

RELEASE IN FULL

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ENVELOPE

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HEADER

O 142036Z AUG 92
FM JOINT STAFF WASHINGTON DC
INFO RUEADWD/OCSA WASHINGTON DC
RUENAAA/CNO WASHINGTON DC
RUEAQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC
RUEADWD/PTC WASH DC
RUFQAID/USEUCOM AIDES VAHINGEN GM
RUDOGHA/USMMR SHAPE BE//SURVEY//
RHHEMCMY/JICPAC HONOLULU HI
RUCIAEA/FASTC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//SCIR//
RUEOACC/CDRPSYOPGP FT BRAGG NC//AORC-POG-SB//
RUEATAC/CDRUSAITAC WASHINGTON DC//RT//
RUWSMXI/AMC INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//IN//
RUCQVAB/USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL
RUFTAKC/UDITDUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GM
RHLBAAA/USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS PM
RULKQAN/MARCORINTCEN QUANTICO VA
RUEAQA/HQ AFOSI BOLLING AFB DC
RUETIAH/DIRNSA FT GEORGE G MEADE MD
RULKNIS/COMNISCOM WASHINGTON DC//NAVATAC//
RUFTAKA/USAINTELECTRE HEIDELBERG GM
RUEALGX/SAFE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR IMMEDIATE 0000
BT

CONTROLS

S E C R E T STATE 263494

FOR THE CHARGE

E.O. 12356: DECL; OADR

BODY

TAGS: PHUM MASS ES

SUBJECT: FINAL REPORT ON 1980 ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO

1. SECRET -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. THIS CABLE TRANSMITS THE FINAL TEXT OF THE REPORT ON THE 1980 ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE AD HOC AND TRUTH COMMISSIONS. WE REQUEST THAT THE EMBASSY CONTACT THE AD HOC COMMISSION MEMBERS IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT SO THAT THEY MAY REVIEW THIS REPORT PRIOR TO AUGUST 16. DURING THE REVIEW, PLEASE

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UNDERSCORE THAT WE ARE PASSING ON THE BEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE, AND HAVE CLEARLY IDENTIFIED ALLEGATIONS OR STATEMENTS WHICH ARE UNSUBSTANTIATED.

3. OTHER REPORTS, ON THE SHERATON KILLINGS, THE JESUIT MURDERS, THE FOR MURDERS AND THE LAS HOJAS MASSACRE, AS WELL AS THE INFORMATION ON THE REMAINING 46 OFFICERS REQUESTED BY THE AD HOC COMMISSION ARE BEING SENT SEPTEL. WE RECEIVED ONE OTHER REQUEST FROM THE AD HOC COMMISSION FOR INFORMATION ON THE 1980 RIO SUMPUL INCIDENT. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO LOCATE ANY INFORMATION AT THIS TIME, BUT WILL CONTINUE TO SEARCH OUR FILES. PLEASE CONVEY THIS TO THE AD HOC COMMISSION.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF FINAL REPORT ON THE ASSASSINATION OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO:

THIS DOCUMENT WAS PREPARED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR PROVISION ON A STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS TO THE SALVADORAN AD HOC AND TRUTH COMMISSIONS AS THE SPECIFIC REQUEST OF THOSE COMMISSIONS. WHILE THE DOCUMENT IS BASED ON THE BEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CANNOT PROVIDE ANY GUARANTEE OF THE ACCURACY OF THE REPORT.

ROMERO ASSASSINATION

SYNOPSIS

ON MARCH 24, 1980, AT APPROXIMATELY 6 P.M., ARCHBISHOP OSCAR ARNULFO ROMERO WAS SAYING MASS IN THE SMALL CHAPEL OF A CANCER HOSPITAL. HE WAS HIT BY A SINGLE RIFLE BULLET FIRED FROM THE REAR OF THE CHURCH. ROMERO DIED A SHORT TIME LATER AT A NEARBY HOSPITAL. ROMERO WAS REPORTEDLY TARGETTED BECAUSE OF HIS PUBLIC STANCE AGAINST THE DEATH SQUADS AND HIS CALL FOR PEACE. WHILE THE ASSASSINATION TOOK PLACE DURING A MASS, NO WITNESSES CAME FORWARD AND NO EVIDENCE EMERGED UNTIL TWO MONTHS LATER WHEN THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT ARRESTED SEVERAL COUP PLOTTERS (INCLUDING MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON) AND CONFISCATED SOME DOCUMENTS. INFORMATION IN ONE OF THE DOCUMENTS LED INVESTIGATORS TO ANTONIO GARAY, THE ALLEGED DRIVER OF THE VEHICLE THAT CARRIED THE ASSASSIN. IN NOVEMBER OF 1987, GARAY TESTIFIED TO A SAN SALVADOR JUDGE THAT CAPTAIN ALVARO SARAVIA ORDERED HIM TO DRIVE THE CAR THAT CARRIED THE BEARDED GUNMAN (UNKNOWN TO GARAY) WHO SHOT ROMERO. GARAY ALSO TESTIFIED THAT THE GUNMAN LATER REPORTED THE SUCCESS OF THE KILLING TO D'AUBUISSON. WHEN SARAVIA WAS LOCATED IN MIAMI IN 1987, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT FILED AN EXTRADITION PETITION. HOWEVER, THE SALVADORAN SUPREME COURT LATER OVERTURNED THIS PETITION AND BARRED GARAY'S

