- 11 of massive human rights violations to take place.
- 12 One of the contexts in which massive human rights
- 13 violations take place is a context in which those who are
- 14 perpetrating those violations are perfectly sure that nothing
- 15 will ever happen to them. That is the context in which the
- 16 discussion of impunity is taking place on an international
- 17 level.
- 18 Q. And would legal accountability be the answer to impunity?
- 19 A. Yes. The development of law in this area has been an
- 20 increasing insistence that the problem of impunity is at the
- 21 root of many of the continuing problems of violations of human
- 22 rights, and that until the problem of impunity is
- 23 satisfactorily dealt with, it will not be possible to move to
- 24 a situation of a government under rule of law, basically.

# 25 Q. When do these accountability and impunity concerns

Roht-Arriaza - D

746

1 typically arise?

П

- 2 A. Well, the most typical case has been so-called
- 3 transitional justice. In other words, situations where there
- 4 has been a period of massive human rights violations. There
- 5 is then either a negotiated settlement or a change in
- 6 government and a new period begins.
- 7 And then the new government needs to face the
- 8 question of what to do about those people who are often either
- 9 well known or fairly -- it's fairly easy to find out who they
- 10 are. They are often people who were in positions of power in
- 11 the prior regime.
- 12 And the question is what to do about those people.
- 13 So the question has come up most often where you have this
- 14 moment of transition. Either, as in El Salvador, as a result
- 15 of a peace accord, or in other places as a result of either a
- 16 decision by the military to step down, as in Chile or Uruguay,
- 17 and an overwhelming social demand for the military to step
- 18 down, as in Argentina.
- 19 Situations in Eastern Europe, where you have no
- 20 violent revolutions that lead to a change in government,
- 21 negotiated into Apartheid in South Africa, so these have been
- 22 the places where this issue has been most salient.
- 23 Q. What sorts of options do these states have to address the
- 24 issue of accountability?
- 25 A. There are a wide range of options. The range has gotten

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 wider over the last 20 years or so.
- One fairly straightforward option is criminal
- 3 prosecution. We now have, within criminal prosecution, a
- 4 number of options: National courts, international courts,
- 5 like the Tribunal on the former Yugoslavia, hybrid courts that
- 6 are part national, part international, like the special court
- 7 in Sierra Leon.
- 8 There are also a series of noncriminal
- 9 prosecution-based mechanisms. Civil liability, either against
- 10 the state and/or against the perpetrators. Truth commissions,
- 11 which are official temporary investigative bodies that are set
- 12 up with a specific purpose in mind and a specific time of
- 13 making a record of what has happened in the past. Reparations
- 14 programs involving both monetary compensation, but also, for
- 15 example, reinstatement of jobs, reinstatement of pensions,
- 16 clearing the person's good names. Often people who were
- 17 killed were accused of being subversives.
- 18 Commemorations of all sorts, monuments, changes in
- 19 educational policy, reform of police courts. Military
- 20 jurisdiction issues, for instance.
- 21 All of this comes within this panoply of possible
- 22 ways of dealing with past human rights violations that have
- 23 been developed over time.

П

- 24 Q. In your opinion, why is it important for states to
- 25 implement some or all of these mechanisms?

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 A. Well, there are several reasons. I will start with the
- 2 narrower and move to the broader.
- 3 The narrower reason is what we have seen, and what

4	9-3-04 Trial Transcript social science research, as well as legal research, tends to		
5	show is that if you don't deal with these issues, the same		
6	patterns tend to reemerge over time.		
7	This is everything from you get torture within the		
8	police department, within a fairly short period of time,		
9	because it's the same people, it's the same methods, and they		
10	don't see any reason why they should stop doing what they did		
11	under the old regime. So you have those sort of problems.		
12	You have broader problems, in the sense that what		
13	impunity does is it creates a situation where some people are		
14	above the law. Some people are subject to the law. Other		
15	people aren't.		
16	It is impossible to build a society based on rule of		
17	law under those circumstances for a number of reasons. People		
18	don't believe in the law. People think that, you know, the		
19	courts, the law, the sort of organization of the new		
20	government is trying to set up is counterfeit because it's not		
21	dealing with the fundamental problem.		
22	You have problems of victims feeling excluded from		
23	the new dispensation because no one is taking into account		
24	what has happened to them. And so it's impossible really to		
25	build a full democracy without some kind of accounting for		
	Roht-Arriaza - D		
	749		
1	what has happened in the past. That has increasingly been the		

2 teaching. Another aspect of it is if there is no official 3

attempt to deal with these problems, people do tend to take 4

5 them into their own hands. And so you have problems of

private vengeance and of vendettas that happen because there 6

7 is really no socially acceptable channel for dealing with Page 107

- 8 these issues. And so you get these cycles of violence that go
- 9 around.
- 10 And one of the teachings that I think we have come to
- 11 over the last ten years is if you don't break this cycle of
- 12 impunity, that is what it will be. The peace agreement or the
- 13 transitional government or the new government will be merely
- 14 an interlude between and before the next cycle of violence.
- 15 And it's necessary to confront the issues of past violations
- 16 in order to move past that in some way.
- 17 Q. Let me ask you specifically about one of the methods for
- 18 confronting these past violations, truth commissions. What
- 19 are truth commissions and how are they created?
- 20 A. Truth commissions, as I mentioned, are official bodies.
- 21 They are created for the purpose of investigating the overall
- 22 pattern of violations in a certain place during a certain time
- 23 period.

П

- 24 So a truth commission will always have a limited
- 25 existence, a limited mandate. Part of its mandate will be to

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 investigate and to come to conclusions about both the causes,
- 2 the pattern, the extent, the attribution, overall, of the past
- 3 human rights violations. Almost always, truth commissions, as
- 4 well, will include recommendations for what to do in order to
- 5 avoid a repetition of these kinds of patterns of violations.
- 6 They can be brought into existence through an
- 7 Executive act, through a Legislative act or, as was the case
- 8 in El Salvador, through an internationally supervised accord.
- 9 Q. Let me ask you specifically about the Truth Commission in
- 10 El Salvador. Are you familiar with its composition and

- 11 structure?
- 12 A. Yes, I am.
- 13 Q. What can you tell us about how it was created?
- 14 A. 1992, there were a set of peace accords that were signed
- in Mexico, they are called "Chapultepec Accords."
- One of the provisions of those accords -- and these
- 17 were peace accords between the FMLN, which was the overall
- 18 guerilla group, and the government of El Salvador -- they were
- 19 peace accords that were negotiated with the help of the U.N.
- 20 Secretary General and they were signed under U.N. auspices,
- 21 but they were accords between the government of El Salvador
- 22 and the FMLN.

- One of the provisions of those accords was a creation
- 24 of an investigative commission, which was called a "Commission
- on the Truth," that was charged with looking into the

## Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 notorious crimes that had taken place during the earlier
- 2 government and establishing the truth about those crimes.
- 3 The Truth Commission was composed of three
- 4 individuals. There were three commissioners. There was a
- 5 thought at the time in El Salvador that they had to be
- 6 foreigners, that there was nobody in El Salvador which was
- 7 trusted enough by both sides to be able to do this. And so
- 8 that's why they turned to three non-Salvadorans.
- 9 One of them was Professor Thomas Buergenthal, who was
- 10 at the time -- had been a judge on the Inter-American Court,
- 11 was a Professor of Law at George Washington; is now the U.S.
- 12 Judge on the International Court of Justice. Belisario
- 13 Betancur, C-U-R at the end, who was an ex-president of
- 14 Columbia, and Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart, who was an ex Page 109

- 15 Foreign Minister of Venezuela, were the three commissioners.
- 16 The -- for a similar reason, the staff of the Truth
- 17 Commission was also entirely international. There were no
- 18 Salvadorans on the staff of the Commission either.
- 19 There were about 60 people, if I recall, on staff,
- 20 but they were all non-Salvadorans in order, also, to make
- 21 clear to everyone in El Salvador that this was an impartial
- 22 commission and had no personal stake, basically, in any of the
- 23 findings of the Commission or of any of the Commission's work.
- 24 They were given six months and that was later
- 25 extended. And they were to look into, as I say, the most

Roht-Arriaza - D

752

- 1 "representative and notorious," I believe were the words that
- 2 were used, violations of human rights during the period of
- 3 conflict.

П

- 4 Q. Professor Karl testified earlier today that they received
- 5 22,000 complaints. Among the cases that were investigated,
- 6 what was the number, do you know?
- 7 A. 32.
- 8 Q. 32?
- 9 A. They had the difficulty of having six months to work and
- 10 22,000 cases, and so they obviously couldn't exhaustively
- 11 investigate all of these cases.
- 12 The way they decided to deal with that difficulty was
- 13 to focus on emblematic cases. So the cases they chose were
- 14 either ones that demonstrated a common pattern or ones that
- 15 had been of particular resonance within El Salvador, had
- 16 created the largest -- had repercussions within El Salvador.
- 17 And so that's how they came at these 32.

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript They also tried to look at violations both by the
19	FMLN and by the government and death squads. Although as we
20	saw from Professor Karl's testimony, there was much more
21	evidence of violations by the government and associated death
22	squads than by the FMLN. So they were in some part driven by
23	that.
24	Q. After they selected their cases, do you know how they went
25	about investigating these cases?
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	753
1	A. They had, as I said, they had about a staff of 60 people
2	who were dedicated to doing their own investigation. They
3	also took testimony in camera. They decided not to do public
4	hearings because they felt that there was still so much fear
5	in the country that if the hearings were public, nobody would
6	agree to come forward. So they took testimony in camera, both
7	from the victims of the violations, from people who were
8	witnesses, and also to some degree from people in the
9	military.
10	They decided early on that, first of all, they were
11	not a court; but, second of all, that there had to be some
12	indicia of reliability of their findings. And so they
13	basically decided that they were not going to find that
14	anything was a fact unless they had at least two different
15	sources of corroboration.
16	They also decided that they would use prior
17	investigations. For example, there had been a large number of
18	investigations into violations of human rights by U.N. bodies,
19	by the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, by Amnesty
20	International, by a host of human rights groups. They decided
21	that they would use that material as background and as further Page 111

22	corroboration, but that they would never find a fact based
23	just on that prior investigative work; that they needed to go
24	do it themselves, basically.
25	And they had several levels at which they decided
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	754
1	that they would find facts. They had, basically, sort of an
2	overwhelming degree of evidence, a substantial degree of
3	evidence, and then some evidence.
4	And they decided that in order to assure the
5	Salvadorans as well as the U.N. community, which was also
6	overseeing this process, that they had sufficient indicia of
7	reliability in what they were doing that they had to find that
8	there was either overwhelming or, at the very least,
9	sufficient evidence in order to make this a finding of fact
10	that would go into their report.
11	And that was basically how they worked.
12	There is one other step, though. The Commission
13	decided early on that part of their mandate involved naming
14	the names of people who had committed these crimes, at least
15	as far as they you know, when they had really good evidence
16	about individuals. In some cases they never got sufficient
17	evidence about individuals, they only got information about
18	the crime. But where they did have sufficient evidence that
19	pointed to a given individual, they were going to name that
20	individual.
21	Now, this, even though it was not a criminal
22	proceeding, raised due process concerns. And so in order to
23	deal with those concerns, they decided that before they made
24	the report public, they would advise those people who were to

					9-3-04								
25	be	named	in	the	report	that	they	were	plann	ing	to	name	them,

Roht-Arriaza - D

755

- 1 and invite them to come before the Commission and, in essence,
- 2 give their side of the story.
- 3 And they did modify some of the things they said
- 4 based on what people said when they came forward in that
- 5 context.

П

- 6 So there was an opportunity for anyone who was to be
- 7 named in the report to come forward and contest the proposed
- 8 findings of the Commission.
- 9 Q. Was the Romero case one of the cases they investigated?
- 10 A. Yes, it was.
- 11 Q. Was Alvaro Saravia one of the individuals that they named?
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. Let me ask you, this methodology that you described, was
- 14 that typical of other truth commissions?
- 15 A. Truth commissions have run the gamut. Some truth
- 16 commissions have held public hearings and have used the
- 17 findings that they have gotten from the public hearings.
- 18 The others have done the same kind of in camera
- 19 investigation, but have not been nearly as explicit in setting
- 20 out their methodology.
- 21 One thing that distinguished the Salvadoran
- 22 commission was that they were very careful to lay out what
- 23 their methodology was, in part, as I said, because they did
- 24 name names. And so they thought it was very important that
- 25 they both have an adequate basis and be seen to have an

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 adequate basis for their findings.
- 2 Q. Without referencing any particular case that they
- 3 investigated, in general terms, can you tell us what the
- 4 recommendations of the Truth Commission were?
- 5 A. Well, there were a number of recommendations in different
- 6 areas. They ranged from things like social reparations,
- 7 creating a monument, a day of remembrance, helping to find the
- 8 bodies of people, to structural reforms of both, you know, the
- 9 military, the police system, and especially the justice
- 10 system. I will come back to that in a second.
- 11 They also recommended reparations for victims. They
- 12 recommended that those people be named in the report not be
- 13 allowed to hold positions of military or political power for a
- 14 period of time.
- 15 Q. Let me ask you in particular about the national reports,
- 16 the judiciary. Was that a specific problem the Truth
- 17 Commission addressed?
- 18 A. It was. The Truth Commission saw the inoperative nature
- 19 of the judicial system as one of the key problems in
- 20 El Salvador.

П

- 21 Perhaps we could look at what the Truth Commission
- 22 said, number 5?
- 23 MR. COHEN: If you could put up slide 5, please.
- 24 THE WITNESS: This was talking about the shortcomings
- 25 in the judicial system. And the Truth Commission said that

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 the glaring inability of the judicial system to investigate
- 2 crimes, to enforce the law, to apply the law to acts of
- 3 violence, part and parcel, that were committed under the

9-3-04	Trıal	Transc	rınt

- 4 direct or indirect cover of the public authorities was part
- 5 and parcel of the situation.
- 6 So they were very, very critical of the judicial
- 7 system in general. They were particularly critical of the
- 8 Supreme Court and of the President of the Supreme Court, and
- 9 in several particular cases accused the President of the
- 10 Supreme Court not simply of inaction, but of complicity in
- 11 covering up the crimes.
- 12 (Referring to Exhibit 98, page 178).
- Maybe we can go to the next one.
- 14 BY MR. COHEN:
- 15 Q. Slide 6.
- 16 A. The judiciary was still run by people whose actions were
- 17 part of the situation. There had been at that point no
- 18 judicial reform. It was the same court system that had been
- 19 in place when the violations took place that was in place at
- 20 the time.

П

- 21 And so the Truth Commission faced a dilemma, because
- 22 their feeling was if they recommended prosecutions in these
- 23 cases, the prosecutions would go to the very same judicial
- 24 system that was part of the problem. And that rather than
- 25 providing justice, bringing these cases before the existing

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 court system would simply, yet again, confirm the inoperative
- 2 nature of the justice system and the high degree of impunity
- 3 that existed at the time.
- 4 So they did not recommend prosecutions. What they
- 5 did recommend was that the courts be totally changed, be
- 6 cleaned out from top to bottom, starting with asking for the
- 7 resignation of the entire Supreme Court. But also Page 115

- 8 recommending changes in the way judges were appointed, in the
- 9 way judges were promoted.
- 10 Changing the existing system under which the Supreme
- 11 Court had, in effect, political control of all the lower
- 12 courts, and the career of a lower level judicial official
- depended on how well they got along with, basically, their
- 14 superiors. So they thought that had to be changed.
- They wanted changes in the way the public prosecution
- 16 system worked. So a lot of their recommendations were fairly
- 17 detailed. And they went into the question of how to transform
- 18 this judicial system, which, as it then existed, was not going
- 19 to be able to do justice in any of these cases.
- 20 And those are the quotes that you have up there.
- 21 There is a lot more like that in the report. There is a large
- 22 section on the reforms of the judiciary.
- 23 Q. Do you know if any of these changes that the Truth
- 24 Commission recommended, do you know whether they were
- 25 implemented in El Salvador?

