1 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA 2 NORTHERN DIVISION 3 4 JUAN ROMAGOZA ARCE, JANE) Docket No. DOE, in her personal capacity) 99-8364-CIV-HURLEY 5 as Personal Representative of) the ESTATE OF BABY DOE,) б) Plaintiffs,) 7 vs.) West Palm Beach, Florida) July 11, 2002 8 JOSE GUILLERMO GARCIA, an) individual, CARLOS EUGENIO VIDES) 9 CASANOVA, an individual, and) VOLUME 10 DOES 1 through 50, inclusive,) 10) Defendants.) 11 _ x 12 13 COURT REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT OF 14 TESTIMONY AND PROCEEDINGS HAD BEFORE 15 JUDGE DANIEL T. K. HURLEY 16 APPEARANCES: 17 18 For the Plaintiffs: JAMES GREEN, ESQ. PETER STERN, ESQ. 19 BETH VanSCHAACK, ESQ. 20 For Defendant: KURT KLAUS, ESQ. 21 Court Reporter: Pauline A. Stipes, C.S.R., C.M. 22 23 24 PAULINE A. STIPES

Official Reporter U. S. District Court

| | 1 | THE COURT: Please be seated, ladies and |
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| | 2 | gentlemen. I am going to pass out what is marked as a |
| | 3 | fourth draft which incorporates some of our discussion |
| | 4 | last night. It has a couple other additions. I thought |
| | 5 | it would be helpful let me make sure that this is in |
| something | 6 | here it is not. Let me double check, I saved |
| because | 7 | from a disk, and I must have done something wrong |
| | 8 | it is not on the copies I have in front of me. |
| | 9 | I wanted to make sure the parties that the |
| | 10 | jury is aware, and I think that this is correct in terms |
| | 11 | of our discussions, that the concept of a subordinate, |
| | 12 | wherever that is used in the jury instruction, is a |
| defined | 13 | subordinate who exists in the relationship that we |
| | 14 | in element two. So that you remember we talked about |
| | 15 | elements one and two are specific, three and four are |
| three | 16 | general, but clearly the subordinates referred to in |
| Defendants | 17 | and four are people who are subordinate to the |
| | 18 | in this case. |
| | 19 | That is the whole theory of command |
| | 20 | responsibility, that the commander must have effective |
| | 21 | responsibility, not only over the people who actually |
| but | 22 | committed the torture with respect to the Plaintiffs, |

| 23 | the other troops that the Plaintiffs are contending were |
|----|--|
| 24 | committing other acts of torture and I am not sure that |
| 25 | clear. I made that change, and I have incorporated the |

is

1 others. 2 I thought it would be helpful if The Court could 3 rule on the motion at limine at the outset. I think it 4 would be helpful so the defense can set their own pace in 5 terms of their discussion. б Is there any further argument? Does anyone want 7 to be heard further on it? MR. KLAUS: No. 8 9 MS. VanSCHAACK: No. THE COURT: Okay. Let me take a moment, if I 10 11 can, to review this. The Plaintiffs in this case have filed a motion 12 in limine and the thrust of the motion is to preclude 13 the 14 jury from seeing or knowing that both General Garcia and 15 General Vides Casanova were awarded the United States legion of merit by the President of the United States 16 upon 17 their completion of service in El Salvador. The motion 18 filed by the Plaintiffs describes these commendations as 19 classic hearsay and as character evidence. 20 Now, last night in our discussion I understood 21 Ms. VanSchaack retreated a bit under the hearsay and perhaps these do fall under 803.8. They are public 22

23 documents, and bear the seal of the state, but they are 24 character evidence, and character evidence is normally 25 admissible in a civil trial.

1 Now, in the courts of the United States, we have 2 tried carefully to safeguard concepts of due process. For 3 example, the United States Supreme Court in Davis versus 4 Alaska, when viewing an impediment to cross examination, 5 and the ability of an accused to confront the witness б against him, clearly opted for that right over the countervailing right that was being raised as to 7 preclude 8 the defendant to cross examine a key prosecution witness 9 regarding his adjudication for juvenile delinquency, and we did that because we believed that full cross 10 11 examination was critical, it is a component of due 12 process. Now, it seems to me that -- by the way, in 13 14 support of the motion, the Plaintiffs have pointed out 15 correctly to a scenario that seems somewhat analogous, and that is, in situations, for instance, when police 16 17 officers, and sometimes high ranking police officers have been accused of police brutality, it is generally held 18 19 that their commendations and awards are usually not admissible because they are not relevant. When you 20 think about it, the issue is, did this officer do a particular 21

| the | 22 | act at a particular time, and it is very specific. So |
|-----|----|--|
| | 23 | general rule is those commendations are not appropriate. |
| of | 24 | Now, we sit in a trial in which eight citizens |
| _ | 25 | the United States sit as a jury. These are people who - |