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TESTIMONY AND THAT OF ANY OTHER WITNESS ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE PASSAGE OF TIME BETWEEN THE EVENT AND THE TAKING OF THE TESTIMONY RENDERED IT LEGALLY INADMISSABLE.

THE ACTUAL GUNMAN WHO SHOT ROMERO HAS NEVER BEEN AUTHORITATIVELY IDENTIFIED. THIS DOCUMENT RECORDS SEVERAL CONFLICTING REPORTS AS TO HIS IDENTITY.

REPORT

ROMERO'S FUNERAL WAS MARKED BY VIOLENCE AND THERE WERE MANY MISLEADING RUMORS ABOUT HIS DEATH. THE LEFT, THE RIGHT, THE CIA, BASQUE TERRORISTS, CUBAN RIGHTISTS, THE U.S. EMBASSY AND SEVERAL INDIVIDUALS WERE ALL ACCUSED OF MASTERMINDING THE MURDER. A FEW DAYS AFTERWARD, THE RULING JUNTA ASKED THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO SEND F.B.I. AGENTS TO ASSIST IN THE MURDER INVESTIGATION. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT REFUSED BECAUSE, WITH SOME CHARGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE ROMERO MURDER DIRECTED AT THE EMBASSY, IT DID NOT BELIEVE ANY EVIDENCE DEVELOPED WITH F.B.I. PARTICIPATION WOULD HAVE CREDIBILITY. LATER, THE F.B.I. DID HELP THE GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR TO ANALYZE SOME OF THE EVIDENCE.

ON MAY 7, 1980, EX-MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, FORMERLY OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE, AND SEVERAL OTHERS WERE ARRESTED (INCLUDING ALVARO RAFAEL SARAVIA MERINO AND LTC. VICTOR HUGO VEGA VALENCIA) BY THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT FOR PLANNING A COUP ATTEMPT. D'AUBUISSON WAS CAUGHT WITH A SUITCASE OF INCRIMINATING DOCUMENTS, BUT LATER RELEASED AND ALL CHARGES DROPPED. ONE OF THOSE DOCUMENTS, A NOTEBOOK TITLED AS THE "PROPERTY OF RAFAEL ALVARO SARAVIA", RECORDED DATA ON ARMS, EXPENSES, CONTACTS, TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND MENTIONED OPERATION PINA (BELIEVED TO BE THE CODE NAME FOR THE ROMERO ASSASSINATION OPERATION). IN ONE REFERENCE, IT LISTED THE FULL NAMES OF MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON AND OTHERS, FOLLOWED BY A SINGLE NUMBER, SUCH AS MIGHT BE USED IN A PAGER OR CODE SYSTEM.

IN NOVEMBER OF 1980, AN EMBASSY OFFICER RECEIVED AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF A MEETING HEADED BY D'AUBUISSON IN WHICH THE ROMERO ASSASSINATION WAS PLANNED, A DAY OR TWO BEFORE THE ACTUAL EVENT. LOTS WERE DRAWN TO SELECT THE GUNMAN, AN EX-NATIONAL GUARDSMAN, NAMED "WALTER" OR "MUSA." THIS SOURCE ALSO GAVE TWO PHONE NUMBERS FOR WALTER. ("WALTER" OR "MUSA"'S PHONE NUMBERS WERE LISTED IN THE SARAVIA NOTEBOOK CONFISCATED IN THE ARREST OF D'AUBUISSON FOR COUP PLOTTING).

IN DECEMBER OF 1981, THE EMBASSY IDENTIFIED "WALTER" AS WALTER ANTONIO ALVAREZ. ACCORDING TO PRESS ACCOUNTS,

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ALVAREZ WAS KIDNAPPED FROM A FOOTBALL GAME ON SEPTEMBER 27, 1981, AND LATER FOUND SHOT TO DEATH ON THE ROAD TO MARIONA PRISON. THE EMBASSY CONCLUDED THAT WALTER COULD HAVE BEEN THE GUNMAN WHO ASSASSINATED ROMERO.