П

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 A. In general or with respect to the judiciary?
- 2 Q. With respect to the judiciary.
- 3 A. Some of them were. The Supreme Court refused to resign
- 4 and absolutely rejected everything the Truth Commission said.
- 5 However, the next time the legislature had to appoint
- 6 the judges of the Supreme Court, who are not life
- 7 appointments, they had to be reappointed by the Legislature,
- 8 none of the members of that court were reelected. So there
- 9 was some change at the top. The Supreme Court did change.
- 10 They also eventually, although this took quite a long

9-3-04	Trial	Transc	rrınt

- 11 time, but by the end of the 1990s, they had also changed the
- 12 process for selection of judges, so there is now an
- 13 independent judicial council.
- 14 So to that extent, the recommendations of the Truth
- 15 Commission were eventually implemented.
- 16 In terms of a more thorough going kind of reform of
- 17 the judicial system, it's been very much more a mixed bag.
- There have been changes to the criminal procedure
- 19 laws. There have been changes to the way public prosecutors
- 20 are appointed, but they haven't really resulted in practice in
- 21 a whole lot of changes in the way investigations or trials are
- 22 run.
- 23 In other words, the formalities have changed, but the
- 24 underlying ability of the system to provide relatively quick,
- 25 just, fair and effective procedures, it's hard to see. It's

## Roht-Arriaza - D

760

- 1 hard to see that there has been a lot of change.
- 2 Q. Let me go back a little bit and ask about the release of
- 3 the Truth Commission's report.
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. When was that?
- 6 A. That was in 1993, March, I believe.
- 7 Q. And following the release of that report, what was the --
- 8 you've told us about the response of the judiciary, but what
- 9 was the general response in El Salvador?
- 10 A. Well, the response of the government was furious. The
- 11 government had not expected the Truth Commission to name
- 12 names. The government had expected a sort of "plague on all
- 13 your houses" kind of report, and it was impossible for the
- 14 Truth Commission, given the evidence they had before them, to Page 117

- 15 do that.
- 16 So the government at the time totally rejected the
- 17 Truth Commission's findings. And the clearest indication of
- 18 the official reaction to the report was that five days later,
- 19 the Legislature of El Salvador passed a sweeping amnesty law.
- 20 And that was the end, basically, of the discussion about the
- 21 Truth Commission's report.
- 22 Q. Had there been prior amnesties in El Salvador?
- 23 A. There had been a number of prior amnesties in El Salvador,
- 24 none of them as sweeping as the 1983 amnesty law. There was
- 25 an amnesty for political prisoners in the early 1980s; I

Roht-Arriaza - D

761

1 think, '83.

П

- There was another amnesty in 1987. It is interesting
- 3 to note that that 1987 amnesty specifically excluded the case
- 4 of Monseñor Romero. It was the only case that was excluded in
- 5 that amnesty law.
- There was then an amnesty in 1992, within the context
- 7 of the peace accords. That amnesty was designed to allow
- 8 members of the guerillas, or the FMLN to come back into the
- 9 country without being immediately arrested.
- 10 It excluded from its provisions anyone who should be
- 11 named in the Truth Commission Report. In other words, the
- 12 exclusion was for whoever the Truth Commission should decide
- 13 to name.
- 14 The 1993 amnesty law, which was the one that was
- 15 passed five days after the Truth Commission Report, contained
- 16 none of these exclusions and, indeed, by implication, rejected
- 17 all of these exclusions. It was an absolutely sweeping law.

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript Q. Let me ask you about the scope of it, and perhaps it would
19	help if we looked at it.
20	Rob, can we have slide 1, please.
21	Your Honor, the certified English translation of the
22	amnesty law is contained at tab K of Plaintiff's Request For
23	Judicial Notice and Determination of Foreign Law that was
24	filed with the Court yesterday. We have additional copies
25	here.
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	762
1	THE COURT: You better give me a copy because I don't
2	see it.
3	MR. COHEN: Your Honor, a certified translation is at
4	tab K.
5	BY MR. COHEN:
6	Q. Professor, if I could ask you about the scope of this
7	amnesty.
8	A. Yes. Well, as you can see, a broad, absolute and
9	unconditional amnesty. Anyone who participated in political
10	crimes, crimes with political ramifications, or common crimes
11	committed by no less than 20 people. That last one, refers to
12	massacres, basically. Any time before January 1st, 1992.
13	Covers direct or indirect perpetrators. Covers accomplices in
14	the above mentioned crimes.
15	The only ones excluded are people who have been
16	convicted of kidnapping-for-profit, basically. Yes.
17	Q. Let me ask you about "political crimes," that's the term
18	used in Article 1. Would that cover the Romero assassination?
19	A. Yes. Yes. There is also a subsequent one that talks
20	about Article 2, that talks about anything that is a
21	consequence of, resulting from, the armed conflict, without Page 119

- 22 taking into consideration political condition, militancy,
- 23 affiliation or ideology.
- 24 I read that as trying to make absolutely sure that
- 25 anything that could conceivably be connected in any way to the Roht-Arriaza D

763

- 1 period of conflict, including Monseñor Romero's assassination,
- 2 would be covered.
- 3 Q. Maybe we can turn to slide 2. Professor, if I could ask
- 4 you about Article 4.
- 5 A. Uh-huh.

- 6 Q. Could you tell me something about Article 4.e, and why
- 7 that clause is significant?
- 8 A. Well, it is the only amnesty, at least in Latin America,
- 9 that I know about, that explicitly extinguishes civil
- 10 liability.
- 11 In other words, there are other amnesty laws in Latin
- 12 America, which might, by implication, cover civil liability
- 13 because of the connection in civil law between criminal
- 14 prosecution and the awarding of damages to victims.
- 15 In other words, in most civil law countries, the
- 16 traditional way damages go to victims is through a finding
- 17 subsequent to the finding of criminal guilt. So if you have
- 18 no investigation into criminal guilt, then, ipso facto, you
- 19 can't have a determination on damages.
- Theoretically, under Salvadoran law, that would also
- 21 apply; nonetheless, you have this explicit extinguishing of
- 22 civil liability provision, which I read, again, as a way of
- 23 the Legislature saying, you cannot, under any circumstances,
- 24 through whatever novel legal theory or whatever tort theory,

П

Roht-Arriaza - D

1	And,	as	I S	ay,	to	my	knowledge,	that's	unique,	at

- 2 least in Latin America.
- 3 O. You said earlier that the Romero assassination would be
- 4 covered by the amnesty. Are you aware of any judicial
- decisions determining that? 5
- Specifically in the case of Romero? 6
- 7 Q. In the case of the assassination.
- 8 A. Well, there was an attempt, as Professor Karl talked about
- this morning, to reopen the case. The -- all those attempts 9
- 10 have been unsuccessful. There have been, to my knowledge, a
- number of attempts to open this case again. 11
- 12 The case was initially dismissed by the Supreme
- 13 Court. There was one decision in which Garay's testimony was
- thrown out because it came seven years after the fact, when 14
- the reason that it came seven years after the fact was because 15
- 16 the Public Prosecutor refused to interview him for seven
- 17 years.
- 18 There was then a subsequent attempt to reopen it in
- the context of the amnesty law. And basically, the Supreme 19
- 20 Court said the amnesty law is constitutional. You cannot
- 21 reopen.

- My understanding is that every attempt to reopen this 22
- 23 case has met with either the objection that the case is
- 24 already closed and, therefore, is res judicata, or a
- determination that, well, even if it isn't closed because it's 25

Roht-Arriaza - D

765

- 1 res judicata, it's closed because the statute of limitations
- 2 has now run.
- 3 So my understanding is it has been absolutely
- 4 impossible to even reopen the investigative case.
- 5 THE COURT: Is there a citation that is objectively
- 6 verifiable for the Supreme Court decision's holding?
- 7 THE WITNESS: Well, there is -- a lot of this I'm
- 8 taking from the Inter-American Commission case, which does
- 9 have a cite, I believe, and I can get you that in a second, as
- 10 to where exactly --
- 11 MR. COHEN: Your Honor, if I could help the Court, it
- 12 would be -- perhaps the witness could look at a footnote 100
- 13 of the Inter-American Commission decision, which is Exhibit
- 14 99, and is also attached as Exhibit N to Plaintiff's Request
- 15 For Admission Into Evidence.
- 16 THE COURT: M, as in "man"?
- 17 MR. COHEN: N, as in "Nancy."
- 18 THE COURT: All right.
- 19 MR. COHEN: It's page 699 at the top, and it's
- 20 footnote 100 to paragraph 98.
- 21 THE WITNESS: This was the 1993 ruling.
- 22 There were also a number of attempts after the
- 23 amnesty law was passed to challenge its constitutionality.
- 24 There was an early attempt where the Supreme Court basically
- 25 said, This is a political question, it's nonjusticiable, and,

Roht-Arriaza - D

766

- 1 therefore, we are not going to enter into discussion in any of
- 2 these cases.

П

3 There is a subsequent Supreme Court decision from

_	_				
u_	ν_	$\Omega A$	Traal	Trans	crint

- 4 2000, where they reaffirm that the amnesty law is
- 5 constitutional, but they say, It is possible in individual
- 6 cases for a judge to consider whether or not the particular
- 7 case involves a violation of fundamental rights, and if there
- 8 is a violation of fundamental rights, then the amnesty should
- 9 not be applied.
- My understanding is that in order for that to happen,
- 11 the Public Prosecutor would have to ask a court to not apply
- 12 the amnesty.
- 13 The Public Prosecutor's office has taken the position
- 14 that these are not cases involving violations of fundamental
- 15 rights. They are simple murder cases. And that, therefore,
- 16 they do not fall within this exception. And that, what's
- 17 more, even if they did fall within this exception, even if the
- 18 amnesty does not block prosecution, the statute of limitations
- 19 is ten years. The statute of limitations has run, and there
- 20 is no tolling provision.
- 21 THE COURT: Is that a Salvadoran statute of
- 22 limitations?
- 23 THE WITNESS: Yes. Give me a second.
- 24 THE COURT: The concept of tolling is not recognized
- 25 under Salvadoran law?

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

767

- 1 THE WITNESS: There is nothing in the Salvadoran
- 2 Penal Code that talks about tolling. This is a civil law
- 3 system. A judge could not, without something in the code,
- 4 decide to toll it.
- 5 BY MR. COHEN:
- 6 Q. Just to clarify, these two decisions of the Supreme Court
- 7 you mentioned examining the amnesty law, those were not in the Page 123

П

- 8 case of Alvaro Saravia?
- 9 A. No, no, no. Those were general facial challenges to the
- 10 constitutionality of the amnesty law.
- 11 But the decision that was set out at paragraph 98 of
- 12 the Inter-American Commission --
- 13 A. That's specific to Saravia. That one is specific to
- Saravia. 14
- 15 Q. Let me ask you whether the amnesty law has been considered
- by any other judicial bodies outside of El Salvador. 16
- 17 It's been considered by the Inter-American Commission for
- 18 Human Rights.
- 19 Q. Maybe you could tell us something about that Commission.
- 20 The Inter-American Commission is a body of the OAS, the
- 21 Organization of American States. It was set up back in the
- 22 1940s and given its current Constitution in 1965.
- It's composed of seven international experts in their 23
- 24 individual capacities who are elected by the state -- member
- 25 states of the OAS. They serve periodic terms; I believe they

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 are five years.
- 2 They have a number of different responsibilities.
- 3 One is general control over the situation of human rights in
- OAS countries, so they issue general reports on human rights 4
- 5 conditions in one or another country. They can, in that
- 6 capacity, carry out on-site visits to the countries, and they
- 7 did so several times in the case of El Salvador.
- 8 They also have certain responsibilities with regard
- 9 to Inter-American treaties. Most specifically, they are able
- to hear individual complaints of violations of the American 10

- 11 Convention on Human Rights and the American Declaration on the
- 12 Rights and Duties of Men.
- 13 When they receive an individual complaint, they have
- 14 staff that can investigate. They usually do not go on-site to
- 15 investigate. But they can use the on-site investigations that
- 16 have been done in the general country context.
- 17 And they come to what are basically findings of fact
- 18 and conclusions of law as to whether or not the state -- and
- 19 the complaints are always and only against the state -- has
- 20 violated provisions, in this case, of the American Convention.
- 21 They can then, if they so choose, and if the state
- 22 does not comply with the recommendations of the Commission,
- 23 they can either publish their report or -- and/or they can
- 24 forward the case to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights
- 25 for a determination of damages for the victims against the

Roht-Arriaza - D

769

- 1 state. It's entirely discretionary whether they go forward to
- 2 court. That's sort of the general outline.
- 3 Q. Now, Professor, you mentioned that the Inter-American
- 4 Commission has considered the Salvadoran amnesty?
- 5 A. Yes, several times, as a matter of fact.
- 6 Q. And can you tell us what they said about it?
- 7 A. They said it's unlawful under the American Convention of
- 8 Human Rights for a number of reasons.
- 9 First, is the violation of Article 2 of the American
- 10 Convention, which talks about domestic legislation and having
- 11 to have domestic legislation that is in line with the
- 12 provisions of the Convention.
- 13 Second, they have said that it's a violation of
- 14 Article 8 of the American Convention of Human Rights, which Page 125

- 15 talks about the right to a hearing before a fair and
- 16 independent tribunal.

П

- 17 And, third, they have said it's a violation of
- 18 Article 25 of the American Convention of Human Rights which
- 19 talks about the right of everyone to judicial protection.
- 20 And so by not allowing the victims of human rights
- 21 violations to initiate any kind of criminal or civil
- 22 investigation, they are being denied the right to judicial
- 23 assistance and judicial protection.
- 24 So those have been the grounds on which the
- 25 Inter-American Commission has found the Salvadoran amnesty law

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 a violation of the American Convention. And, indeed, soon
- 2 after the law was passed, the Inter-American Commission sent a
- 3 letter to the president of El Salvador saying, You are in
- 4 violation, while it was still within the same presidential
- 5 period, and so it was possible to repeal the law.
- 6 To my knowledge, there are at least three cases out
- 7 there. There is the Los Hojas massacre case, there is the
- 8 case of Monseñor Romero, and there is the Jesuit case.
- 9 In all three, the Inter-American Commission has found
- 10 that the Salvadoran amnesty law is a violation of the American
- 11 Convention and has asked the government of El Salvador to
- 12 modify or repeal the law.
- 13 THE COURT: You have said that one of the remedies
- 14 available before the Inter-American tribunal, if that's the
- 15 right word to call it, is that -- it's a commission, I
- 16 guess -- that claims for damages or reparations to be
- 17 responded to by the state can be brought.

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript And was such a claim brought on behalf of Archbishop
19	Romero?
20	THE WITNESS: No. The Inter-American Commission did
21	not forward this case to the Inter-American court. The
22	Commission, on its own, cannot do more than request that the
23	state provide remedies. It cannot impose remedies, per se.
24	It's only the court that can impose remedies.
25	And the case never went to the court for a number of
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	771
1	reasons having to do with the jurisdiction of the court over
2	El Salvador for these kinds of violations. I mean there is a
3	jurisdictional problem in going forward.
4	THE COURT: I was going to ask you whether the court,
5	wherever it sits, would have jurisdiction if El Salvador
6	didn't consent.
7	THE WITNESS: No. El Salvador, at the time, was not
8	a okay, let me step back for a second.
9	In order for the court to have jurisdiction, the
10	state has to specially accept the jurisdiction of the court.
11	The state of El Salvador only very belatedly accepted
12	the jurisdiction of the Inter-American court. I believe it
13	was in 1996, and it did so in express provision that said that
14	any violation that took place before 1996, in other words,
15	before the date in which they excepted the competence of the
16	court
17	THE COURT: It excepted all of them?
18	THE WITNESS: It excepted all of them. So there is
19	no way you could bring the case before the court basically.
20	BY MR. COHEN:
21	Q. Does the Inter-American Commission have any requirement of Page 127

- 22 exhaustion of domestic remedies before hearing a case?
- 23 A. It does. It cannot hear a case until it finds that
- 24 remedies have been exhausted.
- 25 Q. And do you know what it found in that regard in the Romero

  Roht-Arriaza D

772

1 case?