| | 1 | and I suspect the sentiment has occurred to all of us as |
|---------|----|--|
| | | |
| | 2 | we have listened to the events of El Salvador but our |
| | 3 | jury are people who have lived in the United States, who |
| | 4 | have had the blessings, who have lived in a relatively |
| | 5 | ordered society, and who are learning about events that |
| the | 6 | are totally alien to their own common understanding of |
| | 7 | way the world works. And clearly we have listened to |
| | 8 | extraordinary accounts of torture, and the infliction of |
| | 9 | pain upon people. |
| | 10 | The Defendants in this case are two of the |
| | 11 | highest ranking officers in sovereign nation, but by |
| | 12 | virtue of an act of the Congress of the United States, |
| defense | 13 | this type of trial is allowed to take place. The |
| | 14 | that is about to be mounted is a defense that asks the |
| | 15 | jury to look at what was taking place in El Salvador. |
| | 16 | The defense would contend that looking back 20 |
| | 17 | years ago the world was gripped in cold war. Cuba was |
| in | 18 | regarded as a Communist satellite state, indeed a state |
| posed | 19 | which missiles had been introduced at one point that |
| That | 20 | a direct threat to the safety of the United States. |
| | 21 | Nicaragua had fallen, and there was the view that other |
| | 22 | countries in Latin America were susceptible to falling |

23 into the Communist ideology. And because of their

24 proximity to the United States it was not simply an

25 ideological division, but it would have been a

development

that would have posed a real clear danger to the safety
 and security of the United States.

3 The defense is contending there was in fact a 4 civil war in that country, the result of which was 5 seriously in doubt that the rebel forces appeared to be б gaining momentum at certain times, and there was a 7 concerted effort, number one, to institute governmental change, to combat a growing insurgency, Communist 8 9 insurgency, and to handle all of these things 10 simultaneously.

11 And that this effort, this transition period was 12 a transition that was marked by enormous suffering and so 13 And that the people who were in charge of the on. government following the October, 1979 coup were 14 shouldered with this responsibility of attempting to 15 effectuate the change, win a war, and to deal with all 16 of 17 the other cultural institutional problems that had been 18 discussed in this case. 19 The Tanda System, trying to determine who was 20 doing what, and recognizing there were in fact death squads, the evidence of that is irrefutable, but trying 21 on 2.2 the one hand to determine who is responsible and so on.

That is the defense.

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Now, the question becomes, are the Defendantsentitled in attempting to put that defense forward to

offer documentary evidence that the President of the
 United States through his Secretaries of Defense took

view that these Defendants were engaged in institutional reform in the Salvadoran Army, that they were engaged in implementing policies regarding civilian and military relations, that they were engaged in efforts to improve the professionalism and ethical standards of the El Salvadoran military and so on.

9 It seems to me that these documents are not character evidence at all. These are not documents that 10 say General Garcia is a wonderful humanitarian or a 11 12 charitable person or so on. These are documents by the 13 President of the United States suggesting that General 14 Garcia in the fulfillment of his office and in handling 15 the responsibilities that were upon him was discharging 16 those responsibilities in a way that was consistent with the views of the United States regarding the ethical and 17 18 responsible obligations of a Defense Minister or of an 19 Army general and commander.

20 Now, it seems to me, first, these documents are 21 admissible in a sense that they are public documents 22 seal. There is no question that they had in fact been 23 offered. I notice that the Plaintiffs suggest that they 24 were purportedly offered, but no one is seriously

the

25 suggesting that these are not trustworthy or truthful.

| | 1 | I think the issue is, are the Defendants in the |
|------------|------------|--|
| to | 2 | effort to put forth their defense, in the effort to try |
| | 3 | explain the enormous difficulties that they say they |
| | 4 | faced, trying to institute change within the military |
| they | 5 | structure, trying to combat military insurgency, are |
| the | 6 | entitled to introduce evidence that the Government of |
| | 7 | United States regarded the discharge of their overall |
| | 8 | responsibilities regarding the conduct of this war in a |
| | 9 | satisfactory manner? |
| | 10 | It is my view that these documents are |
| inappropri | 11 ate, | admissible, that to not admit them would be |
| | 12 | because it would strip to some degree the Defendants' |
| | 13 | effort to explain to the jury what they were facing and |
| | 14 | what they were attempting to do. |
| light | 15 | Now, whether that is a credible defense in |
| | 16 | of all that we heard remains for the jury to decide, but |
| | 17 | it seems to me the Defendants have an absolute right to |
| | 18 | put forth this defense and these documents, in my |
| | 19 | judgment, that are relevant to that defense. They are |
| and | 20 | relevant to an issue that is in dispute in this case, |
| | 21 | that is, trying to make this judgment call about the |
| | 22 | conflicting responsibilities, the difficulties of the |

| | 23 | time, and so on. |
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| this, | 24 | I think one of the problems in a case like |
| in | 25 | and we've talked about it, and alluded to it yesterday |