IN MARCH OF 1982, COLONEL ADOLFO MAJANO MADE A PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT HE CAPTURED DOCUMENTS ONE MONTH AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF ROMERO WHICH IMPLICATED D'AUBUISSON. AMBASSADOR ROBERT WHITE ALSO MADE A STATEMENT THAT D'AUBUISSON PLANNED THE KILLING. SALVADORAN PRESIDENT JOSE NAPOLEON DUARTE STATED PUBLICLY THAT HE HAD SEEN THE DOCUMENT IN QUESTION (PROBABLY SARAVIA'S NOTEBOOK) BUT THAT IT OFFERED NO PROOF OF THE INVOLVEMENT OF D'AUBUISSON OR ANYONE ELSE IN ROMERO'S MURDER.

IN DECEMBER OF 1983, CAPTAIN EDUARDO AVILA WAS HELD BY THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT FOR QUESTIONING CONCERNING HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE ROMERO ASSASSINATION AS WELL AS THE 1981 MURDER OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM INSTITUTE AND TWO U.S. ADVISORS (THE SHERATON MURDERS). ACCORDING TO ONE SOURCE, AVILA WAS REPORTED TO HAVE CLAIMED INVOLVEMENT IN THE KILLING OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. ALTHOUGH AVILA WAS THOUGHT TO BE SUFFERING A MENTAL BREAKDOWN, FURTHER INTERVIEWS WERE CONSIDERED WORTHWHILE. ONE OF AVILA'S CONTACTS WAS INTERVIEWED IN COSTA RICA IN MARCH OF 1985. HE CLAIMED AVILA TOLD HIM THAT HE KNEW ABOUT THE MEETING WHERE THE DEATH OF ROMERO WAS PLANNED (ALSO CLAIMING THAT HIS ACCOMPLICE IN THE SHERATON MURDERS, RODOLFO LOPEZ SIBRIAN, ATTENDED), THAT LOTS WERE DRAWN, AND THAT ALL THE PARTICIPANTS WANTED TO BE THE GUNMAN.

IN MARCH OF 1984, CONGRESSMAN JAMES SHANNON STATED HE MET WITH A FORMER HIGH RANKING MEMBER OF THE SALVADORAN MILITARY WHO SAID THAT D'AUBUISSON ORGANIZED DEATH SQUADS. D'AUBUISSON, TREASURY POLICE CHIEF COLONEL CARRANZA AND FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER JOSE GUILLERMO GARCIA REPORTEDLY PARTICIPATED IN THE PROCESS OF CHOOSING DEATH SQUAD VICTIMS AND ENSURED THAT LOCAL POLICE WERE REMOVED FROM AREAS WHERE THESE KILLINGS WERE TO OCCUR. THIS UNNAMED SOURCE ALLEGED THAT D'AUBUISSON ORDERED THE MURDERS OF ROMERO AND MARIO ZAMORA. IN ADDITION, HE CLAIMED THAT DEFENSE MINISTER EUGENIO VIDES CASANOVA WAS PERSONALLY DIRECTING THE COVERUP OF THE 1980 KILLINGS OF FOUR AMERICAN CHURCHWOMEN. SHANNON URGED AN INVESTIGATION.

ON FEBRUARY 4 1984, FMLN COMMANDER PEDRO LOBO WAS IDENTIFIED IN THE COSTA RICAN PRESS AS AN INSIDER IN THE ASSASSINATION OF ROMERO. IN MAY, ACCORDING TO EMBASSY RECORDS, LOBO WAS IDENTIFIED AS ROBERTO ADALBERTO SALAZAR AND LATER REPORTEDLY CONFESSED TO THE NATIONAL GUARD THAT

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HE WAS RECRUITED BY D'AUBISSON, WORKING IN CONCERT WITH COL. RICARDO PENA (SALVADORAN MILITARY ATTACHE IN HONDURAS AT THE TIME) AND PETER DUMAS (SHERATON HOTEL MANAGER) TO TAKE CREDIT FOR THE ROMERO ASSASSINATION IN RETURN FOR 50,000. IN A SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC STATEMENT, HOWEVER, SALAZAR FAILED TO NAME D'AUBISSON AS HIS RECRUITER.