- 2 A. It found that domestic remedies had been exhausted.
- 3 THE COURT: Had been?
- 4 THE WITNESS: Had been, yes.
- 5 THE COURT: What year was that?
- 6 THE WITNESS: 2000? Yes, April 13, 2000.
- 7 BY MR. COHEN:
- 8 Q. Does the decision of the Commission have any effect on the
- 9 amnesty in place in El Salvador on a person charged or a
- 10 person being investigated under the laws of El Salvador?
- 11 THE COURT: That's been answered, hasn't it? She
- 12 just said that El Salvador didn't accept the jurisdiction of
- 13 the Inter-American court and, therefore, that tribunal could
- 14 not affect anybody in El Salvador.
- 15 MR. COHEN: I apologize, your Honor, it has been
- 16 answered. Thank you.
- 17 BY MR. COHEN:
- 18 Q. Let me ask you this question about the amnesty. Does it
- 19 have any force beyond the state of El Salvador?
- 20 A. No. Well, there is several ways to answer this. By its
- 21 terms, the amnesty is directed to what the Salvadoran courts
- 22 should do. It tells the Salvadoran courts how to deal with
- 23 these cases. That's what Article 4 of the amnesty law that we
- 24 saw is about.

П

773

1	Salvadoran	iudaes
_	Ja i vaadi aii	Juuges

- 2 It is also the case that there are certain kinds of
- 3 human rights violations, like the ones at stake here, that,
- 4 under international law, cannot be amnestied.
- 5 And so, for example, you have the Inter-American
- 6 Commission saying notwithstanding this amnesty, the state
- 7 should investigate because the amnesty law is unlawful.
- 8 There have been similar findings by the U.N. Human
- 9 Rights Committee. The results are a more general corpus of
- 10 international law that says that certain crimes that are also
- 11 human rights violations cannot be amnestied, crimes against
- 12 humanity, being one of those.
- 13 There are also a number of decisions by national
- 14 courts where this issue has come up that have absolutely
- 15 uniformly, without -- I can't find a single exception -- found
- 16 that domestic amnesty laws like this one in circumstances that
- 17 have to do with grave violations of human rights do not need
- 18 to be and, indeed, should not be taken into account by judges
- 19 in other courts in other countries.
- 20 Q. Professor, let me change topics here, and ask you about
- 21 crimes against humanity. You mentioned that you reviewed the
- 22 complaint in this case. Perhaps you can explain to the Court
- 23 what are crimes against humanity.
- 24 A. Well, basically, they are a list of very serious crimes
- 25 carried out under a specific set of circumstances. The very

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 serious crimes include murder, extermination, forced
- 2 disappearance, enslavement, deportation. There is a long
- 3 list.
- 4 What distinguishes a crime against humanity from
- 5 so-called garden variety murder or garden variety enslavement
- 6 is the context.
- 7 Crimes against humanity have several additional
- 8 attributes. One, they have to be either widespread or
- 9 systematic. They have to be an attack against a civilian
- 10 population. There is an idea that it's an attack that's aimed
- 11 at more than one person, that's aimed at sort of a
- 12 collectivity. They have to be part of a plan or a policy of
- 13 some sort. It does not have to be a state plan or policy, but
- 14 it does have to be state or organization. It can't be random,
- 15 basically.
- 16 And some definitions add that there has to be an
- 17 identifiable group of victims, either political opponents,
- 18 ethnic -- a specific ethnic political or political group. A
- 19 group that is perceived as playing a certain leadership role.
- 20 Something that distinguishes, all right, the people who are
- 21 being targeted.

П

- 22 Q. And when did this concept of crimes against humanity
- 23 emerge in international law jurisprudence?
- 24 A. Well, basically, and most clearly, starting with the
- 25 Charter of the International Tribunal at Nuremberg. There has

  Roht-Arriaza D

- 1 been subsequent development since then, and if you could help
- 2 me -- if I could see --
- 3 MR. COHEN: Could we have slide 3, please.

	9-3-04 Trial Transcript
4	THE WITNESS: Here we go. Charter of the
5	International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg had three counts:
6	Crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.
7	Crimes against humanity were basically, as I said,
8	murder, extermination, et cetera, carried out against a
9	civilian population. And there are other a couple of other
10	clauses in there.
11	Since then, there have been a number of places,
12	times, when crimes against humanity has been both referred to
13	and expanded on.
14	Before you even get to the Convention on
15	Nonapplicability and Statutory Limits, there is a General
16	Assembly Resolution of the United Nations, in essence,
17	enshrining the charter, the definitions that are in the
18	Nuremberg Charter as international law. That's 1946.
19	There is then the next is actually the Principles
20	of International Cooperation, which is in 1973, which is also
21	a General Assembly U.N. Resolution.
22	There is then the Convention on the Nonapplicability
23	of Statutory Limits to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity.
24	That's 1968.
25	Then more recently, there is the Statutes of the
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	776
1	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and
2	the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.
3	What's interesting about those is not only both
4	statutes have as one of the crimes within the jurisdiction of
5	the tribunal crimes against humanity, but that there is a
6	Secretary General's report that accompanies the statutes that
7	basically says we are only using crimes that are already Page 131

- 8 clearly established in customary international law as the
- 9 basis of these tribunals.
- 10 So there is an understanding by the Security Council
- 11 which is creating these tribunals that the crimes that are
- 12 encompassed within what the tribunal can look at are all
- 13 crimes that are not new, are not made up, are not in any way
- 14 controversial, are clearly established customary international
- 15 law. That's 1993 and 1994.
- 16 Then most recently, you have the Rome Statute of the
- 17 International Criminal Court. Article 7 of the Rome Statute
- 18 has the most recent definition of crimes against humanity as
- 19 "widespread or systematic attacks on the civilian population
- 20 with knowledge of the attack." That's what the definition
- 21 says.

П

- 22 And then, within that, there is, again, this long
- 23 list of crimes; the first one on there is murder.
- 24 Q. Has the United States agreed to submit to the jurisdiction
- 25 of the International Criminal Court?

#### Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 A. No, it has not. The United States objects quite
- 2 strenuously to the jurisdictional provisions of the
- 3 International Criminal Court, and for that reason will not
- 4 become a party to it.
- 5 However, it is important to note that the substantive
- 6 articles, in other words, the crimes that come within the
- 7 definition -- within the jurisdiction of the International
- 8 Criminal Court are not in any way objectionable to the U.S.,
- 9 and indeed, it was the U.S. delegation -- and I say this
- 10 because I was there -- the U.S. delegation was the primary

- 11 drafter of Article 7.
- 12 Beyond that, the United States delegation insisted on
- 13 the creation of elements of crimes which would help
- 14 prosecutors in figuring out how exactly they were supposed to
- 15 prove each element of the crimes that are within the
- 16 jurisdiction of the ICC.
- 17 There is an extensive discussion of crimes against
- 18 humanity within the elements of crimes and that, again, my
- 19 understanding is it was largely drafted by the U.S. delegation
- 20 by State Department lawyers.
- 21 Q. Now, could a single murder fall within the definition of a
- 22 crime against humanity?
- 23 A. Yes. Yes. As long as the contextual requirements are
- 24 met. The best case that I can think of is the International
- 25 Tribunal in former Yugoslavia, which, if we could turn to

Roht-Arriaza - D

778

1 slide 4, has that.

- Basically, the question is if you have a single act,
- 3 the single act must be somehow linked to the definition of
- 4 crimes against humanity.
- 5 So in other words, if you had a systematic attack,
- 6 which would be the case here, for instance, all right, where
- 7 you're systematically, the state is going after or the state
- 8 and its associates, is going after people who are perceived as
- 9 the middle, who are perceived as being able to serve as the
- 10 fulcrum in a negotiating process. Then a single act within
- 11 that context, if you can show that it's part of a context,
- 12 it's part of this policy or plan of systematic attack, then it
- 13 would qualify clearly as a crime against humanity. And that's
- 14 what the Prosecutor versus Msksic case says. There are other Page 133

- 15 similar cases like that. But they all agree -- I can't think
- of a single case that does not come to that conclusion.
- 17 Q. Professor, let me ask you, in your opinion, what impact
- 18 does this case, brought in the United States, under the Alien
- 19 Tort Claims Act, have in El Salvador?
- 20 A. Well, I think there are a number of ways you can look at
- 21 the impact. One of the things that's interesting about
- 22 looking at transnational prosecutions is that they -- people
- 23 are very aware of them in the country where they take place
- 24 much more so than, for example, people here are.
- 25 So there is, or at least potentially can be, an Roht-Arriaza D

779

- 1 enormous impact within the country. The reason I say this is
- 2 because I have looked at what happens in other situations
- 3 where you have an outside legal proceeding, and then you go
- 4 and you look at what happens inside a country, and what you
- 5 see is that these outside proceedings really can catalyze a
- 6 change in the domestic legal context.
- 7 Let me give you an example. I spent a lot of time
- 8 working on Chile and Argentina. That's what the 2004 book is
- 9 about. Chile has an amnesty law. The amnesty law looked just
- 10 about as airtight as the Salvadoran amnesty law does. It
- 11 didn't allow for any exceptions, et cetera. The courts had
- 12 pretty much uniformly interpreted it, number one, as
- 13 constitutional, and number one, as precluding any
- 14 investigations.

П

- 15 Then you have the arrest and detention of General
- 16 Pinochet in London, and you have the British House of Lords
- 17 decision, you have the Spanish decision.

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript During that time, you start to get the first
19	complaints. The very first one is filed two months before
20	Pinochet's detention, but you go from having one complaint to
21	having 235 complaints against Pinochet in a very, very short
22	period of time after he's detained in London.
23	Why? I did a lot of interviewing trying to figure
24	out the answer to that question. There were several pieces to
25	it. One, victims and victims' lawyers start seeing that maybe
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	780
1	there is some possibility of doing some here, and they become
2	much more assertive in bringing domestic cases.
3	Number two, the judges change their attitude from a
4	sense that we shouldn't touch this because it's too
5	controversial.
6	Two things happen. One, the judges start saying,
7	Wait a minute. Why is this judge on the other side of the
8	world looking at this case? We should be looking at these
9	cases. These are our cases; it's our responsibility. And
10	they start becoming much more assertive of their own role as
11	judges, in part pushed by this idea that, wait a minute, why
12	is this happening somewhere else, this is our case. These are
13	our cases. That's one thing.
14	Two, the legitimacy of seeing that courts in other
15	countries take this seriously, think these are serious crimes,
16	think these are crimes that something has to be said about,
17	that are worthy of, you know, considering, of spending time
18	on, of assessing damages on, changes the view of the domestic
19	judges from one that says these are, you know, old news, these
20	are cases that are basically dead, to thinking, well, wait a
21	minute, this is unfinished business. Page 135

start dealing with these past human rights violation cases,

foreign courts, and that foreign courts of some prestige in

you know, triggered by the idea that this is going on and that

And so you really see a change in the way the courts

22

23

24

25

	Roht-Arriaza - D
	781
1	the Chilean case, the British House of Lords seems to think
2	that these are viable causes of action, and that they are
3	worth looking into.
4	So you really do see a change. And I think I have
5	seen this pattern now in Chile. I have seen it in Argentina.
6	I have seen it to some extent in Chad in Africa.
7	I mean I think you can say that this is something
8	that is likely to happen; however, what time frame, I don't
9	know, but likely to happen.
10	And it makes the transnational case, the outside
11	cases, much more important. Because it's not just about the
12	effect here in the U.S., which I think is also substantial,
13	and you have a huge Salvadoran community here, but in addition
14	to that, the effect in-country can be very substantial and
15	much more than you would think in the sense of once you
16	unblock, that takes on a life of its own and you start getting
17	more and more of a willingness to look at these cases.
18	MR. COHEN: Thank you, Professor. I have no further
19	questions.
20	THE COURT: Let me ask you, Professor.
21	THE WITNESS: Yes.
22	THE COURT: The amnesty law that we have heard you
23	discuss was effective in I want to be as clear as I can on
24	this date, I know that you referred to it which tab was
	Page 136

25 that, K?

Roht-Arriaza - D

782

1	MR. COHEN: K, your Honor.
2	THE WITNESS: K.
3	THE COURT: Let me get K here.
4	THE WITNESS: Yes.
5	THE COURT: And this was March 22nd, 1993.
6	THE WITNESS: Yes.
7	THE COURT: Would it be a fair interpretation of El
8	Salvadoran law that you understand what the effective date of
9	the statute means?
10	THE WITNESS: Yes.
11	THE COURT: Would that be the effective date of this
12	statute?
13	THE WITNESS: 1983, yes.
14	THE COURT: All right. Are you able, within your
15	international expertise, to opine, going through the panoply
16	of remedies, and I am concerned more about the judicial
17	remedies that would be actually available.
18	Because as I understand it, as laudable and important
19	as their functions are, the commissions are really the last
20	resort. That's all that's left when the justice system
21	doesn't work and when the government won't take any civil or
22	criminal responsibility.
23	THE WITNESS: That's true.

24 THE COURT: And so that's the prelude to the

25 question. The question is: In your legal judgment, was the

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 ability to pursue a claim in a Salvadoran court for redress
- 2 under the criminal law effectively foreclosed by the enactment
- 3 of the law on general amnesty for the consolidation of peace?
- 4 THE WITNESS: My answer would be that the combination
- 5 of the law itself, the way it's been interpreted by the
- 6 Supreme Court and the way it's been interpreted by the Public
- 7 Prosecutor, forecloses any possibility of being able to bring
- 8 this case.
- 9 THE COURT: And if you can provide me, I don't know
- 10 if you can, with dates as to when those interpretations of
- 11 this law occurred, that would be helpful.
- 12 THE WITNESS: Yes. I can give you the Supreme Court
- 13 decisions now. Probably have to look a little bit.
- 14 THE COURT: That was footnote 100 in the Truth
- 15 Commission Report.

- 16 THE WITNESS: Yes, there is a footnote, it's 100 in
- 17 the Inter-American Commission.
- 18 THE COURT: It says March 31st of 1993.
- 19 THE WITNESS: Right.
- 20 THE COURT: But that only referred to --
- 21 THE WITNESS: Saravia.
- 22 THE COURT: Saravia.
- 23 THE WITNESS: That refers only to Saravia. There are
- 24 two other challenges to the amnesty law. They are both facial
- 25 challenges, so they are not concerned with the Saravia case

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 per se, although they are preclusive in that case.
- The first one is a 199 -- I believe it's 1993 case,
- 3 which is the case where the Supreme Court finds the amnesty

9-	3-04	Tria	l Tr	anscr	ipt
าวไ	l an	d wha	+ ' c	moro	`+÷

- 4 law constitutional, and what's more, finds that it can't
- 5 challenge -- it can't even consider, even hear a challenge to
- 6 the constitutionality of the law because the -- let me see if
- 7 I can phrase this right, because the Salvadoran legislature is
- 8 plenipotentiary and, therefore, the judiciary has no role in
- 9 determining whether or not the law is constitutional or not,
- 10 and, therefore, it is a nonjusticiable political question.
- 11 That's the first Salvadoran Supreme Court decision.
- 12 THE COURT: Do we have a date for that?
- 13 THE WITNESS: I will.
- 14 THE COURT: While you are looking for that answer, I
- 15 infer that the branches of government are not coequal in
- 16 El Salvador.