| | 1 | our discussion about the statute of limitations, is the |
|------|----|--|
| | 2 | difficulty of looking back in this instance of almost 20 |
| | 3 | years, and attempting to fully understand the context in |
| | 4 | which these things occurred. |
| | 5 | I think that is particularly critical when we |
| are | c | |
| a | 6 | dealing with a lawsuit that is predicated in a sense on |
| | 7 | vicarious liability theory. The Plaintiffs in this case |
| | 8 | is attempting to hold two top military commanders |
| | 9 | responsible, not for what they did themselves, but for |
| | 10 | acts committed by their subordinates because of there |
| to | 11 | inaction, and so the defense has come forth attempting |
| | 12 | explains the difficulties and so on. |
| | 13 | And I take that in terms of the defense that |
| was | | |
| | 14 | previously mounted in the Ford case and which has been |
| | 15 | alluded to in some of the earlier arguments. |
| deny | 16 | So, for all of these reasons, I am going to |
| | 17 | the Defendants' motion excuse me the Plaintiffs' |
| | 18 | motion in limine and I will permit the Defendants to |
| | 19 | introduce the documents in question. |
| | 20 | Mr. Marshal, would you bring in the jury? |
| | 21 | MR. GREEN: Your Honor, may I have a standing |
| | 22 | objection? |
| | | |

- 23 THE COURT: You have an objection, yes.
- 24 MR. GREEN: A standing objection?
- 25 THE COURT: Yes.

(Thereupon, the jury returned to the 1 courtroom.) THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen, please be 2 3 seated. Ladies and gentlemen, if for any reason we need 4 to stop, let me know. There is no question we can do 5 б that. I understand one of the jurors is not feeling well, 7 we can stop if we need to. 8 Now, when we stopped yesterday, as I mentioned, we had reached a very significant point in the case in 9 10 that the Plaintiffs rested or have rested what is called 11 their case in chief. 12 Let me turn now to Mr. Klaus who will begin 13 presentation of the Defendants' case. 14 MR. KLAUS: Your Honor, I have a brief opening 15 statement. 16 THE COURT: Yes, sir. Feel free to move the lectern into the well of the courtroom. I am sorry, I 17 18 didn't know you were going to do that. MR. KLAUS: An opening statement is designed to 19 tell you what we feel the evidence will present. 20 21 THE COURT: Mr. Klaus, would you pull that microphone over? I think it will help our interpreters. 22 23 Thank you.

24 MR. KLAUS: You heard a lot about the history 25 El Salvador so far, and this case in order to know the

of

1 roots and nature of the conflict that all these people 2 were involved in, you need to know the history of El 3 Salvador. 4 El Salvador is a small country, about the size of Massachusetts. At this time in '79 to '83, it had a 5 population in the beginning of 34 and a half million б people. During the conflict of '79 to '90 about one out 7 of every five people left El Salvador. Another 75,000 8 9 people were killed. The roots of the conflict go way back 10 to when El Salvador was a colony, it was a colony of Spain like most of Latin America. 11 12 It was ruled by a Spanish governor. There were large landowners who came to hold most of the property 13 in 14 the country. Eventually, the country gained independence 15 in 1821. At that time all of South America, Mexico, Costa 16 Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, all except Belize, which was 17 British Honduras at the time, Panama. What happened is, at that time Mexico tried to 18 19 annex the rest of Central America and make it part of the 20 Mexican empire. Conflicts broke out, there were wars. Εl 21 Salvador became an independent nation. There were

| America | 22 | conflicts in El Salvador and all the other Central |
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| | 23 | countries between liberals and conservatives. |
| Democratic | 24 | Liberals were people who wanted a more |
| | 25 | society. Conservatives were supported by the large |

1 landowners, plantation owners, by the people who 2 controlled the land, and the church. The church supported 3 all of the conservative people, the leaders of the 4 country. Toward the end of 1800's, El Salvador become 5 б almost a one crop economy, became a coffee country. 7 During that time large landowners consolidated their holdings, they pushed off the indigenous populations, 8 the Indians still living there who worked for the 9 landowners, 10 but now had their own plots of land, allowed to live 11 independent lives as long as they worked and did whatever 12 the large landowners wanted them to do. There was a consolidation of the landowners, fewer families owned 13 more 14 land. Toward -- and that process went on into the 15 20th 16 century. Toward the -- in the beginning of the 20th century, toward 1930, in El Salvador there was another 17 revolt, liberals against conservatives, and Communists 18 19 involved, too. What the large landowners did, they used 20 the Army to crush the revolt. They killed upwards of 30,000 people, most of them indigenous population, the 21 22 Indians.

| wiped | 23 | Before they essentially exterminated and |
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| that | 24 | out the indigenous population in El Salvador. After |
| | 25 | there were no native Salvadorans. The church supported |

1 the conservative element, the oligarchy, the small group 2 of people that controlled all the land and means of 3 production. 4 It was a bumpy time from then on. From then on there were popular movements, labor movements, efforts 5 to б consolidate peasants into groups that looked out after 7 their own interests, and a succession of military dictators supported by the rich landowners. And it was 8 а 9 comfortable or mutually beneficial relationship. 10 The Army would do basically what the landowners 11 wanted. The Army offered the only opportunity for poor 12 people to get an education, to earn a decent living 13 without having to work labor. So young men would join the 14 Army and hope to rise through the ranks. If they did well enough, they could go into the military school and be 15 part 16 of a Tanda, a class that graduated from the military 17 college and became an officer. 18 What happened in '79 was a reaction to the end 19 of -- and the disparity kept growing, disparity between landowners and unlanded peasants. It wasn't just land, 20 it was the factories. By that time factories had started. 21