IN JANUARY OF 1985, THE FBI AGREED TO ASSIST THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT WITH A TECHNICAL ANALYSIS OF A TAPE OF ROMERO'S DEATH, A SMALL BULLET FRAGMENT FROM ROMERO'S BODY, CRIME SCENE DIAGRAMS AND AUTOPSY DETAILS.

IN MARCH OF 1985, THE EMBASSY RECEIVED A REPORT THAT A FORMER SALVADORAN INTELLIGENCE OFFICER BELIEVED THAT ROMERO'S KILLER WAS A LIGHT COMPLECTED, BEARDED ARGENTINIAN NAMED "EMILIO" WHO REPORTEDLY BRAGGED OVER A BEER THAT HE DID ROMERO IN.

IN THE SPRING OF 1985, COL. ROBERTO SANTIVANEZ WENT PUBLIC IN THE U.S. ABOUT THE SALVADORAN DEATH SQUADS. BY HIS ACCOUNT:

MINISTER OF DEFENSE GUILLERMO GARCIA AND SUB-MINISTER NICOLAS CARRANZA FORMED THE FRENTE AMPLO NACIONALISTA (FAN), WHICH WAS PLANNING TO DESTABILIZE THE PRO-DEMOCRACY COL. ADOLFO MAJANO, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES. MAJANO CAPTURED MANY OF THIS GROUP ON MAY 7 WHEN HE BROKE UP A COUP ATTEMPT. THE DOCUMENTS FOUND THEN INCLUDED A NOTEBOOK CAPTURED FROM PEOPLE LINKED TO THE DEATH SQUADS. IT CONTAINS A LIST OF 12 SENIOR OFFICERS FROM THE NATIONAL POLICE AND THE NATIONAL GUARD. THE DIARY IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT GOES FROM JANUARY TO MAY OF 1980, THE PERIOD IN WHICH THEY KILLED ROMERO. WHEN THEY KILLED ROMERO THEY CAME BACK TO THE HEADQUARTERS AND WERE APPLAUDED...ROMERO'S KILLING WAS PLANNED IN GUATEMALA...IN THE BIG OPERATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL OR DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS LIKE ROMERO'S DEATH, THEY KILLED THOSE WHO TALKED TOO MUCH. THERE'S NO DOUBT THAT D'AUBISSON GAVE THE ORDER. BUT THE DECISION WAS GIVEN BY A GROUP OF CAPITALISTS WHO GAVE THE MONEY. GENERAL GARCIA AND COL. CARRANZA KNEW ABOUT THIS DECISION. THEY KILLED ROMERO WITH THE IDEA OF CREATING A SITUATION BIG ENOUGH TO REMOVE THE JUNTA WHICH DISAGREED WITH THEIR POLICY. COL. VIDES CASANOVA, HEAD OF THE NATIONAL GUARD HAD TO KNOW WHO KILLED ROMERO BECAUSE HE ORDERED THE NATIONAL GUARD TO PARTICIPATE WITH D'AUBISSON'S DEATH SQUAD.

IN JUNE OF 1987, THE EMBASSY RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT CAPT. ALVARO RAFAEL "CHELE" SARAVIA MERINO WAS NAMED BY A COSTA RICAN WITNESS AS A PARTICIPANT IN THE ROMERO MURDER AND WAS IN CONTACT WITH THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT. HE HAD

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REPORTEDLY OFFERED INFORMATION ABOUT THE MURDER FOR 1 MILLION. THERE WAS INFORMATION AT THAT TIME THAT D'AUBUISSON HAD A CONTRACT OUT FOR THE MURDER OF SARAVIA.

ON JUNE 23, SARAVIA'S ROLE AND WHEREABOUTS BROKE IN THE SALVADORAN PRESS. IN JULY, ONE REPORT HELD THAT SARAVIA'S INFORMATION WAS THAT SARAVIA, ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON, VICTOR HUGO VALENCIA VEGA AND FERNANDO "NEGRO" SAGRERA PLANNED THE MURDER OF ARCHBISHOP ROMERO. WHEN THIS GROUP SAW AN ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE NEWSPAPER THAT THE ARCHBISHOP WOULD CELEBRATE MASS IN THE CHAPEL OF THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL, D'AUBUISSON REPORTEDLY TOLD SARAVIA TO PUT THE PLAN INTO ACTION IMMEDIATELY. SARAVIA CONTACTED A NATIONAL GUARD CAPTAIN NAMED MOLINA AND ASKED HIM TO PROVIDE A WEAPON. MOLINA PROVIDED A .353 CALIBER RIFLE AND A MARKSMAN.