П

- 17 THE WITNESS: Let me put it this way. My
- 18 understanding is that the Salvadoran Supreme Court's
- 19 interpretation of its own role within the constitutional
- 20 separation of powers varies substantially from our
- 21 understanding of the coequal nature of the branches of
- 22 government. That's the best way I can answer.
- 23 THE COURT: From your answer, it would suggest that
- 24 constitutional law doesn't exist in El Salvador to the extent
- 25 that the court can't determine the legality of laws, which is

## Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 what constitutional law is.
- THE WITNESS: Well, by year 2000, that has changed.
- 3 The reason I'm hesitating is because I think that was the case
- 4 at that time. I think by the year 2000, there is a slightly
- 5 greater appreciation of the independent role of the judiciary
- 6 in interpreting constitutions. That's the only reason I'm
- 7 hesitating. I think at the time of that initial decision, Page 139

- 8 that's absolutely right. I'm not sure I could say that now
- 9 because I do think there has been some evolution. I just
- 10 think it's a minimal evolution.
- 11 Clearly, you know, at the time of this first
- 12 decision, what the court is saying, is it's none of our
- 13 business, we can't oversee an act of the legislature. That,
- 14 at least, varies substantially from my understanding of what
- 15 constitutional control looks like. Yet that is clearly what
- 16 they say. Now, by 2000, that has changed. You know, I can
- 17 probably --
- 18 THE COURT: If you don't mind, let's stay on the
- 19 track of trying to get these dates.
- THE WITNESS: I would be happy to. Do you want me to
- 21 look through?

П

- THE COURT: Maybe that may not be the most productive
- 23 use of your time on the witness stand, if you are going to
- 24 have to look through voluminous data, but let me understand --
- THE WITNESS: I would be happy to get it to you if

Roht-Arriaza - D

- 1 you could give me a couple of minutes.
- THE COURT: Yes, that will be fine.
- 3 As of the time that the murder occurred, the
- 4 understanding that has been gained from the testimony of an
- 5 expert judge and a political scientist, is that in El Salvador
- 6 in the 1980s, the judiciary had what would traditionally be
- 7 Executive functions in this judicial system, that of the
- 8 United States, of, one, investigation, of, two, in effect,
- 9 becoming an aid or of assistance to the prosecutor, and which
- 10 would deprive a judge of immunity, which would raise all kinds

11	9-3-04 Trial Transcript of concerns under our judicial system, and actually gathered
12	evidence, acted as a judge would act as a repository for
13	evidence, would make decisions not to turn evidence over to
14	what we normally think of as the Executive, meaning the
15	prosecutor, and whatever force, whether it's a police force,
16	whether it's the Attorney General or some other law
17	enforcement agency.
18	But in other words, many of those slides talk about
19	the judiciary enforcing the law, and that is not, under
20	American jurisprudence, a function that the judiciary engages
21	in. There is no law enforcement whatsoever under the
22	separation of powers.
23	And so my question relates specifically to, was there
24	a change of that role of the court sometime in the 80s or in
25	the 90s? We are concerned here with a ten-year statute of
	Dobt Appiana D
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	787
1	
1 2	787
	787
2	787 limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to
2	787 limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are
2 3 4	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an
2 3 4 5	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an investigating magistrate. The investigating magistrate plays,
2 3 4 5 6	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an investigating magistrate. The investigating magistrate plays, in essence, the role of the prosecutor. The judge finds the
2 3 4 5 6 7	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an investigating magistrate. The investigating magistrate plays, in essence, the role of the prosecutor. The judge finds the evidence. The judge decides what evidence to admit. The
2 3 4 5 6 7 8	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an investigating magistrate. The investigating magistrate plays, in essence, the role of the prosecutor. The judge finds the evidence. The judge decides what evidence to admit. The judge decides whether to indict. The judge decides whether an
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an investigating magistrate. The investigating magistrate plays, in essence, the role of the prosecutor. The judge finds the evidence. The judge decides what evidence to admit. The judge decides whether to indict. The judge decides whether an arrest order is forthcoming, and then the same judge tries the
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an investigating magistrate. The investigating magistrate plays, in essence, the role of the prosecutor. The judge finds the evidence. The judge decides what evidence to admit. The judge decides whether to indict. The judge decides whether an arrest order is forthcoming, and then the same judge tries the case and sentences.
2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	limitations.  THE WITNESS: There was a change in the late 1990s to some extent. In other words, the system that you are describing is a classic inquisitorial system where you have an investigating magistrate. The investigating magistrate plays, in essence, the role of the prosecutor. The judge finds the evidence. The judge decides what evidence to admit. The judge decides whether to indict. The judge decides whether an arrest order is forthcoming, and then the same judge tries the case and sentences.  That system was changed to a certain extent in the

- 15 they also divided the investigative phase from the sentencing
- 16 phase, so you have a different judge during one and during the
- 17 other.

П

- Now, how has that made it possible to bring effective
- 19 prosecutions in El Salvador? I think the answer to that has
- 20 to be no. There have been no, to my knowledge, at least, and
- 21 I follow this rather closely, there have been no successful
- 22 prosecutions of any case that involves human rights violations
- 23 from the pre-peace accord era at all.
- 24 THE COURT: You may not be the right witness to ask
- 25 this next question of, but I heard you testify now that there

## Roht-Arriaza - D

788

- 1 was an interpretation that there is not an exhaustion
- 2 requirement in, if you will, the country of origin, where the
- 3 crime is venued in the sense that that's where it occurs. And
- 4 I wondered when that principle of law, if it is a principle,
- 5 was established.
- 6 THE WITNESS: I'm not quite sure what you are
- 7 referring to, the nonexhaustion.
- 8 THE COURT: Well, by nonexhaustion, I understood by
- 9 the questioning, and maybe I misunderstood Mr. Cohen's
- 10 question. I thought his question was is it under the
- 11 Inter-American Commission investigations necessary that a case
- 12 be pursued in the judicial system of the nation of origin, and
- 13 I say where the crime originates. And the answer to that is
- 14 no?
- 15 THE WITNESS: No, the answer is yes, absolutely.
- THE COURT: That didn't change?
- 17 THE WITNESS: No, that's an Inter-American Commission

Page 142

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript requirement, just so we are clear. In order for the
19	Inter-American Commission to even look at this case, they had
20	to, as an initial matter, find that it was impossible to bring
21	the case in El Salvador, and that, therefore, domestic
22	remedies had been exhausted. And I will say that the
23	Salvadoran government did not contest that finding.
24	THE COURT: Okay. And the date of that finding?
25	THE WITNESS: 2000 April 13th, 2000.
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	789
1	THE COURT: All right. Do you know under
2	international law between the period of March 31st of 1993 and
3	2003, assuming for the purposes of my question that Saravia
4	was in the United States, where he is believed to be, in the
5	Central Valley of California, do you know of any principle in
6	international law that would have barred bringing this case
7	against him in that time frame?
8	THE WITNESS: In the United States?
9	THE COURT: In the United States.
10	THE WITNESS: I mean I suppose the problem would be
11	you would have to know he was here. Wait, let me try to
12	understand you. Bringing the case under U.S. law or bringing
13	the case
14	THE COURT: Just as it has been brought?
15	THE WITNESS: Just as it has been brought.
16	THE COURT: Yes.
17	THE WITNESS: I think there might have been a period
18	early on when it was not clear whether or not the Salvadoran
19	judicial system would open up. I think fairly soon it was
20	clear that it wouldn't, but aside from that, I can't think of
21	any
	Page 143

22	THE COURT: Well, that's what I'm trying and why
23	I'm asking about these dates. That's what I'm trying to
24	ascertain. And again, I don't want to put you unfairly on the
25	spot if you haven't considered it previously.
	Roht-Arriaza - D
	790
1	THE WITNESS: Uh-huh.
2	THE COURT: But if you had any such knowledge, if
3	some rule, some case, anything that in international law or
4	Salvadoran law would be applicable, then I would like to know
5	about it.
6	THE WITNESS: There would, under international law,
7	not be any international law reason why one could not bring a
8	case here. Now, are you referring you are referring to
9	criminal or civil or whatever?
10	THE COURT: Well, as I understand it, it's got to be
11	criminal. Because is it your understanding it's still the
12	case in El Salvador that no civil remedy can be obtained; it
13	is not available without the criminal prosecution and the
14	affixing of criminal responsibility, because it is absolutely
15	incidental to the finding of criminal liability by which the
16	damage remedy arises, the civil compensation remedy under El
17	Salvadoran law? That is my understanding and if that's wrong,
18	I need to know.
19	THE WITNESS: No, that's right. I mean the only way
20	you would have brought this case in El Salvador would have
21	been as a criminal prosecution.
22	There is a private prosecutor in El Salvador.
23	THE COURT: Yes, and that's been discussed.
24	THE WITNESS: So what would have happened is the

Page 144

Prosecutor would have said, "We are not going forward." Any 1

- number of grounds. They would have variously said --2
- 3 THE COURT: Right, and I have, I think a very good --
- 4 THE WITNESS: And they would have said, et cetera, et
- 5 cetera --

П

- THE COURT: I have a very good understanding of all 6
- 7 the public and private grounds for prosecution in El Salvador.
- 8 All right, when you return to your seat, if you could
- look for those dates, it would be very helpful to me. 9
- 10 THE WITNESS: I will. And I apologize for not having
- them. 11
- THE COURT: Not at all. There is a lot of material. 12
- 13 Thank you very much. Do you have anything further, Mr. Cohen?
- MR. COHEN: Nothing further, thank you. 14
- 15 THE COURT: You may step down.
- 16 MR. COHEN: I have a very minor housekeeping matter.
- 17 All of the translations of foreign law are certified, and
- 18 indeed they are, but it appears as if the certifications were
- 19 improperly inserted at the back of tab L, which should have
- 20 gone with each code section that was translated, rather than
- 21 with the declaration that appears at tab L.
- THE COURT: All right. Thank you very much. I will 22
- 23 look just to confirm that they are there and I can find them.
- 24 Yes, there is a declaration of Carlos Rafael Urquilla, of Leah
- Hershberger, and that, I think, -- or she has three 25

- 1 certifications.
- 2 MR. COHEN: That's correct. And those
- 3 certifications --
- 4 THE COURT: There is four total.
- 5 MR. COHEN: Those relate to the amnesty law and the
- 6 other sections of Salvadoran code that we provided.
- 7 THE COURT: All right.
- 8 MR. COHEN: Thank you, your Honor.
- 9 MR. Van AELSTYN: Your Honor, plaintiff has concluded
- 10 its presentation of its case. I do have a closing statement
- 11 that I would like to make, but I believe will take about 20
- 12 minutes or so. Would this be the right time to take the
- 13 afternoon break?

П

- 14 THE COURT: I think the reporter would appreciate
- 15 that. And one thing that I would like to do is to have you
- 16 address under the elements, this is in the extraordinary
- 17 circumstances element, if you will, of equitable tolling, I
- 18 don't think that we have ever suggested, at least the
- 19 plaintiff hasn't suggested, that your ground is that the
- 20 defendant prevented the case from being filed. This is not
- 21 where the defendant takes steps, whether it's by coercion or
- 22 some other means to keep the case from being filed.
- 23 MR. Van AELSTYN: Not directly, your Honor.
- 24 THE COURT: And so it is the extraordinary
- 25 circumstances exception that we are focused on. And the Court

- 1 has the understanding that there can be a denial of physical
- 2 access to the courts, such as a condition of war exists, or
- 3 martial law exists and the courts aren't open or functioning,

23

24

25

the court.

794

The question then is for tolling purposes, when does it end? When does the tolling period end? What is the availability of the extraordinary circumstance where -- and I want you to address, please -- if the United States courts are here and the doors are open throughout the entire 24-year period or 23-year period, what is the ramification of that fact as applied to the unique circumstances of this case. And

Page 147

prosecutors would be unwilling, unable or otherwise simply not

under any circumstance in a position to present the case to

- 8 I think that for extraordinary circumstances, we can't just
- 9 limit ourselves to the analysis of the Salvadoran justice
- 10 system.
- So if you would, please, address that --11
- 12 MR. Van AELSTYN: All right, your Honor.
- 13 THE COURT: -- in your closing remarks.
- All right, with that said, let's take the afternoon 14
- 15 recess. We will stand in recess until 3:40.
- MR. Van AELSTYN: 3:40. Thank you, your Honor. 16
- THE COURT: 3:40. 17
- 18 (Recess)
- 19 THE COURT: Back on the record in the case of Doe
- 20 versus Saravia.
- 21 Mr. Van Aelstyn?
- 22 MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, your Honor. First, I
- 23 would like to address a couple of things that were left
- 24 unaddressed at the end of our previous session.
- 25 First, Professor Roht-Arriaza provided the two

1 decisions that you were looking for. I can provide them to

795

- 2 you now if you like.
- 3 THE COURT: Yes.
- 4 MR. Van AELSTYN: The first was dated May 20, 1993,
- entitled "1993 Political Question Resolution of the Petition 5
- for Inconstitutionality, the Constitutional Chamber of the 6
- 7 Supreme Court, Numbers 10-93 and 11-93." That was the first
- 8 decision.
- 9 The second dates from September 26, 2000, and it is
- 10 entitled, "The 2000 Resolution of September 26, 2000, Number

Page 148

П

```
9-3-04 Trial Transcript 24-97/21-98, Constitutional Chamber of the Supreme Court," and
11
12
     that concerned the fundamental rights investigation if a judge
13
     approved it.
14
              I have to strike that last part. I'm not sure.
15
     Think that was a note from the Professor.
              THE COURT: All right. Is the Professor still here?
16
17
              MR. Van AELSTYN: She just stepped out.
18
              THE COURT: When she returns, if she returns, we will
     ask her which decision is which.
19
20
              MR. Van AELSTYN: All right. Now, I would like to
21
     address the equitable tolling issue that your Honor --
22
              Oh, here she is. Why don't we address this now?
23
              THE COURT: Professor, we have two dates of
24
     decisions, and I wanted to ask you, the May 20th, 1993
```

decision, what issue did that resolve?

25

14

796

THE WITNESS: That was the question of the facial 1 2 constitutionality of the amnesty law. That was the decision that, as we discussed, the court finds that it has no ability 3 4 even to entertain the question because it's a nonjusticiable and political question. That's the 1993 decision. 5 The 2000 decision is also a subsequent challenge, 6 7 facial challenge to the constitutionality of the amnesty law, raising the question of El Salvador's international law 8 9 obligations. 10 And this is, of course, as we discussed post this series of discussions from the Inter-American Commission 11 12 saying the amnesty law is unlawful. So that's why they revisit the question. And there, what they do is they 13

backtrack slightly, and they say, we can consider this as part

Page 149

- 15 of our constitutional function. But, they say, it is, on its
- 16 face, constitutional. It can be interpreted in order to be a
- 17 valid constitutional exercise so long as a judge can find that
- 18 the amnesty does not apply in certain cases involving
- 19 fundamental rights violations if those violations are raised
- 20 by the prosecutor.

П

- 21 And then, as I say, there are a series of subsequent
- 22 informal decisions, which, unfortunately, I don't have cites
- 23 to, because they are not written down, by the prosecutor, not
- 24 by any court, saying the cases involved in post -- I'm sorry,
- 25 pre-1992 are not fundamental rights violations, they are

- 1 simply common crimes, so this small exception does not apply.
- THE COURT: All right. Thank you very much.
- 3 THE WITNESS: Thank you, your Honor.
- 4 MR. Van AELSTYN: If I may, your Honor, I will
- 5 address the equitable tolling issue that you raised.
- 6 THE COURT: Yes, and I didn't give you the cites, but
- 7 one of the cases that addressed this is the In re world war II
- 8 Era Japanese Forced Labor litigation found at 164 Fed.2d 1160,
- 9 1181-82. It's a Northern District of California, 2001 case.
- The court found the Korean and Chinese plaintiffs do
- 11 not assert reasons why their claims could not have been
- 12 brought under the ATPA within ten years of the war's end.
- 13 Their reference to the Japanese government's alleged
- 14 suppression of similar claims brought by Korean forced
- 15 laborers in Japan shortly after the war does not explain why
- 16 the same claims could not have been alleged in a United States
- 17 court.