There was a modernization of El Salvador as all over the

| 23 | world, | especially | / after | World | War | Two. |
|----|--------|------------|---------|-------|-----|------|
| | | | | | | |

24 And there were other results in Central America.

25 Around that time there was a revolting in Costa Rica, and

1 a brokered peace before World War Two. Costa Rica ended 2 up, now it is called the Switzerland of Central America. 3 There was a brokered peace and European nations participated in negotiations. Both sides laid down 4 their 5 arms. They decided not to have an Army, they had a pact б with the United States that would protect their borders, 7 and it has been relatively peaceful ever since in Costa 8 Rica. 9 That didn't happen in El Salvador. They weren't 10 able to reach consensus. There were constant battles 11 between the haves and have nots, and the haves used the 12 Army to put down any uprising by the have nots. 13 Eventually there was a liberalization. It was inevitable, people can't live with that kind of 14 disparity 15 without doing something about it. There were elections. 16 There was the election in '72 where Napoleon Duarte won the election and had it stolen from him, and pushed into 17 18 exile. 19 It started another period of repression where the 20 Army tried to solidify the position of the oligarchies by 21 brutally putting down any opposition. They forced any

22 political party out of the country. They exiled Duarte,

- 23 they exiled Ungo, who was his partner at that time. He
 24 was a social Democrat, not a Christian Democrat.
- 25 Eventually young educated officers in the Army

| | 1 | states the coup of '79. They threw out Dictator Romero, |
|-----------|----|--|
| at | 2 | they threw out 45 of the top officers in the Army, and |
| were | 3 | that time there was, by the Plaintiffs' chart, there |
| | 4 | maybe 100 top officers. They threw out 45 of what they |
| | 5 | considered the worst officers in the Army, those who had |
| | 6 | no respect for human rights, no interest in |
| | 7 | democraticizing the country, moving the country toward |
| | 8 | democracy. They set forth their plan for reform the |
| Forces | 9 | document in evidence, the Proclamation of the Armed |
| | 10 | on October 15, '79. |
| men | 11 | They appointed Junta combined of two military |
| | 12 | and two civilians, and they appointed Colonel Garcia, |
| | 13 | General Garcia Minister of Defense. |
| officers, | 14 | Now, on that Junta there were two Army |
| Gutierrez | 15 | Colonel Majano, and Colonel Guitierrez. Colonel |
| | 16 | was appointed head of the military, he was general |
| | 17 | Garcia's superior all through this period. He was the |
| | 18 | direct commander in chief. |
| on | 19 | From then on things disintegrated. The people |
| | 20 | the right who opposed the coup, who lost in the coup |
| | 21 | attempt still had members in the country, still had |

22 members in the Army. This led to great divisions in the 23 country. 24 At that time there were Communists, guerilla 25 insurgencies started, and these people on the right still

| being | 1 | believed the way to deal with that was the same way |
|------------|----|--|
| | 2 | dealt with in Nicaragua, that was to crush and eliminate |
| | 3 | any members of the opposition. You heard about draining |
| to | 4 | the sea. That was the methods that they employed, was |
| guerillas, | 5 | wipe out any potential popular support for the |
| | 6 | for the Communists. |
| | 7 | The United States got involved because they |
| seen | 8 | believed in a real Communist threat there. They had |
| | 9 | it in Nicaragua. The members of the far left in El |
| | 10 | Salvador were receiving aid, advice, and supplies from |
| | 11 | Communist countries, from Cuba. They organized in Cuba, |
| pledged | 12 | they went to Cuba in order to organize, they were |
| | 13 | support by Cuba, by other Communist countries. |
| | 14 | Meanwhile what happened in Nicaragua, and the |
| | 15 | United States was learning at this time, too, that the |
| | 16 | repression didn't work. What happened with Antonio |
| | 17 | Somoza's regime, he tried to put down the rebellion by |
| | 18 | scorching the earth, wiping out everybody he could |
| he | 19 | possibly support, the people against him, and he fell, |
| few | 20 | had to be flown out on a U.S. plane to Miami, and his |
| | 21 | members of his family. |

| | 22 | By that time we realized that this was we, |
|----------|----|--|
| | 23 | meaning the United States and you can see from |
| Salvador | 24 | Ambassador White's summary of the situation in El |
| | 25 | at the time, that there was a revolution going on, and |

1 wasn't only in El Salvador, it was all over South and 2 Central America. There are other factors that promoted or called 3 upon or made inevitable this revolution. 4 5 During the '60's we had a peace accord and we had б an Alliance For Progress that you heard Ambassador White 7 talk about that started to empower people, local people, people who never had ability to run a business, never 8 9 ability to run a business, these people were given opportunities. And they learned if they worked hard, 10 they 11 learned they could be independent. They learned that they 12 didn't have to depend on a job at a factory, you know, 13 like an assembly factory for a U.S. company or a big 14 plantation or coffee farm or banana farm or cotton farm. 15 They knew they could run businesses. They learned that they could be independent, 16 but 17 maybe the biggest impetus for change was the Vatican Counsel of 1968 in Medellin, Colombia. There was a 18 meeting of all of the bishops of the church. At that 19 time 20 El Salvador was 95 percent Catholic. 21 Now, up until that time the Catholic church 22 always supported whoever was the Government. I don't know

| 23 | why, but I've heard originally there has always bee | n a |
|----|---|------|
| 24 | thought that you are going to be rewarded in the li | fe |
| 25 | after. While you are here on earth, you need to fo | llow |

