

thousands of young men into service. The result is warfare of the very poor against the very poor. The middle and upper class are on the sidelines, except for some idealists among them who join the guerrillas.

I have often wondered how these poor boys in the Army—as most of them are—can be brought to fight against their own people. They have faced the same poverty and oppression as the fighters among the guerrillas. And here they are, facing death to defend the interests of the very people who oppressed them. How can they be brought to a point to shoot at their own? The indoctrination must be effective. I spent some time with a group of religious sisters whose convent was next to a military training barracks. They could hear what went on in the barracks. The indoctrination, as they described it, was intense. Instructors hammered it into the heads of the young soldiers that they were fighting for the cause of freedom, democracy and Christian life, against people who were described as Marxists and Communists, determined to convert El Salvador into another Russia. However, other factors are involved. The young men at least have a salary, some of which they can share with their families. They have a uniform and a status they had never before enjoyed. And they have a gun—not only symbol,

but instrument of power. In any event, they do fight, and many have died or been wounded.

But while poor fight the war against other poor, the middle and upper class youths of El Salvador go to school, live their lives and look to a future that is still uncertain. Generals are becoming the new wealthy class. Business leaders are divided between those in favor of violence and the more moderate who are seeking peace through negotiations. Meantime, a new political party has been organized, called *Convergencia*, under the leadership of Rubén Zamora, one of the most promising political figures on the scene at the present time and a person whom many depend on to bring about political change.

THUS THE AGONY of many years continues with people still being killed or disappearing; their names continue to be publicized by the Human Rights Commission of the Archdiocese and the Institute of Human Rights of the Jesuit university. But hope is very much alive, and most people, weary of war, pray for the day when the political process will replace armed conflict in the pursuit of national development. ■

Without the truth, the path toward peace in El Salvador will grow deeper still.

The Moakley Address

By JOE MOAKLEY

I WANT TO SAY at the outset that I am not one of those fellows who run around the world telling other people how to run their countries. I have never set out to change the world; I'll be happy if I can make things a little better for the people I represent back home in Massachusetts....

It is not on abstract human or moral grounds, then, that so many of us have come to attach so much importance to discovering the truth about the murders that took place here at the UCA. We are moved by these murders, and we are determined that, unlike the cases of Archbishop Oscar Romero, Rutilio Grande, S.J., and so many others, at least this one crime against God and humanity will not go unpunished.

JOE MOAKLEY is a Democratic Congressman from Massachusetts and chairman of the Speaker's Task Force on El Salvador. This is an excerpted version of the talk given at the University of Central America (UCA) on July 1, 1991.

Opponents and critics of the Government have been picked up, questioned, tortured and murdered in this country for years. Now, in the course of peace talks, they are asked to trust the Government, to trust the Armed Forces, to trust the political system. It should not be too much to expect that Government, those Armed Forces and that system to be worthy of trust in this one case. That is why finding the truth in the Jesuits' case is so important; not because it pleases the United States, England, Spain or some other foreign country; but because finding the truth is essential for El Salvador to live at peace with itself.

I believe the President of the Supreme Court, Mauricio Gutiérrez Castro, and Judge Ricardo Zamora deserve great credit for bringing the case to this point. The Judge has done his best to build a strong case against the accused. And he has done his best to investigate the possible involvement of others in ordering or participating in the crimes.

The role of the military is another story. General René Emilio Ponce has said over and over again that these murders should be considered the acts of individuals and not

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the responsibility of the Armed Forces as an institution. General Ponce is just plain wrong.

Consider that: Radio stations, controlled by the military at that time, broadcast threats against the Jesuits shortly before they were killed; there were more than 200 soldiers at or near the scene of the crime; the murders were carried out by an experienced and well-trained military unit, acting under orders; efforts were made at the scene to cover up the crimes and to point the finger of blame at the F.M.L.N.; a phony firefight was recorded in the official log of military operations; not a single officer has come forward voluntarily with information concerning the case; evidence controlled by the military has been withheld and destroyed; many of the officers who were called to testify lied and lied again about what they know; even the special military Honor Board appointed by President Alfredo Cristiani to review the case lied about it.

General Ponce, believe me, you have got an institutional problem.

And that's not the worst of it. I am convinced that, at a minimum, the high command of the Armed Forces knew soon after the murders which unit was responsible for the crimes. At a minimum, they sought to limit the scope of the investigation in order to protect certain officers from prosecution. And I continue to believe there is a strong possibility that the murders were ordered by senior military officers not currently charged.

I am convinced that there are officers in the Armed Forces who did not themselves participate in the crimes, but who have further information about the crimes. To date, these officers have not come forward because they fear they will be killed. They know that telling the truth about the military is considered by some in El Salvador to be a capital crime.

I still believe it is possible that a new witness or witnesses will come forward. I believe this because I know there are many good people in the Armed Forces of El Salvador, some of whom were educated right here at this university or at other Jesuit schools.

I have been asked many times what it would take to satisfy me in the Jesuits' case. Would I be satisfied with the conviction of five soldiers? Must a colonel be convicted? Are eight convictions enough?

My response is simple. I want the truth. Like Ambassa-

dor William Walker, I want the truth because I believe the Salvadoran people deserve the truth. The whole truth. Without the truth, the Armed Forces will never be cleansed of their responsibility for this crime, and for shielding those involved in it. Without the truth, this Government cannot lay claim to truly democratic institutions. Without the truth, the argument that those in opposition to the Government should lay down their arms is undermined. Without the truth, the path toward peace in El Salvador will grow steeper still.

IT IS NOT my job or the job of anyone from my country to define the appropriate terms for peace in El Salvador. That is solely the responsibility of Salvadorans, with help, as needed, from the United Nations. But we in Congress do have a responsibility to see that the United States is a force for peace, not war, in El Salvador. It is our job to help those on both sides who share the vision of an El Salvador that is democratic and just.

And so I say to the F.M.L.N., if you want our understanding, negotiate in good faith; end your campaign of sabotage; no more assassinations; and bring to justice those who murdered the two Americans killed after the helicopter crash last January.

And I say to the Armed Forces, if you want our aid, do your part to end the violence; respect the rights of those with whom you disagree; negotiate in good faith; and bring to justice, not just some, but all who ordered or participated in the murders at this campus 19 months ago.

I have been following events in El Salvador for about 10 years. And I cannot count the number of times I have been told not to expect very much from El Salvador. I have been told over and over again by people in my own Government that violence is just part of the culture. Killing and corruption, I am told, have always been common in El Salvador.

Well, I love my country, but I think it's pretty arrogant for anyone from a nation with a \$300 billion defense budget, \$25 billion in arms sales, a huge military foreign aid program and the highest murder rate in the Western world to criticize another society for its tendency toward violence. I don't say that Salvadorans are better than anyone else, but I have never seen a people who wanted or deserved peace more than the people of El Salvador. ■