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript And then the second case is Doe versus Unocal Corp.
19	That's 963 Fed.Supp 880 at 897. It's a Central District of
20	California case, 1997. There was this was a motion to
21	dismiss. This did not result in a dispositive ruling. Leave
22	to amend was granted to show that although there was no
23	functioning judiciary in Burma at the time the human rights
24	violations were alleged to have occurred, the plaintiffs did
25	not specifically allege they could not have brought their
	798
1	claims in the United States. And so leave to amend was
2	granted to let them show what facts there were why they could
3	not have brought their claims in the United States from the
4	time that the rights were alleged to have been violated until
5	the time the complaint was filed.
6	So I think that fairly frames the issue.
7	MR. Van AELSTYN: I appreciate that, your Honor. I
8	am not intimately familiar with the facts of each of those
9	cases that you have cited, in particular, the Korean War case,
10	and I appreciate your quotation from it.
11	Here, it is our position that plaintiff was unable to
12	bring a case in the United States as well until the time that
13	plaintiff did so, due to fear of reprisal in El Salvador.
14	Now, when we say "fear of reprisal," that goes not
15	only to plaintiff, because we are not disclosing where
16	plaintiff resides, but to the building of the case.
17	You have heard from a number of witnesses who
18	traveled here from El Salvador. In addition, of course,
19	counsel has conducted an investigation to try to build the
20	case, which which entails investigating and interviewing
21	numerous persons in addition to those who actually were Page 151

- 22 willing to come and testify.
- 23 It's a lengthy and it's a major process to undertake
- 24 the building of a case of this nature. The fears of reprisal
- 25 were significant for anyone involved in this kind of a case in

799

1 El Salvador.

- 2 Professor Karl testified to known death squad
- 3 activities operating out of the government as late as 1997.
- 4 The Black Hand -- or Black Shadow, I think it was, referred to
- 5 in her testimony.
- 6 So there was known death squad threats all the way up
- 7 through 1997. I think we can fairly say that there has been a
- 8 progression of increasing possibility from that, time, a
- 9 decrease in fear, and yet it is also the case that the fear of
- 10 reprisal continues to this day, as the showing has been made
- 11 to not identify the witness, for example.
- 12 So the fear of reprisal still continues to this day.
- 13 There has been some easing of that. And, true, that fear of
- 14 reprisal does not exist as much in the United States, although
- 15 Professor Karl has provided testimony with regard to death
- 16 squad activities in the United States as well, but primarily,
- 17 has to do with fear of reprisal within El Salvador, not just
- 18 to the plaintiff, but to the building of the case.
- 19 And, in conclusion, the last point I would like to
- 20 make in regards to this is within El Salvador, this is not a
- 21 run-of-the-mill case. As we know, there were thousands and
- 22 thousands of victims of death squads and other human rights
- 23 abuses within El Salvador.
- 24 This case concerns Archbishop Romero. And

25 fundamentally, most importantly, perhaps in terms of the fear

1 of reprisal, indicates Roberto D'Aubuisson, who has been, as

- been testified to, the patron saint, in effect, of the ruling 2
- 3 party in El Salvador.

П

- 4 To bring a case that implicates the father of the
- 5 ruling party of El Salvador is a dangerous thing to do. And
- the fear of reprisal that struck the plaintiff and others that 6
- 7 could possibly bring this case have prevented the bringing of
- 8 the case, certainly until the time that the statute of
- limitations would begin to run and would encompass the date of 9
- 10 the filing of this action.
- THE COURT: Let me ask this. It has been testified 11
- 12 to that no Salvadoran lawyer would take this case and that the
- 13 chance of the case having any success in the Salvadoran
- courts, even today, is minimal to nonexistent. 14
- When did your firm start its work on this case? When 15
- 16 were you first contacted?
- 17 MR. Van AELSTYN: Well, first contacted, the case was
- 18 first made available to my firm to be able to represent
- 19 plaintiff in this matter shortly before the matter was filed
- 20 in September of 2003. And when I say "shortly," I mean a
- 21 matter of weeks.
- THE COURT: The purpose of my inquiry is that if 22
- 23 there is a factual showing that there were no legal
- 24 representatives with the ability to bring a case of this
- complexity and magnitude within a court, and there was -- the 25

- 1 cases discuss ignorance of your rights isn't an excuse under
- 2 tolling, because tolling is equitable, and the law presumes
- 3 that those who seek its remedies also must know its
- 4 requirements. And so that's a fundamental principle of the
- 5 application of statute of limitations jurisprudence.
- 6 So I would let you offer to prove in the time, and I
- 7 will tell you that it appears to me, certainly, that through
- 8 the passage of the amnesty law, which was 1992, to the --
- 9 MR. Van AELSTYN: I beg your pardon, your Honor, it
- 10 was 1993.

- 11 THE COURT: 1993. I think the peace accord was 1992.
- 12 MR. Van AELSTYN: That's correct, your Honor.
- 13 THE COURT: Peace accord is what I intended to say.
- 14 -- to the enactment of the amnesty statute, and then
- 15 the declaration in approximately April, as I remember it, of
- 16 1993, of the Salvadoran Supreme Court, that it could not make
- 17 any determination as to the legality, and it would leave
- 18 intact the amnesty law as of that point, it does not appear
- 19 that there is any remedy available in a court in El Salvador.
- There are two additional decisions, one well within
- 21 the statute that I don't think we even need to discuss in
- 22 2000, but then there is a May of 1993 decision, a May 20th,
- 23 where the court entertains the facial challenge and, in
- 24 essence, I'm going to use the vernacular and simply state the
- 25 conclusion, does not find that the amnesty law suffers any

- 1 kind of a disability that would prevent its application.
- 2 And so we also know from the evidence that in the
- 3 1996 to 1997 time frame that the Public Prosecutor sought the

```
9-3-04 Trial Transcript extradition in connection with an investigation of the
 4
 5
     defendant.
 6
              MR. Van AELSTYN: Your Honor, actually, it was 1987,
 7
     '88.
              THE COURT: That was '87 and '88?
 8
 9
              MR. Van AELSTYN: Yes.
10
              THE COURT: And we have the finding at that time of
11
     the Supreme Court of El Salvador that the evidence was not
     sufficient to justify the proceeding, and, in effect, negated
12
     the criminal case. I don't know if "dismissal" is the term
13
14
     that's used in El Salvador, but the extradition request was
     withdrawn.
15
16
              And there is evidence that the court was involved, at
17
     least inferentially, with accepting what was fabricated or
     falsified evidence that was submitted by D'Aubuisson that
18
     included facts that were either known to be false or should
19
20
     have been known to be false, and as a result, the continuing
21
     lack of confidence in the Salvadoran judicial system could be
22
     maintained.
23
              I think that if you have nothing further to offer,
24
     then you can go on with your presentation, if that's all on
25
     equitable tolling.
                                                                  803
```

1 MR. Van AELSTYN: It is, your Honor. If I could add 2 one small point, though. 3 THE COURT: Yes. MR. Van AELSTYN: I think we need to be careful --4 5 and I know I need to do this -- to make a distinction between exhaustion requirements and tolling requirements. 6

П

7

The exhaustion requirements, we believe, were met, Page 155

- 8 and I will take the date that you identified, the first of the
- 9 two constitutional court decisions of May 20, 1993, as being
- 10 very clear at that point in time that the amnesty law was
- 11 going to apply, and at that point, there was going to be no
- 12 further opportunity within the courts of El Salvador.
- 13 And remember, just over a month prior to that, March
- 31, 1993, the Saravia case was formally closed due to the 14
- 15 application of the amnesty law.
- And then the 2000 decision, again, further confirmed 16
- 17 that there was not going to be any legal recourse within
- 18 El Salvador.
- 19 That is distinct from the tolling issue, the
- 20 equitable tolling issue, which relies upon, as your Honor
- 21 noted, the extraordinary circumstances exception, and that is
- 22 based upon the fear of reprisals, which is independent of
- the -- of legal redress within the judicial system of 23
- 24 El Salvador.
- 25 That fear of reprisal, and those conditions that gave

804

1 rise to the fear of reprisal continued to a high degree

- 2 through 1997, in accordance with Professor Karl's testimony
- 3 about the Black Hand [sic] Death Squad operating out of the
- government, and continues to a lesser extent still to this 4
- 5 day, as has been shown in the various papers filed under seal
- 6 with regard to the fears that are still felt to this day by
- 7 the plaintiff.
- 8 THE COURT: And the position I'm in is you are not
- 9 making it easy for me. The plaintiff could have stated that
- 10 and didn't. And so I have got to -- in other words, the

Page 156

```
9-3-04 Trial Transcript plaintiff could have simply stated, "I was in fear. I was
11
12
     intimidated, and I did not determine that I would proceed
     until a date," and I would have had that direct evidence.
13
14
              And what I'm having to do here is I'm having to draw
15
     the inferences and to make those factual findings. You
     understand what the issue is.
16
17
              MR. Van AELSTYN: I understand, your Honor.
18
              THE COURT: All right.
19
              MR. Van AELSTYN: Okay.
20
              El Salvador in the late 1970s was a country on the
21
     brink of civil war. The military dictatorship that had ruled
22
     with an iron hand, in an arrangement with the landowners, a
     small oligarchy known as the "14 families" was coming under
23
24
     increasing pressure for land reform. The repression was
     heavy. Human rights abuses abounded.
25
```

14

805

Many in the church, the Roman Catholic Church were 1 2 turning to Liberation Theology and standing with the poor. Following the assassination of Rutilio Grande on March 12, 3 4 1977, just weeks after he had been elevated to the 5 Archbishopry, Monseñor Romero began to do so as well. His very public defense of the poor and his denouncement of human 6 7 rights abuses by all sides in his weekly homilies, which were heard by two-thirds of the country and across the America, 8 9 soon earned him the name, the "Voice of the Voiceless." On 10 March 24, 1980, he was assassinated. No one has been tried, much less convicted, for this 11 12 crime, one of the worst of the Americas. 13 THE COURT: Let me interrupt you, if I could.

Page 157

MR. Van AELSTYN: Yes.

- 15 THE COURT: Can you state to me his age on March the
- 16 24th, 1980?
- 17 MR. Van AELSTYN: He was 64, your Honor.
- 18 THE COURT: Thank you very much.
- 19 MR. Van AELSTYN: And he did not have issue and his
- 20 parents were already deceased.
- Today we seek justice that has long been denied, and
- 22 we are entitled to it.
- 23 Plaintiff has standing, as we have shown. And this
- 24 Court has personal jurisdiction over the defendant, Alvaro
- 25 Rafael Saravia. It is the same Alvaro Saravia as what was

806

- 1 known as Roberto D'Aubuisson's Chief of Security and was
- 2 detained in Miami pursuant to an extradition request in late
- 3 1997.

П

- 4 He has the same name, the same birth date, February
- 5 16, 1946, and the same background as a Captain in the
- 6 Salvadoran Air Force. And the Modesto Saravia's Social
- 7 Security Number was issued in Florida around the time that
- 8 D'Aubuisson's Saravia was arrived there.
- 9 Substitute service was achieved in accordance with
- 10 the requirements of California law.
- 11 Saravia defaulted. He was aware of this lawsuit, and
- 12 chose not to respond to it. Instead, he has gone underground.
- 13 The clerk of the Court issued a default on April 13, 2004.
- 14 The entry of default establishes the allegations of the
- 15 complaint.
- In addition to those established allegations, the
- 17 evidence that has been presented in this courtroom establishes

П

- 22 question of did he know who was killed that evening of March
- 23 24, 1980. His immediate response was "Monseñor," the name by
- 24 which Monseñor Romero was known ubiquitously in El Salvador,
- 25 but he could not remember the man's name, revealing both the

808

- 1 ubiquity of his name, Monseñor, as he was known, and a
- 2 callousness with which the death squads operated.
- 3 Garay's testimony, combined with the other evidence
- 4 that has been presented, makes clear Saravia's role in the
- 5 murder. Saravia was in charge of the operation and was
- 6 involved in paying the fees of the assassin. Saravia
- 7 instructed Garay, his personal driver, to drive him to a
- 8 staging home.

- 9 Saravia emerged from that house with a tall man with
- 10 a beard. Saravia told Garay to drive this man to an
- 11 undisclosed location: "Go where he tells you to take him."
- 12 Garay testified that he overheard Saravia say to the
- 13 tall bearded man, "It's better to shoot in the head because
- 14 maybe he will have a bulletproof vest. You have to be sure he
- 15 gets killed."
- 16 Saravia informed Garay that they would be provided
- 17 with protection as the vehicle would be driving behind them to
- 18 provide the security, consistent with what we know about death
- 19 squad operations from Professor Karl.
- 20 Saravia directed Garay to get into a red Volkswagen
- 21 in order to drive the tall bearded man. The man had a long
- 22 rifle with a telescopic lens, consistent, as well, with the
- 23 Operation Piña document.
- 24 When Garay and the shooter returned to the house with

25 the Marañon trees, they were greeted by Saravia, who informed

1 the shooter, according to Garay, that he had successfully

- assassinated Archbishop Romero, as he had heard the news on 2
- 3 the radio.

П

- 4 Garay then accompanied Saravia, Nelson Morales, and
- Nelson Garcia back to Saravia's house in the Jeep Cherokee 5
- that they customarily used. 6
- 7 Several days later, Saravia reported to D'Aubuisson
- 8 "Mission completed" after Garay had driven him to a house that
- he described in some detail. 9
- 10 According to other evidence that had been presented,
- Saravia also delivered a sum of money which earlier had been 11
- 12 provided to him to pay the assassin or the assassin's agent.
- There is a wealth of other consistent and confirming 13
- evidence in addition to that of the testimony of Amado Garay. 14
- First, Ambassador White testified to meeting Alvaro Saravia 15
- 16 with Roberto D'Aubuisson. And he identified Saravia as,
- 17 quote, "one of the principal lieutenants of D'Aubuisson,"
- 18 unquote.
- 19 In addition, there were those many papers seized
- 20 during the San Luis Finca raid of May 7, 1980, just a month
- and a half after the Romero killing. 21
- Most importantly, the Operation Piña document was 22
- 23 judged by all who had viewed it in positions to know,
- 24 including Ambassador White's testimony of having provided it
- to several different professionals in the U.S. Embassy to 25

- 1 assess it. And according to Professor Karl's testimony,
- 2 several members of the ruling junta at that time, reviewed it
- 3 and all were of the conclusion that this reflected a plan to
- 4 assassinate Monseñor Romero.
- 5 And the writing in the lower portion was identified
- 6 by Professor Karl, who spent a good deal of time with Roberto
- 7 D'Aubuisson as the handwriting of Roberto D'Aubuisson. The
- 8 top handwriting is that of his paymaster, Alvaro Saravia.
- 9 It's also noteworthy that Saravia and D'Aubuisson
- 10 were segregated from the other 22 men that were arrested that
- 11 day at the San Luis Finca. The two of them were taken to the
- 12 Treasury Police. The minor characters, Amado Garay and
- 13 company, were taken elsewhere.
- 14 Just five days later, everything changed. Instead of
- 15 the moderate forces within the junta putting down a coup,
- 16 which the Secretary of State, Edward Muskie, at the time,
- 17 concluded was a coup attempt, five days later, Gutierrez and
- 18 the hardliners had come to power and Majano was effectively
- 19 out, and he was forced to flee the country just months later.
- 20 In addition, numerous declassified United States
- 21 Government cables showed that Saravia continued to work
- 22 closely with Roberto D'Aubuisson. Many of those cables refer
- 23 to D'Aubuisson as the architect of Monseñor Romero's murder.
- The document that we discussed earlier today, dated
- 25 April 23, 1981, Exhibit 225, mentions Saravia with

811

1 D'Aubuisson.

П

- 2 Similarly, documents dating from the May 1990
- 3 interview with Saravia by U.S. government representatives

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript describes Saravia as working with D'Aubuisson's security unit 4
- in the Legislative Assembly in the early 1980s; 1983, 1984. 5
- And then there is the matter of his extradition 6
- 7 request after the Public Prosecutor, Jose Francisco Guerrero,
- in 1985, had blocked one investigation. A new investigative 8
- 9 commission was established in 1986, which led, ultimately, to
- 10 the discovery of Amado Garay and his testimony in November of
- 11 1987, which gave rise to Judge Zamora's extradition request.
- That effort was put to an end in December of 1988, 12
- 13 when now Judge Jose Francisco Guerrero, Chief Judge of the
- 14 Salvadoran Supreme Court, issued a decision that found Amado's
- 15 Garay's testimony patently uncredible because it was seven
- 16 years old.
- 17 It does not cite any Salvadoran law in support of
- that proposition and, indeed, there is evidence that there is 18
- no Salvadoran law that would support the notion that 19
- 20 testimony, because it is seven years old, is per se,
- 21 incredible. And indeed, it is noteworthy that none of those
- 22 judges on the Supreme Court had ever assessed his credibility
- 23 themselves.
- 24 Finally, we have the documents from May 14, 1990,
- 25 concerning Mr. Saravia's effort to regularize his immigration

812

- status and negotiating concerning his knowledge of the Romero 1
- 2 killing.