1 the law, and do what the rulers say. They must be there 2 because God put him there. At the time we had a new pope, the only pope 3 4 probably since Christ's time that was repressed from his 5 religion. He came from Poland, faced repression and 6 discrimination and persecution for being a Catholic all 7 his life. When he became pope, a new feeling came over the Catholic Church, and a new mission. 8 9 What came out of the Vatican Counsel of '68 was that these people who repress you are sinners. You have 10 а right to earn a living, you have a right to enjoy 11 dignity 12 in this life. That denial of that dignity is against 13 God's word. So instead of saying and hearing in church every week, you will be rewarded in the next life, just 14 endure, perceiver, participate in the sacrament, you 15 will 16 be saved and go on to heaven. 17 You heard you have a right to rise up against 18 repression and persecution you are facing now, and that is how you had people like Father Schindler getting 19 involved 20 in empowering people. There were more missionaries that 21 would go to these countries, including El Salvador, to 22 help organize people to show them what they can do on

23 their own.

24 The oligarchy, the people who actually controlled

25 El Salvador, resented this. This was a threat to them,

1 this was a threat to their way of life. And eventually 2 that is how the problems broke out. 3 Now, during this horrible war that lasted from 4 depending on the point of view at least from '79 on into 5 the '90's, and some people would say, you heard б Ms. Gonzalez say that things are still unsafe there. 7 This was a move, a process, a transition from a oligarchy, military dictatorship to a democracy. And 8 9 October 15, '79 was the beginning of it. And that is what 10 Ambassador White says. You will hear Ambassador Corr 11 testify. 12 You heard professor Karl testify that she didn't 13 think the democracization process started and 14 demilitarization process started until after '92. Well, 15 that is just not true. You will hear -- you already heard from Ambassador White the revolution started back then 16 and 17 they were involved in a revolution, and you need to weigh those different opinions. 18 19 You need to look at Ambassador White's basis for 20 his testimony. He is a career diplomat. He is not a 21 professor writing a thesis that has to come up with new

- 22 perspective on history. He is somebody who had U.S.
- 23 interests at hand, and had to give accurate accounts to 24 his government, to the U.S. Government, and that is what 25 his cable is about.

1 During that time, right after the coup, the 2 faction on the right got even more vehement. They knew their power was slipping away, they became more 3 repressive. 4 5 Within the Army there were members of death squads, within every segment of society. You heard б about 7 Roberto D'Aubuisson. Roberto D'Aubuisson is credited with 8 masterminding Archbishop Romero's death, planning several coups. You heard about the lieutenant, Lieutenant 9 Carranza who was involved in coup attempts. And all 10 11 during that time he was being paid by the CIA to furnish 12 information. He was being paid \$90,000.00 a year by our 13 government to give them information. 14 You will hear -- you already heard about how 15 pervasive the human rights violations were, about the unlawful detention, about the massacres. Most of those, 16 and the commission report, U.N. Truth Commission Report 17 18 attributes almost -- 85 percent of them to the right, and to forces within the Army or without of the Army. 19 20 What the case is going to boil down to is whether these men had actual control, had command control over 21 the 22 people who perpetrated the acts on these Defendants,

- 23 whether those acts happened or not --
- 24 THE COURT: Mr. Klaus, you said on the
- 25 Defendants.

1 MR. KLAUS: I mean on the Plaintiffs, I am sorry. 2 What you are going to have to look at, and what 3 you will hear evidence about is how poor the command structure was in the El Salvadoran Army. How -- as you 4 5 heard the expert, General Garcia from Argentina, explain, б there is a chain of command. You heard him, when I asked 7 about what happens when there is a break in the command. 8 Well, doesn't take much more than common sense to figure 9 out if the chain of command depends on working from top to 10 bottom, if there are breaks in it, the people at the 11 bottom aren't going to get their commands or not have to 12 follow them because there is nobody above them. What the Plaintiffs have to show is that there 13 was -- that my clients had direct control over the 14 people who actually perpetrated the acts. What the evidence 15 will 16 show is that they didn't have direct control, and we will 17 try to show this by giving you examples of things that 18 were happening with the armed forces in El Salvador. You had members of the military accepting 19 bribes from U.S. companies, to sell faulty -- to buy faulty 20

ammunition and give it to their own troops in the field.

| 22 | You ł | lave | El | Salvadoran | military | officers | selling | guns | to |
|----|-------|------|----|------------|----------|----------|---------|------|----|
|----|-------|------|----|------------|----------|----------|---------|------|----|