IN OCTOBER, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT INDICATED TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT THAT IT WOULD BRING THE COSTA RICAN WITNESS TO EL SALVADOR TO TESTIFY IN THE ROMERO CASE, AND REQUESTED THE ARREST OF SARAVIA IN THE U.S. ON NOVEMBER 23, THE WITNESS, AMADO ANTONIO GARAY, TESTIFIED. HIS TESTIMONY WAS MADE PUBLIC THE NEXT DAY. HE CLAIMED TO BE THE DRIVER OF THE GETAWAY CAR IN THE ROMERO MURDER. BY HIS ACCOUNT, HE DROVE A BEARDED GUNMAN WHO WAS UNKNOWN TO HIM TO THE CHAPEL WHERE ROMERO WAS SPEAKING. THE GUNMAN THEN TOLD GARAY TO PRETEND TO FIX SOMETHING ON THE FLOOR OF THE CAR. GARAY COMPLIED. GARAY HEARD A GUNSHOT AND LOOKED UP STARTLED TO FIND THAT THE GUNMAN HAD FIRED FROM THE BACK SEAT. THE GUNMAN THEN TOLD GARAY TO DRIVE AWAY SLOWLY. GARAY THEN DROVE THE GUNMAN TO A MEETING WITH ALVARO SARAVIA, GARAY'S EMPLOYER. THE GUNMAN REPORTED "MISSION ACCOMPLISHED" AND THE TWO WENT INTO THE HOUSE TO WATCH THE TELEVISION. THREE DAYS LATER, GARAY DROVE SARAVIA TO THE HOUSE OF MAJOR ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON. GARAY HEARD SARAVIA SAY THAT "WE CARRIED OUT THE PLAN, WE KILLED MONS. ROMERO." D'AUBUISSON REPORTEDLY REPLIED THAT "THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE DONE IT YET," TO WHICH SARAVIA REPLIED, "WE DID AS YOU ORDERED." GARAY PASSED LIE DETECTOR TESTS.

BY NOVEMBER 25, THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT HAD OBTAINED A VALID ARREST WARRANT AND SARAVIA, WHO WAS PENNILESS AND WORKING IN A MIAMI PIZZA PARLOR, WAS PLACED IN THE CUSTODY OF THE U.S. MARSHAL'S SERVICE PENDING AN EXTRADITION ORDER.

IN SALVADOR IN LATE 1987, HIGH-RANKING MEMBERS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH BEGAN TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENTS THAT IMPLIED THAT THEY KNEW A GOOD DEAL ABOUT THE INTELLECTUAL AND PHYSICAL AUTHORS OF ROMERO'S MURDER.

IN 1988, THERE WERE A SERIES OF SALVADORAN LEGAL MANEUVERS

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ON THE PART OF COURT ATTORNEYS WHO WERE ARENA SYMPATHIZERS TO FORCE THE RELEASE OF SARAVIA AND QUASH ANY ORDER FOR EXTRADITION. IN OCTOBER OF 1988, A SALVADORAN ADMINISTRATIVE JUDGE'S DECISION ON SARAVIA WAS RAPIDLY TELEFAXED TO THE OFFICE OF THE DEFENSE ATTORNEY FROM THE MARISCOS TAZUMAL OFFICE OF ROBERTO D'AUBUISSON.

IN DECEMBER 1988, THE SALVADORAN SUPREME COURT FOUND IN FAVOR OF ACCUSED ROMERO MURDER CONSPIRATOR ALVARO SARAVIA, OVERTURNING THE GOVERNMENT'S PETITION TO EXTRADITE HIM FROM THE U.S. IT ALSO PRECLUDED RESUBMISSION OF THE PETITION BY RULING THAT GARAY'S TESTIMONY, UPON WHICH THE WARRANT FOR SARAVIA'S ARREST WAS BASED, WAS TOO OLD. THIS RULING ALSO BARRED ANY NEW WITNESS TESTIMONY EVEN THOUGH THE TEN-YEAR STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS HAD NOT YET EXPIRED.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE DUARTE ADMINISTRATION MADE PUBLIC EVIDENCE IT HAD GATHERED, INCLUDING AN ALLEGATION THAT A WITNESS IDENTIFIED D'AUBUISSON ASSOCIATE HECTOR REGALADO AS THE ROMERO TRIGGERMAN. IN APRIL 1989, A SALVADORAN COURT PRESENTED A SWORN DECLARATION BY PRESIDENT DUARTE IN WHICH HE LINKED RIGHTIST LEADER D'AUBUISSON TO THE MARCH 1980 ASSASSINATION OF ROMERO.

END TEXT OF REPORT
KANTER
ADMIN
BT

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