П

- In addition to Saravia's clear involvement in the 3
- killing of Archbishop Romero, there is a wealth of evidence 4
- 5 that makes clear that D'Aubuisson and Saravia acted with the
- apparent authority and under the color of law of the 6
- government of El Salvador. 7

8

8

10

and "Colonel."

First, we have the professional testimony of

9	Ambassador White. He was quite unequivocal in that regard and
10	he was there at the time.
11	We have the expert testimony of Professor Karl, who
12	has made a study of this matter that is quite exhaustive, and
13	there is the wealth of declassified U.S. government documents
14	that are all consistent on this point.
15	As Professor Karl pointed out, the U.S. government
16	does not customarily release and declassify documents that
17	name names without there being full confidence that those
18	statements are accurate.
19	The death squads operated with the financial and
20	logistical support of the Salvadoran Armed Forces, and in
21	particular, that death squad that conducted the assassination
22	of Archbishop Romero did so.
23	Just one example, there is a 1984 CIA document that
24	was prepared for Vice-president Bush's meeting, or shortly
25	thereafter, that is quite up front about D'Aubuisson's
	813
1	involvement in right-wing terrorist activities and his
2	involvement, close involvement with the assassination of
3	Archbishop Romero and his close involvement with the Security
4	Forces and Armed Forces of El Salvador.
5	Death squads were incorporated into the military and
6	included both civilians and military officers working off
7	duty. And that's consistent with the testimony of Amado

Garay, referring to the so-called civilians Saravia and

D'Aubuisson, again, unconsciously and naturally as "Captain"

12	become common knowledge of the death squad's close involvement
13	with government forces, there is the fact that the government
14	of El Salvador repeatedly conspired to cover up the
15	responsibility for the assassination thereafter. In the
16	immediate wake of the killing, the National Police, contrary
17	to standard operating procedure, did not provide security at
18	the autopsy of Archbishop Romero. There was a large crowd
19	there. The police did not provide security.
20	Hours after Romero's body had been taken to the
21	Policlínica hospital, armed soldiers in camouflage uniforms

In addition to the abundance of evidence and what has

militarized, and we have heard Father Cortina on this issue, 23 24 they, nonetheless, allowed the nuns and sick people to hold a witness who had the best witness of what happened, the El 25

filled the chapel and surrounding areas. While the area was

Diario de Hoy photographer, and they allowed a strange man, 1

2 Father Cortina, to enter the crime scene and take the

3 photographer away with the camera and evidence. Clearly,

4 these officers were not interested in gathering the evidence

5 or investigating the crime.

And then there is testimony of Judge Ramirez Amaya, 6 7 who testified to being at the crime scene a few hours later with the National Police, who, again, contrary to the law and 8 9 standard operating procedure, actually refused to assist Judge 10 Ramirez Amaya in investigating the chapel as a crime scene.

Three days later, the National Police attempted to 11 12 murder Judge Ramirez Amaya. Ten minutes after the attempted assassination against him, a National Police inspector called 13 Ramirez Amaya and expressed surprise that he was still alive 14 Page 165

11

22

- 15 and knowledge about the recent attempt.
- And indeed, marked National Police vehicles were
- 17 parked on the street outside of his house and they did not
- 18 move, despite what was described as quite a gun fight, because
- 19 remember, Judge Ramirez was firing back with his shotgun.
- 20 This was not a couple of shots from a silencer. This was a
- 21 gun battle. And the police sat in the car, according to a
- 22 neighbor who identified that car.
- 23 All of this confirms a conclusion that the United
- 24 Nations Truth Commission reached: "In the 1980s, it was
- 25 dangerous to be a judge in El Salvador." And, indeed, the

815

- 1 Truth Commission noted that 28 judges were killed during this
- 2 time.

П

- 3 Reflecting the government's contempt for Archbishop
- 4 Romero and his people in mourning, bombs were thrown from the
- 5 National Palace at the funeral and they were thrown from the
- 6 National Palace, a restricted government building -- and we
- 7 have heard multiple witnesses testify to that -- in the crowd
- 8 of approximately 80 to 100,000 people that were gathered there
- 9 for the funeral. As many as 40 were killed and 200 injured in
- 10 the ensuing chaos.
- 11 Even after that initial thwarting of any pursuit of
- 12 justice, there were repeated steps taken by those in power to
- 13 thwart any attempts to obtain justice in this case.
- 14 In 1985, Jose Francisco Guerrero, D'Aubuisson's
- 15 personal lawyer, now in the role of the Public Prosecutor,
- 16 submitted the already discredited Pedro Lobo statements to the
- 17 court, the Fourth Criminal Court.

9-3-04 Trial Transcript A few years later, this same man, acting as the Judge 18 19 of the Supreme Court, put an end to the one significant effort to seek justice in this case against Saravia, the extradition 20 21 request. That decision of the Salvadoran Supreme Court of 22 December 1988 does not establish claim preclusion, because 23 they are different parties. It, similarly, does not establish 24 issue preclusion, because that decision is simply not entitled 25 to comity. 816 1 Its rather nonsensical analysis with regard to the 2 credibility of the key witness, Amado Garay, its over reaching 3 decision, because it did not simply order the withdrawal of the extradition request, but actually ordered the dismissal of 4 5 the case against Saravia entirely and, finally, the strong 6 indicia of bias, as documented in Ambassador William Walker's 7 cable of October 1998, Exhibit 96, all conclusively establish that that decision is not entitled to comity by this Court. 8 9 In addition, we have testimony from Maria Julia 10 Hernández and Judge Amaya that no judge was willing to serve 11

П

12

13

14

21

Hernández and Judge Amaya that no judge was willing to serve as a private prosecutor in this case, which was an option if the Public Prosecutor would not take the case. Similarly, there was no civil remedy in El Salvador absent a criminal prosecution.

And as Professor Roht-Arriaza has testified,
virtually all of these potential prosecutions were rendered
moot by the March 20, 1993 amnesty law, adopted just five days
after the Truth Commission Report was issued and subsequently
upheld by the Salvadoran Supreme Court, as we have already
discussed.

Thus, the evidence is clear: Saravia is liable for Page 167

	5 5 6 Tital Tailset ipe
22	extrajudicial killing under the Torture Victims Protection
23	Act.
24	That Act establishes: "Liability for an individual
25	acting under actual or apparent authority, or color
	817
1	of law, of any foreign nation, subjects an individual
2	to extrajudicial killing."
3	"Extrajudicial killing" is defined for the purposes
4	of this Act, the TVPA, as "a deliberate killing not
5	authorized by a previous judgment announced by a
6	regularly constituted court."
7	That certainly is the case here.
8	Saravia is also liable for extrajudicial killing
9	under the ATCA. The United States Supreme Court in the recent
10	Sosa v. Alvarez-Machain case stated, quote:
11	"The TVPA establishes an unambiguous modern basis for
12	federal claims of torture and extrajudicial killing,"
13	unquote.
14	Thus, it is quite clear that extrajudicial killing is
15	actionable as a violation of an international norm that is
16	sufficiently "specific, universal and obligatory" to give rise
17	to a claim under the ATCA.
18	In addition to his liability for extrajudicial
19	killing under both the TVPA and the ATCA, Saravia is liable
20	for crimes against humanity under the ATCA.
21	As Professor Roht-Arriaza has testified, crimes
22	against humanity are actionable under the ATCA. They meet the
23	"specific, universal and obligatory" standard for
24	international claims to be recognized and actionable under

25

- held. Both the Mehinovic court and the Wiwa court have 1
- recognized crimes against humanity as actionable under the 2
- 3 federal common law for which the ATCA provided jurisdiction.
- 4 Similarly, again, Professor Roht-Arriaza has
- 5 discussed, there is a wealth of case law from prospective
- 6 foreign tribunals, such as those established for the former
- 7 Yugoslavia and Rwanda, all recognizing crimes against humanity
- 8 as a violation of specifically universal and obligatory
- international standards. 9
- 10 Alvaro Saravia's involvement in the assassination of
- Archbishop Romero does constitute a crime against humanity. 11
- 12 As we have learned, the Rome Statute is the most recent
- 13 codification of crimes against humanity in Article 7 of that
- 14 statute.

П

- 15 While the U.S. is not a party, and Professor
- 16 Roht-Arriaza has explained, the U.S. played a leading role in
- the articulation of crimes against humanity in the Rome 17
- 18 Statute, which is, in effect, a codification of preexisting
- 19 conventions that date back to the Nuremberg trials, so this is
- 20 not a new piece of international law by any means. It is a
- 21 well established crime.
- The four elements of the crime against humanity are: 22
- 23 One, a violation of one of the enumerated acts. And
- 24 as she explained, there is, indeed, a long list of acts that
- 25 constitute crimes against humanity. Murder is at the top of

1 the list.

П

- 2 That act needs to be committed as part of a
- 3 widespread or systematic attack. And she also explained that
- 4 it could be in accordance with a plan or policy.
- 5 Here, too, the evidence is very clear that the
- 6 attacks by the military and their death squad associations
- 7 were both widespread and systematic. Archbishop Romero
- 8 himself documented and denounced before his death these
- 9 widespread and systematic attacks upon the poor, the church
- 10 and others in El Salvador. And in addition, this widespread
- 11 and systematic attack has been documented in numerous
- 12 declassified CIA and Department of State documents.
- The third element is that those attacks be directed
- 14 against a civilian population. And, again, unquestionably, in
- 15 El Salvador in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, there was a
- 16 civilian population under attack by government forces. And in
- 17 particular, those associated with the Church and believed to
- 18 be associated with, quote unquote, "subversive elements," came
- 19 under particular fire by these forces.
- 20 Finally, the act must be committed with knowledge.
- 21 And again, there can be no question of Saravia's knowledge.
- 22 In addition to his own statements, as recorded in those 1990
- 23 documents, there is the wealth of circumstantial evidence and
- 24 the direct evidence of Amado Garay. He carried out the order
- 25 issued by Roberto D'Aubuisson. He planned it. He organized

- 1 it. He ensured that it was implemented by providing a gun, a
- 2 shooter, a car and his own trusted driver.
- 3 As we have heard from Professor Roht-Arriaza just a

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript little while ago, it is also quite clear from the 4
- 5 international law on this subject that a single act by an
- individual, when taken within the context of a widespread or 6
- 7 systematic attack against a civilian population, does indeed
- 8 constitute a crime against humanity.
- That is the case here, and it is certainly the case 9
- 10 that the attack on Archbishop Romero precisely because of who
- 11 he was and the prominence of his position within El Salvador
- at that time, the one critical bridge between the different 12
- and increasingly polarized elements of that society, that 13
- 14 individual act, perhaps more than any other, is emblematic of
- 15 a crime against humanity. For in attacking Romero, they did
- indeed attack the whole El Salvadoran society. 16
- 17 So what are the damages for such a crime? Monseñor
- Romero was the bridge between the increasingly polarized 18
- 19 elements of that society on the brink of civil war. As you
- 20 heard from both Ambassador White and Professor Karl, it did
- 21 not have to go that way. It was still possible to pull the
- 22 country back from the brink of war.
- 23 But the far right wanted war. The hardliners refused
- 24 to make any concessions. Even the most minimal land reform
- 25 was anathema to them. To them, the moderate middle was more

821

- dangerous than the tiny and fractured armed left. And so they 1
- 2 attacked that middle violently and systematically. Without
- 3 question, the killing of Archbishop Romero was a catalyst to
- 4 war.

П

- 5 And what damage that war caused. As Professor Karl
- 6 has testified, more than 75,000 civilians were killed, many in
- the most horrendous ways in the first years following the 7 Page 171

- 8 assassination of Romero. While over a thousand were killed in
- 9 1979, in 1980 the killing went off the charts, with more than
- 10 11,000 killed. And in 1981, the orgy of blood-letting
- 11 intensified further, with more than 16,000 civilians killed.
- 12 And so many of those were those who worked with the poor, the
- 13 catechists, the priests, the nuns, the union activists,
- 14 doctors, day care workers, like Esther Chavez.
- The Truth Commission concluded that the military and
- 16 death squads, same ones that killed Romero, were responsible
- 17 for almost 85 percent of these deaths. And in addition to
- 18 those that died, more than a million, roughly one-fifth of the
- 19 population, was forced into exile and another 600,000
- 20 internally displaced.
- 21 As Professor Karl described, the economic and
- 22 infrastructure costs on of this war on this small country were
- 23 staggering. In truth, it has been a lost generation of
- 24 development.

П

25 And yet, of course, the numbers cannot capture or

- 1 express the many forms of suffering caused by the killing of
- 2 Archbishop Romero.
- 3 As we discussed in our -- in detail in our filing
- 4 yesterday, the case law in this area provides for six factors
- 5 for evaluating damages in these kinds of cases. I will
- 6 address them in order. Well, a little bit out of order. I
- 7 will address each of the six.
- 8 First, the brutality of the act. The killing of
- 9 Archbishop Romero was not brutal in a bloody way, as so many
- 10 other atrocities in El Salvador were. A sniper's bullet is

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript almost benign compared with the tales of torture and 11
- mutilation that emanated from that stricken land. Yet 12
- 13 Archbishop Romero's killing was exceptionally brutal due to
- the powerful symbolism of the deed. The priest was killed 14
- while celebrating Mass, the intentional profaning of that 15
- sacred space, an attack upon a faith shared so deeply by so 16
- 17 many in that country. That was immediately understood by all.
- 18 And that was the point.
- Second, the egregiousness of the defendant's conduct. 19
- 20 Saravia organized the killing. It was intentional and part of
- 21 the systemic plan. It was widespread. This was not the act
- 22 of a reluctant soldier following orders and certainly was no
- crime of passion. We heard Garay testify that Saravia had 23
- 24 declared the priests were their worst enemies. And remember,
- these were men that referred to themselves as military 25

officers. It was Captain Saravia referring to the priests as 1

823

- 2 their worst enemy. No, this was an intentional act of terror
- and part of a widespread and systematic effort to terrorize 3
- 4 the civilian population.
- 5 The third factor is the unavailability of criminal
- remedy. As we have heard repeatedly from numerous witnesses, 6
- 7 Judge Ramirez Amaya, Maria Julia Hernández and Professor
- Roht-Arriaza and Professor Karl, there has been no hope for 8
- 9 justice in this case in El Salvador.
- 10 The killers amnestied themselves just five days after
- the Truth Commission Report was released. The ruling party 11
- 12 was founded by Roberto D'Aubuisson.
- while there are still a few fighting the good fight 13
- in El Salvador, doing what they can, persons such as Judge 14 Page 173

- 15 Ramirez Amaya, they are a few, and their options are very
- 16 limited, particularly in a case like this, as emblematic as it
- 17 is.

П

- 18 Fourth factor for assessing damages is the extent to
- 19 which it can deter others from committing similar acts. As we
- 20 have said at the outset, this case is part of a growing
- 21 movement toward accountability in the Americas.
- While we were in this hearing, just last week,
- 23 Chile's highest court that ruled that Augosto Pinochet can
- 24 stand trial. Professor Roht-Arriaza testified to some of the
- 25 related procedures.