- 23 the Communist guerillas that are fighting their own
- 24 troops. You have them disobeying written orders,

totally

25 ignoring written orders, going off on their own doing

1 their own campaigns. You have them being influenced by 2 the outlawed group ORDEN, or what was left of its members. 3 Even Ms. Gonzalez testified the person who was 4 directing the men in uniform who abducted her and raped 5 her and tortured here were being directed by a man in 6 civilian clothes, somebody from ORDEN. ORDEN was outlawed by the proclamation of October 15. 7 8 ORDEN was a huge civilian organization that had 9 an office in the National Guard headquarters. It was at 10 one time supposedly the intelligence branch, one of the 11 intelligence gathering branches of the National Guard. 12 They were civilians who would give information to members of the military, but they were responsible for almost 13 all 14 the repression. 15 There was a system of bribery, a system of payments where private individuals would have access to 16 17 military personnel and would have them do their bidding, and these were former members of ORDEN. 18 Within the same Army these people existed. 19 20 You will hear how precarious the government was, 21 how during a short time period from '79 to '80, there were

| You | 22 | three different governments, three different Juntas. |
|-----|----|--|
| | 23 | saw the letter from the Christian Democrats. |
| to | 24 | You will hear about General Garcia's attempts |
| | 25 | implement those reforms. You will hear how it became |

1 harder and harder to institute reforms because opposition 2 from the right continued and continued, and our interest, United States interest, and basically everybody's 3 interest 4 was in maintaining some stability in the country. 5 You heard Ambassador White talk about the 6 greatest fear that anybody had was instability, the fear 7 of uncertainty, the same fear we all have. 8 We are lucky here, we are fortunate here we have 9 certainty in our lives. We know when we get up, our 10 newspaper is going to be there, we turn on the spigot, 11 there is going to be water there. We know when we drive 12 on the road, we will be safe. We know most people will 13 follow the laws. 14 And even Dr. Caddy, when he was talking about what he thought the worst thing that Professor Mauricio 15 suffers is lack of being able to plan for the future 16 17 because he doesn't have any certainty, because he feels 18 he is afraid to plan for the future because he doesn't 19 know what is going to happen tomorrow. And that was -- that was the biggest fear of 20 our government. We needed to know, we needed to have a 21 22 reliable future for El Salvador for a lot of reasons.

Number one, we were afraid of becoming Communist and
eventually affecting us. We had a lot of investments
there, and we wanted stability in the region.

| | 1 | Now, you also will hear during that time the |
|--------|----|--|
| | 2 | United States invested a lot of money in El Salvador. |
| | 3 | During the war period from '79 to '92, U.S. taxpayers |
| | 4 | contributed more to the economy of El Salvador than El |
| gross | 5 | Salvador did, we gave more than half of what the |
| | б | national product was came from our pockets, from our tax |
| | 7 | money. |
| period | 8 | You are going to hear that from this time |
| | 9 | forward was a long painful process towards democracy and |
| | 10 | it ended in negotiated peace, neither side could really |
| | 11 | win, the far right side could not win, the middle was |
| | 12 | being torn apart, and the leftist couldn't win, either. |
| | 13 | Out of all of that came a democracy. El Salvador is a |
| | 14 | democracy. |
| and | 15 | It is a tragic horror on the pain, suffering |
| | 16 | deaths that people of El Salvador suffered through this. |
| | 17 | Thank you. |
| | 18 | THE COURT: Mr. Klaus, you may call your first |
| | 19 | witness. |
| | 20 | MR. KLAUS: I am going to call General Garcia. |
| come | 21 | THE COURT: General Garcia, would you please |
| | 22 | up to the witness stand? |

22 up to the witness stand?

23 General Garcia, please sit down and make yourself 24 comfortable. I will ask you if you would pull the chair

25 up to the desk area. You will be more comfortable, and

1 that will allow people to hear you. 2 Sir, if you would begin by raising your right hand? You may stay seated. 3 JOSE GUILLERMO, DEFENDANT SWORN. 4 5 THE COURT: General, the jury met you at the beginning of the case, but for the clarity of the б record, 7 would you please state your full name? And would you 8 spell your last name for the court reporter? 9 THE WITNESS: My name is Jos, Guillermo Garcia, G-A-R-C-I-A. 10 11 THE COURT: Thank you. Mr. Klaus, you may proceed. 12 13 DIRECT EXAMINATION 14 BY MR. KLAUS: 15 General Garcia, when were you born? Ο. I was born the 25th of June of 1933. 16 Α. And where were you born? 17 Q. I was born in San Vincente, El Salvador. 18 Α. 19 Is that the same province that Neris Gonzalez comes Ο. 20 from? 21 Α. Yes, it is the same province. 22 And how many children were in your family? Q. I was an only child to my mother, natural child, and 23 Α. 24 have siblings only on my father's side.