- 1 The ATCA cases for civil damages represent our
- 2 nation's contribution to this international effort to end
- 3 impunity. This case can send a message that human rights
- 4 abusers are not welcome in this country. As officers of the
- 5 court, and as instruments of the judicial system here, we have
- 6 a responsibility to send such a message.
- 7 Fifth factor is the international condemnation of the
- 8 act. There is no question but this case, the killing of
- 9 Romero was greeted by the world with shock and horror.
- 10 In addition to the headlines from the times, dozens
- 11 of declarations have been submitted in this case testifying to
- 12 the impact that this killing had. Three Nobel Peace Prize
- 13 laureates from the Americas, as some examples, provided
- 14 declarations: Adolfo Perez Esquivel, who experienced
- 15 Argentina's Dirty War, submitted such a declaration condemning
- 16 this act. Rigoberto Menchu, who described a similar level of
- 17 persecution of the Church in her neighboring Guatemala,

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript submitted a similar declaration condemning this act.
19	President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica, who worked for peace in
20	that period during the 1980s, submitted a declaration
21	condemning this act.
22	And here in the United States, we have heard from two
23	members of Congress, Michael Barnes of Maryland, and George
24	Miller of California, as well as numerous leaders and lay
25	people from the religious communities, all condemning this
	825
1	act.
2	And from Europe, we have heard from priests and
3	academics and we have learned of Romero's place along the ten
4	modern martyrs that grace the entrance to Westminster Abbey in
5	London.
6	And just yesterday we heard from one more voice and
7	one more continent. Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa,
8	who also was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his
9	nonviolent opposition to the Apartheid regime, submitted a
10	declaration and I would like to read a few paragraphs from it
11	as I touch on this.
12	Archbishop Tutu wrote:
13	"I never had the privilege of meeting Archbishop Oscar
14	Romero, but I certainly knew of him and his efforts
15	to speak out against the human rights abuses
16	committed by the then government of El Salvador.
17	"I felt we were partners together in similar
18	situations, speaking the word of God to encourage our
19	people who were battered, beaten and oppressed by
20	governments whose role should have been to nuture,

protect and uplift their citizens. Page 175

"In 1980, when Oscar Romero was assassinated, I was
General Secretary of the South African Council of
Churches. It was a great shock to us, even though we
knew that many of his clergy had been attacked,

killed, or been disappeared. We never believed that
a man with such passion and compassion would be
attacked and shot.
"His assassination in public with his people was
reminiscent of the assassination of another great
man, Mahatma Gandhi. Such a brutal act demonstrated
the arrogance of the perpetrators, their total
disrespect for life and confidence in their impunity
"This confidence stands on the support they enjoyed
from a foreign nation, the most powerful in the
world. It is this collaboration that allowed those
in power in El Salvador to ignore their people and
seek their own political ends. Such powerful
alliances served the interests of the few and have
led to the misery and suffering of millions in many
developing countries. Tragically, El Salvador has
been such a victim.
"Oscar Romero was a true martyr. He died for his
faith and for what that says about caring, sharing,
love and freedom. He is a role model and an example
of what it means to live out one's faith at whatever
cost. He is one of those great men to be remembered
and revered for his defense of human rights and
belief that this is a moral universe. Evil and

827

1	overcome by their glorious opposites, love and
2	freedom. This case is evidence that this is so.
3	"The purpose is not retribution, but to seek the
4	truth, and to restore the moral balance. This case
5	is a message to those who would hold on to power and
6	profit and who turned the military might of their
7	country on their own people to crush them. The voice
8	of people cannot be silenced forever. Righteousness
9	will prevail. It is the truth that will ultimately
10	make us free."
11	The last factor when assessing damages is that of
12	providing redress. To the plaintiff, to the country, and to
13	the world.
14	The plaintiff's declaration has expressed how much
15	Archbishop Romero's family has suffered, and we have heard
16	testimony from many others. And here today with us are many
17	who, like Francisco Acosta, seek healing through the
18	achievement of justice and the proclamation of truth.
19	And yet there are others for whom we today seek
20	redress. On the quiet leafy grounds of a park in San
21	Salvador, there is a memorial, a simple stone wall. It is
22	shortly after 6:00 p.m., a warm evening. The noise of the
23	bustling city is muted.
24	Before the wall, there is a campesina, a peasant
25	woman Maria She is searching the wall for the engraved

- 1 names of her loved ones. Her son, who is disappeared. Her
- 2 niece, who was found dead along the road, her thumbs tied
- 3 behind her back. Her cousin, who fled to the U.S. only to die
- 4 crossing the Arizona desert.
- 5 Maria's fingers trace the stone's depressions, and
- 6 she does not find their names. There are over 23,000 names
- 7 engraved on that wall. There were many thousands more whose
- 8 names are not known, who are remembered only by those who
- 9 loved them and survived.
- 10 Maria's gnarled old fingers seek out the name of
- 11 another loved one, whose name is there, "Monseñor." And once
- 12 again, he is the "Voice of the Voiceless, the Name for Those
- 13 with No Name."

П

- 14 There is a practice in Latin American countries of
- 15 pronouncing the presence of the departed: "Monseñor Romero:
- 16 Presenté." Monseñor Romero is present among us. He has been,
- 17 as he predicted, resurrected in the people of El Salvador.
- 18 His legacy is indeed great.
- 19 But what is that legacy? In addition to being a
- 20 beacon of hope, a model of courage, faith and dignity and
- 21 dedication to human rights, as Archbishop Tutu and so many
- 22 others have attested, his is the paradigmatic case of
- 23 impunity. As such, he symbolizes what in Spanish is known as
- 24 "El Dolor," the sadness and pain, the grief and despair of
- 25 that campesina woman and so many like her.

- 1 By achieving justice here today, we can help to
- 2 ensure the resurrection of the living Romero, the one who
- 3 stood bravely, yet humbly, in defense of human rights, who

```
9-3-04 Trial Transcript spoke truth to power out of a deep and abiding love for the
 4
     dignity of all human beings. And such an act of justice might
 5
     itself be one of redemption, of resurrection.
 6
 7
              Let us act then to achieve justice. For Monseñor
 8
     Romero and all those for whom he still gives a voice.
 9
              Monseñor Romero: Presenté.
10
              Thank you, your Honor.
11
              THE COURT: Before you sit down.
12
              MR. Van AELSTYN: Yes.
              THE COURT: You have not suggested a figure nor have
13
14
     you addressed the subject of punitive damages, which you seek.
15
     And the most current jurisprudence of the Supreme Court and
16
     the Ninth Circuit, I think the last case that addresses the
17
     issue on the Supreme Court level is State Farm Mutual
     Automobile Insurance Company versus Campbell, 538 U.S. 408.
18
              And to summarize that, in a case where compensatory
19
```

damages are awarded, the measure, if any, of punitive damages,

21 where, if we use the standard of American law, which is

22 malice, fraud, oppression and intentional disregard of the

23 known rights of others, the Supreme Court now talks in terms

24 of multiple single digit multiples, and talks in terms of

25 looking to precedential and related kinds of remedial law that

830

1 would talk about penalties.

П

Because the concept of exemplary damages is not only

3 to punish, but it is to set the example to those who would act

4 in similar ways or adopt the means of malice, fraud,

5 oppression or intentional disregard of rights.

6 But, nonetheless, is that a doubling, a tripling, a

7 quadrupling? There is a limit, and it's not defined. And as Page 179

- 8 I say, you have not stated any amount relative to your claim
- 9 for damage on behalf of your client, and I give you the
- 10 opportunity to do so now.

- 11 MR. Van AELSTYN: Thank you, your Honor. I
- 12 appreciate the opportunity, but we will decline to give a
- 13 figure. We do not feel qualified to put a monetary figure on
- 14 the kind of damages that we have described in this case, and
- 15 which the evidence shows is beyond measure.
- I apologize, your Honor, but I believe that --
- 17 THE COURT: There is no apology necessary. For those
- 18 who are not learned in the law and are present, the sole
- 19 remedy that the law provides for a loss, where life is taken
- 20 without cause, is money. The law calls the remedy "damages,"
- 21 and it attempts to quantify the unquantifiable.
- 22 And you don't offer a figure. It will be my duty,
- 23 depending upon the outcome of the case, to then fix the
- 24 amount. Thank you very much, Mr. Van Aelstyn.
- 25 Is the matter now submitted for decision?

23 13 the matter now submitted for decision:

1 MR. Van AELSTYN: Yes, your Honor.

THE COURT: All right, I'm going to provide a partial

831

3 oral statement of decision. I'm going to follow this with

4 written findings of fact and conclusions of law.

- 5 We have, through no fault of anyone, reached a time
- 6 of the day where we have a limit on time because of,
- 7 unfortunately, the availability of the court staff.
- 8 And so I will say what the law requires to be said
- 9 and the findings that are necessary and will be integral to
- 10 the supporting, both factually and legally, of the decision in

- 9-3-04 Trial Transcript the case, and then the amplification of all of the reasons and 11
- the identification of all of the evidence will be contained in 12
- 13 the written findings because, for the reason that I have just
- 14 stated, we are not going to have the time that would be
- 15 appropriate and necessary to fully cover the issues.
- 16 There are two concerns in approaching a case that
- 17 involves issues that go beyond the law. And in some ways, the
- 18 law is inadequate, and it does not have a voice to recognize
- the kinds of concerns that have been presented through the 19
- 20 testimony of witnesses who actually lived and experienced and
- 21 know what this case concerns.
- The case is discrete. The case addresses and seeks a 22
- specific remedy under defined statutory law. It is a wrongful 23
- 24 death action brought by a plaintiff who, the Court has made a
- finding for reasons that are factually justified but will not 25

- be stated in public, because of the concerns that are 1
- expressed in other findings, the plaintiff in this case brings 2
- 3 an action for the wrongful death of Alvaro -- I'm sorry, for
- 4 the wrongful death of Archbishop Romero against Alvaro Rafael
- 5 Saravia.

- The Alien Tort Claims Act of the United States and 6
- 7 the supplementation of that Act by the Torture Victim
- Protection Act of 1991 provide for cases of extrajudicial 8
- 9 killing a civil action, which can result, if the required
- 10 elements are proved, in a recovery of damages to a person who
- may be a claimant in an action for wrongful death. It being 11
- 12 acknowledged that we are not concerned with a case where an
- 13 individual's legal representative is presenting the claim.
- The case law, the House Judiciary Committee Report on 14 Page 181

- 15 the Torture Victim Protection Act, as well as the Alien Tort
- 16 Claims Act have recognized, and I think it relatively
- 17 indisputable that any person who may be a claimant in an
- 18 action for wrongful death may bring suit.
- 19 And there are at least three sources of law that can
- 20 be relied upon for the definition of the eligibility of that
- 21 person. The Court may look to state law. The Court may look
- 22 to federal law. And the -- although there are justices just
- 23 as there is a split on the Supreme Court about whether federal
- 24 common law can be, if you will, expanded and defined beyond
- 25 statute.

П

- 1 And then under choice of law analysis, the law of the
- 2 origin of the cause giving rise to the wrongful death, in this
- 3 case, the law of El Salvador, would be another source of the
- 4 right of the plaintiff to maintain this case.
- 5 There is, the Court finds, no relative disagreement
- 6 in the case law that, based on the relationship of the
- 7 plaintiff to the decedent, that whether under state law,
- 8 federal law of the United States, or the law of El Salvador,
- 9 the individual who maintains this action stands in such a
- 10 relationship to the decedent that the standing would be
- 11 recognized under any interpretation, and the Xuncaxv,
- 12 X-U-N-C-A-X-V, versus Gramajo case, G-R-A-M-A-J-O, 886
- 13 Fed.Supp 162, and the Estate of Cabello, C-A-B-E-L-L-O, versus
- 14 Fernandez-Larios, 152 Fed.Supp 2d 1345, provide very adequate
- 15 discussion of the legal right of the plaintiff to maintain
- 16 this case.
- 17 The elements, if you will, that must be satisfied,

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript once we determine that a plaintiff in this case has standing,
19	which I find as a matter of fact and law has been satisfied,
20	then the requirements of the statutes must be met.
21	And here there is a an alternative remedy that is
22	sought under two statutory provisions. Under the Alien Tort
23	Claims Act, as has just been stated, a remedy exists for
24	extrajudicial killing. And under the Torture Victim
25	Protection Act, both a remedy for extrajudicial killing or for
	834
1	crimes against humanity is provided.
2	The discussion of the technical requirements of the
3	law the Court will defer at this time in the interest of time,
4	although I intend to make those findings.
5	An extrajudicial killing, to paraphrase, is the
6	taking of a human life without the due process of law, where
7	there has been no finding by a competent authority after
8	notice and opportunity to be heard and using a duly
9	constituted and lawful procedure to determine that there is a
10	justification for the taking of life, the cold blooded
11	assassination of the Archbishop of a nation could not be a
12	better example of an extrajudicial killing.
13	The crimes against humanity requirements are defined.
14	We heard most recently from Professor Roht-Arriaza. And,
15	again, I'm going to not go through the elements, but to find
16	that in this case, the facts support the determination that
17	the second alternative ground is met.
18	Once the statute that provides the cause of action,
19	which is the legal term for the claim as just defined, is
20	potentially applicable, then the facts must be analyzed and a
21	determination made whether the extrajudicial killing was Page 183

- 22 accomplished by the defendant in this case specifically, and
- 23 that that was the cause of damage.

- 24 Those are the tort elements under the Alien Tort
- 25 Claims Act. And in the extrajudicial killing and crimes

- 1 against humanity, there must be the additional evidence that
- 2 the pattern and policy of a governmental entity or a regularly
- 3 constituted force that was accomplished under color of law
- 4 resulted in the commission of a crime, and murder is one of
- 5 the historically recognized types of acts that fits the
- 6 definition of a crime against humanity.
- 7 And here, there is more than substantial evidence to
- 8 prove by a preponderance, which is the legal standard that
- 9 applies in this case. The "preponderance of the evidence"
- 10 means evidence that more likely proves, when considered
- 11 against opposing evidence, that the fact to be proved is true.
- 12 It can be visualized as the tipping of the scales; if the
- 13 scales of justice are equal, if the evidence is sufficient to
- 14 make the scales tip in favor of the proponent's claim, then
- 15 the evidence is said to preponderate.
- 16 And here the evidence shows that there was a
- 17 consistent and unabating regime that was in control of the
- 18 country of El Salvador long before the 70s, but for our
- 19 purposes, what is relevant is from the late 70s, and that
- 20 although this regime had different leaders at different times
- 21 and may have taken different political forms, was,
- 22 essentially, although it might not be defined as a
- 23 dictatorship that was focused on a central identified
- 24 authority, it functioned as a militarily-controlled government

- 1 rights that were effectuated for the purposes of perpetuating
- 2 the concentration of land and wealth in an oligarchy that
- 3 served to perpetuate the control and the dominance of the
- 4 military over society for the repressive purposes of stifling
- 5 speech, of preventing the normal exercise of civil liberties,
- and from preventing the people of El Salvador from realizing 6
- 7 the hopes and dreams that most members of humanity in an
- 8 ordered and civilized society premised on liberty and the rule
- of law enjoy. 9

П

- 10 Those rights were not enjoyed because of a repressive
- regime which utilized actively and continuously the means and 11
- 12 methods of murder, torture, kidnapping, and other physical and
- 13 psychological weapons to create a state of fear, intimidation,
- 14 coercion, and repression.
- 15 And it was the position and the role of the decedent
- 16 in this case, Archbishop Romero, in, as the evidence has
- 17 established, being a voice that stood for independence and
- 18 that would not be intimidated nor silenced in the light of
- 19 what he knew was a threat to his very existence. He predicted
- 20 his own death. He knew he would be killed and he was killed
- 21 by the forces that had proved continuously that they were
- 22 ready, willing, able and continued to engage in that conduct.
- 23 The question then turns to recognizing that the
- 24 extrajudicial killing and the crime against humanity, which
- the extrajudicial killing also satisfies the requirements of, 25

- 1 whether the responsibility for that can be linked to the
- 2 defendant in this case.
- 3 There is one defendant. Roberto D'Aubuisson's estate
- 4 is not before us. None of the others who were in the
- 5 military, perhaps the acting president, others or the
- 6 president-in-fact at the time, are not here.
- 7 And that brings us to another legal issue. That is,
- 8 to maintain the claim, not only must there be standing, not
- 9 only must the elements of the statute, the legal elements,
- 10 which I have gone over, be satisfied, but there is a time
- 11 requirement.
- 12 And statute of limitations is most recently,
- 13 according to the Ninth Circuit, taken from the Torture Victim
- 14 Protection Act, it is a ten-year statute of limitations. And
- 15 the statute of limitations runs ordinarily from the time of
- 16 the act that is known to give rise to the claim. And here, of
- 17 course, nothing could have been more public and more known to
- 18 the world than the assassination of the Archbishop of the
- 19 nation of El Salvador. And so why is the case brought 23
- 20 years later?

П

- 21 And at the same time, another issue has to be faced.
- 22 And that is, even though he isn't here, we haven't seen him,
- 23 we haven't heard him, but under the law of the United States,
- 24 no person can be sued and relief cannot be given by a court
- 25 without due process of law being afforded to the person

- 1 against whom the remedy is sought.
- Of course, we have here the ultimate juxtaposition of
- 3 the means and the methods by which the regime in El Salvador

```
9-3-04 Trial Transcript
```

- 4 operated, the antithesis of due process, where summary
- 5 executions and the summary dispensation of the remedies that
- 6 they imposed upon the populous were effectuated. But here in
- 7 this court, even the worst of the worst are entitled to due
- 8 process of law and all the protections that the Constitution
- 9 of our nation affords, and so should it be.
- 10 The Court finds that in this case the defendant,
- 11 Alvaro Rafael Saravia, is in fact properly before the Court
- 12 for the following reasons.
- 13 The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and Rule 4
- 14 provide that the means of effectuation of service of the
- 15 summons and complaint, the means by which personal
- 16 jurisdiction is obtained over a party defendant, can be
- 17 effectuated by means provided under state law.
- The state law provides for substituted service to be
- 19 effectuated by leaving the summons and complaint at the
- 20 residence of or a place where communications, such as mail,
- 21 are received by a person.

П

- The evidence here establishes, through the process
- 23 server's declaration, a Miss Kaufman, that direct contact was
- 24 made with a Ms. Olssen, who identified Mr. Saravia, the
- 25 Saravia whom she received mail for, who had lived there, who

- 1 apparently she persuaded, according to the process server she
- 2 told, to move from Miami, Florida to Modesto.
- 3 We know that when, in the 1980s, the -- it was in the
- 4 1983 to 1985 time frame, when the defendant left El Salvador,
- 5 he first moved with his family to Miami, Florida. Apparently,
- 6 he is no longer united with his family, but lived, the
- 7 evidence establishes by a preponderance, in Modesto.
  Page 187

	The second secon
8	He authorized Ms. Olssen to receive communications
9	for him, and, therefore, the service on her of the summons and
10	complaint and the mailing within 30 days of the summons and
11	complaint, as prescribed by the law of the State of
12	California, is proof, in accordance with the requirements of
13	Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 4, that satisfies us that it
14	is the same name, the same Social Security number, a former
15	Captain in the Salvadoran Air Force. It is an individual who
16	is the same as was subject to extradition proceedings in 1986
17	and '87 in Miami, where he was incarcerated for a period of
18	time while the extradition proceedings were in progress.
19	Therefore, the Court is satisfied that the right
20	Alvaro Rafael Saravia is before this case. And specifically
21	on December 16th of 2003, Ms. Olssen, who received the summons
22	and complaint told the process server that she knew
23	Mr. Saravia had a wife, a daughter and a son in Miami. That
24	he rarely talked with his children. That she knew that
25	Mr. Saravia had been in the Air Force in El Salvador, and that

840

1 he had arrived in Modesto in 1990.

That Ms. Olssen had met Mr. Saravia in Miami,

3 Florida, that she had been introduced to Mr. Saravia by her

4 brother, Julio Viltoro (phonetic), and that she had told

5 Mr. Saravia about the kind of city Modesto was and that

6 motivated him to move to Modesto, California.

7 So the Court is satisfied that there is substantial

8 evidence to find the summons and complaint has been served in

9 accordance with the requirements of law and that the personal

10 and subject matter jurisdiction both exist in this case to

That is one of the subjects that we discussed with

1 Professor Roht-Arriaza, that under our separation of powers,

2 courts don't make political decisions, courts don't enforce

3 laws, they interpret laws.

4 And here, the evidence establishes by a preponderance

5 that due to the climate of repression, reprisal, coercion and

6 intimidation, the active operation of life-threatening

7 activities by the organized military that acted for the

8 government, which included, but is not limited to, the

9 National Police and the Security Police -- we didn't hear

10 about too many repressive actions by the Treasury Police, but

11 those two we certainly did, the National Police and the

12 Security Police.

13 We also have substantial evidence that in the

14 investigation of the murder of the Archbishop, that those Page 189

- 15 police forces actively and intentionally abdicated their
- 16 functions of investigating and of pursuing the identification
- 17 of the perpetrator or perpetrators responsible for the
- 18 assassination; that they, in effect, by their actions and some
- 19 words communicated to Judge Amaya of the Fourth Criminal Court
- 20 of El Salvador, who was the investigating judge under
- 21 Salvadoran law and was attempting to discharge his legal
- 22 responsibilities, to gather evidence, to proceed with the
- 23 autopsy, to prepare the case with -- it should have been with
- 24 the assistance of the Security Police and the National Police
- 25 for presentation to the Public Prosecutor, he was thwarted and

842

- 1 obstructed by both the inaction and the nonapplication to
- 2 purpose by the Security Police and the National Police, who
- 3 essentially, took no actions to conduct what would be a
- 4 normally constituted investigation.
- 5 As Judge Ramirez Amaya described, there was no
- 6 securing of the crime scene, there was no gathering of
- 7 evidence, there was no interviewing of witnesses, there was no
- 8 perpetuation of evidence through photographing. There was no
- 9 attempt to preserve the integrity of the crime scene and any
- 10 evidence gathered.
- And, in fact, when he was called and asked to bring
- 12 the evidence to the National Police, Judge Ramirez Amaya said
- 13 because of the fact that he was not only afraid for himself
- 14 but because authorities were not doing their jobs, he refused
- 15 to turn over what evidence he had which consisted of the three
- 16 bullet fragments that had been recovered from the body of the
- 17 Archbishop.

18	9-3-04 Trial Transcript The Court finds that there was an actual murder
19	attempt on the life of Judge Ramirez Amaya, that his
20	housekeeper was shot in front of him. Those bullets were
21	intended for him, but struck her in the back.
22	That it was told by people he recognized I'm not
23	going to take the hearsay declaration of the person on the
24	street about the Security Forces cars that were out there
25	because he didn't see them, but I will find that the evidence
	843
1	clearly establishes that a National Police person, who the
2	judge's mother had helped get his initial position, told him
3	that, "If they wanted to kill you, they would have killed
4	you." And that, in effect, the inference that can be drawn
5	from that is this is a warning.
6	However, the judge, with justification, knew his life
7	was in danger and then left El Salvador for ten years. He was
8	prevented from performing his judicial function.
9	And then I'm not going to go through step by step all
10	that happens in the attempts to pursue the investigation. But
11	the evidence supports strongly the findings that there was no
12	good faith or legitimate endeavor by the Salvadoran government
13	to pursue an honest and an investigation conducted with
14	integrity that would seek the identification of the
15	perpetrators.
16	Rather, the evidence shows that the government,
17	including the court system, especially the Supreme Court and
18	Judge Guerrero, did everything in their power to abdicate
19	their judicial function, to ignore, to distort. They
20	fabricated evidence. They produced a false witness who was
21	offered, according to his statement, \$50,000 to, in effect, Page 191

- 22 accept responsibility for the assassination himself, although
- 23 he was incarcerated at the time, which made impracticable his
- 24 participation in the event and puts the lie to the attempted
- 25 prevarication that apparently was being accomplished through

844

- 1 the Public Prosecutor then, who later became the Presiding
- 2 Judge of the Supreme Court of El Salvador, who found, based on
- 3 evidence that was given by an eyewitness to the assassination
- 4 and a coconspirator to the assassination, unreliable
- 5 testimony, because it was, according to him, aged, seven years
- 6 in age.

- 7 And, again, experts in the law of El Salvador have
- 8 testified that there is no such, specifically Judge Amaya,
- 9 that there is no such principle of El Salvadoran law that the
- 10 time that passes -- of course, a memory can fade, other events
- 11 can intervene, but given the nature of the circumstances and
- 12 events of this assassination, the Court finds that that
- 13 finding is unjustified either in fact or in law, and that that
- 14 proceeding and the determination of the alleged unreliability
- 15 of the witness Garay by that court is entitled to no weight
- 16 because parties in this case and that case are different.
- 17 The court and tribunal in that case did not have the
- 18 witness before it. It did not use any traditional or well
- 19 recognized principles for the assessment of credibility,
- 20 including motive, including opportunity, including the
- 21 determination of whether compensation was offered, whether
- 22 other benefits, whether any bias, whether allegiances, whether
- 23 protection, whether other consideration was offered to the
- 24 witness as would affect his testimony.

П

- 1 evidence to support by a preponderance a finding that the
- 2 defendant properly before this Court, Alvaro Rafael Saravia,
- 3 is in fact responsible in law and fact for the wrongful death
- 4 of Archbishop Romero.
- 5 The evidence establishes that Garay was a former
- 6 military personnel. I don't remember him stating his rank,
- 7 but he was not a commissioned officer. He was a personal
- 8 driver for the defendant in this case.
- 9 The Court did have the opportunity to observe, to
- 10 evaluate and to weigh the testimony of Garay. The Court had
- 11 the opportunity to question Garay directly, and did question
- 12 him directly, and finds that he hasn't testified just in this
- 13 court.
- 14 He has given testimony or at least statements on
- 15 three other occasions. That there is no material
- 16 inconsistency in those statements; that independent
- 17 corroboration and information in the form of Department of
- 18 State, United States Department of State departments -- I
- 19 should say documents and records, and statements made by
- 20 Saravia himself link Garay to not only Saravia, but to death
- 21 squad activities.
- Where, in this case, the witness testified, Garay,
- 23 that he had driven on approximately 15 occasions where
- 24 assassinations were carried out; that he was present initially
- 25 at the home of Saravia, that there then ensued a direction to

- 1 him whereby he was introduced to an individual, a bearded man
- who was tall, who he was told he would drive for.
- 3 He was provided a car, a red Volkswagen. He was
- 4 directed -- at the time the introduction was through the
- 5 defendant Saravia -- and the witness has testified that he
- 6 drove the car, that he drove to a location which he
- 7 recognized.

П

- 8 He recognized the Chapel of the Hospital of Divine
- 9 Providence where Archbishop Romero was engaged in the service
- 10 of the Holy Mass, and that he was told to lean down in the
- 11 car. This is the driver Garay. That he heard an explosion.
- 12 And that on the way to the church chapel, that he had been
- 13 told by the shooter that the shooter was going to kill -- his
- 14 assignment was to kill a priest.
- 15 And that they then drove back slowly, which again,
- 16 shows the likelihood of the involvement of the government.
- 17 There was no urgency, no fear of apprehension, no concern
- 18 about police authorities intercepting them.
- 19 They returned and, within four days, in the presence
- 20 of Garay, the defendant in this case, Saravia, reported to
- 21 Major or Colonel, whichever he was, D'Aubuisson that the
- 22 mission had been accomplished. Money was exchanged. And the
- 23 Court makes a finding by preponderance that Saravia was the
- 24 paymaster. I think it's colones, but I'm not sure of that
- 25 pronunciation, for the medium of exchange in El Salvador, but

- 1 it was a thousand of them, whatever they are, it was about 200
- 2 U.S. dollars that was paid to the assassin.
- 3 And the Court finds that that evidence and the

```
9-3-04 Trial Transcript documents support a finding that to be liable for the wrongful
 4
     killing of another being, you don't have to pull the trigger,
 5
     you don't have to be present, that you can plan, you can
 6
 7
     facilitate, you can aid, abet. And here the obtaining of a
 8
     trusted and a reliable and competent driver, the payment of
     the assassin, the reporting to the mastermind, D'Aubuisson,
 9
     all are what the law calls "overt acts," where two or more
10
11
     persons agree to engage in conduct which is unlawful.
              The law recognizes that as conspiracy for which there
12
13
     is vicarious liability. Vicarious liability, meaning that you
14
     are as responsible for the act, even though you don't commit
15
     it yourself, even if you are not present, even if you don't
16
     see it, you are jointly and severally as accountable and
17
     responsible as the person who pulls the trigger.
              And here the defendant Saravia, I find, has been
18
19
     proved by a preponderance of the evidence to be a
20
     coconspirator, an aider and abettor, to be vicariously and
21
     actually liable in law and fact for the murder of the
```

humanity that the assassination of the Archbishop was.Once the defendant has been found to have breached

848

Archbishop, and that his conduct is the cause in law of the

death, the wrongful extrajudicial killing and crime against

1 the duty to society not to kill people, once he has been found

2 to be the active cause of the death which was wrongful, then

3 the law turns to the inquiry: Was there damage?

4 And in this case, the damage is multi-faceted and it

5 is of a magnitude that is hardly describable. And as I have

6 said already, the law can provide only dollars. It cannot

7 restore. It can't build monuments, it can't hold services.
Page 195

22

- 8 It can only say to the defendant: You are liable for what you
- 9 have done, and for that, you must pay. And the only thing
- 10 that we can in a civil court require that the defendant pay is
- 11 money.
- The law has a different way of valuing the life. It
- 13 is true that the perpetrator takes the victim as the
- 14 perpetrator finds the victim.
- 15 And here the evidence, in the form of the
- 16 confidential affidavit of the plaintiff, shows that there was
- 17 a close and a meaningful and a significant relationship of a
- 18 lifetime between the plaintiff and the decedent who has been
- 19 wrongfully killed. That deprivation is not only that are
- 20 emotional, that are intangible, that are compensable in the
- 21 sense that stature and advancement in life was affected, not
- 22 to mention the mental state of having someone, and I can't say
- 23 any more publicly, I will provide it in my written findings, a
- 24 portion of which will be under seal, but here, the loss was
- 25 substantial.

П

- The law looks not just to the accomplishments and the
- 2 achievements, and I'm not going to take the time to make those
- 3 findings because every witness and counsel have eloquently
- 4 stated better than I can state the value of the Archbishop of
- 5 El Salvador, Señor Romero, what he meant to his country and to
- 6 the world.
- 7 And so here the compensation that is awarded cannot
- 8 measure that. You can't account for such an individual. And
- 9 what his contribution to society and to the cause of human
- 10 rights was or is and continues to be.

11	9-3-04 Trial Transcript Rather, we can only use the most traditional means
12	that the law recognizes based on his life expectancy, based on
13	his station in life.
14	And in this case, the Court finds that the
15	appropriate measure of damages is the sum to compensate the
16	plaintiff for the loss of the decedent \$2,500,000 because
17	there is a moral element, and to punish and to set an example,
18	trebling damages, it seems to me, is most appropriate here,
19	the sum of \$7,500,000 in punitive damages is awarded to the
20	plaintiff.
21	That completes my statement of decision. Is there
22	anything further? My oral statement, but not my written
23	statement.
24	MR. Van AELSTYN: No, your Honor. We have nothing
25	further, thank you.
	850
1	THE COURT: All right. We will stand in recess.
2	(The proceedings were concluded at 5:30 p.m.)
3	(The audience in the courtroom was heard to shout
4	three times: Monseñor Romero: Presenté.)
5	
6	I, PEGGY J. CRAWFORD, Official Reporter, do hereby
7	certify the foregoing transcript as true and correct.
8	DATED: PEGGY J. CRAWFORD
9	
10	
11	
12 13	

14

Page 197