Ι

25 Q. What do you mean when you say natural child?

| | 1 | A. I was the son of a single mother. |
|----------|----|---|
| | 2 | Q. Okay. And were you raised by your single mother? |
| | 3 | A. Yes, yes, sir. |
| | 4 | Q. And she didn't have any other children? |
| | 5 | A. No, no, she had no other children. |
| | б | Q. And what type of education did you receive? |
| | 7 | A. The normal education that one would receive at that |
| | 8 | time. I received my elementary education at a public |
| did | 9 | school in San Vincente. And my high school studies, I |
| | 10 | those at a Catholic Celestine high school. |
| | 11 | Q. Was that St. Thomas Catholic High School? |
| | 12 | A. Yes, a Catholic school, Santo Thomas, and I received |
| | 13 | my high school diploma in 1952. |
| approach | 14 | MR. KLAUS: Your Honor, I would like to |
| | 15 | the witness. |
| | 16 | THE COURT: You may. |
| | 17 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| trial? | 18 | Q. Did you prepare a curriculum, a resum, for this |
| | 19 | A. Yes. |
| | 20 | Q. And is this a copy of it? |
| | 21 | A. Yes. |
| | 22 | Q. That is marked Defendant's Exhibit 10? |
| | 23 | A. Yes. |

24 Q. And do you have a copy of it there?

25 A. Yes, I do.

```
1
                Q. I am going to ask you to refer to your copy when I
            2
                refer to it, to the exhibit.
            3
                          MR. KLAUS: I will ask to move this exhibit
into
                 evidence, Your Honor.
            4
            5
                          THE COURT: Is there any objection to the
receipt
                 of what is now marked Defendants' Exhibit Number 10?
            б
            7
                          MR. GREEN: No objection to the one --
                          THE COURT: As redacted?
            8
                          MR. GREEN: -- as redacted.
            9
           10
                          THE COURT: Defendant's Exhibit 10 will be
           11
                 received into evidence without objection, understanding
           12
                 that it is a redacted form.
           13
                          (Defendants' Exhibit 10 received in evidence
                          without objection.)
           14
           15
                BY MR. KLAUS:
                     And this sets forth your career from when you
           16
                Ο.
                graduated from high school?
           17
           18
                Α.
                     Yes, yes, sir.
                     And when you graduated from high school in '52, what
           19
                Ο.
                did you do next?
           20
           21
                Α.
                     I entered the military school of El Salvador.
           22
                     Now, in order to enter the military school of El
                Q.
                Salvador, did you have to pass any tests? What is the
           23
                admission procedure? What was it at that time?
           24
```

25 A. The normal procedure at that time was to sit for an

| | 1 | admission examination that was comprised of two main |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | portions, one intellectual, and another physical. |
| admitted? | 3 | Q. And if you got a high enough grade, you were |
| | 4 | A. Yes. |
| | 5 | Q. Now, how long were you at the military academy? |
| | б | A. For four years. |
| - | 7 | Q. And were you when you graduated, were you given - |
| rank? | 8 | did you enter military services, and were you given a |
| rank | 9 | A. Yes, I graduated after four years and received a |
| | 10 | of second lieutenant. |
| is | 11 | Q. Now, you heard testimony before about Tandas. What |
| | 12 | your understanding what a Tanda is? |
| | 13 | A. A Tanda we recognize as a graduating class. |
| | 14 | Q. So your Tanda would be the class of '56? |
| | 15 | A. Yes. |
| | 16 | Q. Who else that we've heard about here was in your |
| | 17 | Tanda? |
| | 18 | A. None of those mentioned here was part of my Tanda. |
| | 19 | Q. Was Colonel Gutierrez in your Tanda? |
| | 20 | A. Not from my Tanda. |
| | 21 | Q. Was Colonel Majano? |
| | 22 | A. Not he either. |

- 23 Q. Was Roberto D'Aubuisson?
- A. Not he either.
- 25 Q. Carranza?

| 1 | A. Not he either. |
|------------------|---|
| 2 | Q. You have a copy of your what you titled |
| 3 | chronological personal history. You have a copy of it |
| 4 | there you want to refer to? |
| 5 | A. Yes. |
| 6 recognition | Q. Did you receive any awards or any special |
| 7 | in military school? |
| 8 for | A. Yes. When I graduated, I received the main title |
| 9 | my graduation. I was the honor student for my Tanda. |
| 10 | Q. You were number one in your class? |
| 11 | A. Yes. |
| 12 | Q. Any other awards? |
| 13 | A. Yes. Well, I obtained some honors. For example, at |
| 14 | the weapons school I also received a scholarship to study |
| 15 an | at the Superior Institute in Mexico where I graduated as |
| 16 | officer of the general staff. |
| 17 | And other private activities I was assigned to, for |
| 18 is | example, and I know we all are aware of how our country |
| 19 | constantly attacked by earthquakes. I came here to the |
| 20 | United States to train in providing service to people |
| 21 | affected by earthquakes. |
| 22 | Q. Okay. I want to stay within a time frame. |
| 23 | A. Okay. |
| | |

Q. You graduated in November, '56. What was your first assignment as a member of the military? 1 A. I was appointed commander of one section of an

2 infantry brigade. How many people would be under you at that time? 3 Ο. 4 Α. 30 persons. How many people were in the El Salvadoran military 5 Ο. at the time? б 7 Approximately 8,000, 9,000 persons. Α. And that includes the Army, the Navy, the Air Force 8 Ο. 9 and the National Guard, Treasury Police and National Police? 10 Yes, sir. 11 Α. 12 Ο. And who was the commander in chief of all those armed 13 forces at that time? 14 When I graduated, it was the President of the Α. 15 republic. He was the commanding general of the armed 16 forces. Now, can you describe your career for the next three 17 Q. 18 years? 19 Yes, certainly. I was performing my duties as an Α. officer at the First Infantry Brigade, complying with my 20 21 obligations and duties, such as those that corresponded to 22 my rank as well as those that corresponded to me as a 23 person.

24 Q. And what was your next position in the military?

25 A. I was later on appointed instructing commander of a

| | 1 | section at the military school for cadets. |
|-----------|-----|---|
| | 2 | Q. And when was that? |
| | 3 | A. In 1960. |
| military | 4 | Q. And how long did you stay as a teacher at the |
| milliour, | 5 | academy? |
| | 6 | A. I was at the military academy for approximately more |
| | 7 | or less three years, because from there I was promoted to |
| | 8 | lieutenant, and from there to captain. |
| | 9 | Q. So you taught at the military school in 1963? |
| | 10 | A. That is so. |
| | 11 | Q. And what was your next assignment? |
| Ŧ | 12 | A. I went to study at the weaponry school and later on |
| I | 1 2 | returned to the military acheel |
| | 13 | returned to the military school. |
| | 14 | Q. So you went to study more and then you returned to |
| | 15 | teach at the military school? |
| | 16 | A. Yes. |
| | 17 | Q. Now, what happened in 1965? |
| to | 18 | A. In 1965 something special happened. I was deployed |
| | 19 | a post which is usually reserved for people who are |
| | 20 | considered useless, all this motivated by a series of |
| | 21 | opinions that were in existence at the time, and |
| | 22 | fundamentally for complying with my obligations at the |
| | 23 | military school, with respect to the law and the school |

- 24 regulations.
- 25 Q. So you were demoted?

| | 1 | A. No. Yes, I no, but I received a demotion in |
|------------|----------|--|
| school, | 2 | employment after having been commander of the cadet |
| | 3 | which could be considered as an honorary and important |
| | 4 | reward. I was transferred then to a post that was |
| | 5 | practically without any value. |
| demoted | б | Q. So, you weren't demoted in rank, but you were |
| | 7 | by being given a less prestigious position? |
| | 8 | A. Yes, yes, that is so. |
| | 9 | Q. Is that the way people were disciplined in the |
| | 10 | military at that time? |
| | 11 | A. Partly, yes. But this was not the result of a |
| having | 12 | disciplinary measure but simply for the fact of not |
| | 13 | followed or complied with an order that was not correct. |
| | 14 | Q. You received an order from a superior and you |
| didn't | 15 | determined it wasn't correct and you disobeyed it or |
| | 16 | follow it? |
| | 17 | A. That is so. I was ordered to make changes on grades |
| incorrectl | 18 .y | for students who were undeserving or who acted |
| | 19 | and I refused to comply with that order. |
| | 20 | Q. Were you ordered to inflate the grades of some |
| | 21 | students? |
| | 22 | A. Yes. |

23~ Q. And because you refused to do it, you were transferred

- 24 to a less prestigious post?
- 25 A. Yes, that is so.

| | 1 | Q. Who ordered you to do that? |
|----------|----|---|
| | 2 | A. Well, I received the order from the director of the |
| | 3 | military school. |
| | 4 | Q. What was your next assignment? |
| | 5 | A. I was later on sent to study general staff at the |
| | 6 | Superior School of Mexico. |
| | 7 | Q. What happened on June 10, 1965? |
| | 8 | A. This is what I said at the beginning. I was |
| | 9 | commissioned to the construction of 360 housing units for |
| | 10 | the displaced persons from an earthquake, and without the |
| received | 11 | knowledge necessary to perform this type task, we |
| | 12 | rapid orders. |
| | 13 | THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter corrects |
| | 14 | himself. We received rapid training and we were able to |
| | | |
| | 15 | perform the task. |
| | 16 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 17 | Q. Was that funded by the United States? |
| | 18 | A. Yes, it was financed by the United States. |
| | 19 | Q. Did the United States Army help in the construction? |
| | 20 | A. They provided all materials. We merely provided the |
| | 21 | labor. |
| | 22 | Q. Then after that you went to the what school in |
| | 23 | Mexico? |
| | 24 | A. The Superior War School of Mexico. |

25 Q. And when was that?

| | 1 | A. From 1967 to 1970. |
|--------|----|--|
| | 2 | Q. And what was your next assignment? |
| | 3 | A. When I returned, I was at the general staff for a |
| | 4 | short period and once again I returned to the military |
| | 5 | school as chief of studies and training. |
| | 6 | Q. And what was your next promotion in '72? |
| | 7 | A. I was promoted to lieutenant colonel. |
| | 8 | Q. And then what happened next, '73? |
| | 9 | A. I was appointed director of an organization that was |
| armed | 10 | just beginning at the time. It was reserved for the |
| | 11 | institutions. It was sort of like a cooperative, a bank |
| | 12 | for the military collective. And then I was sent here to |
| the | 13 | the United States to attend a course for assistance in |
| | 14 | event of disasters. |
| | 15 | Q. I want to go back to March 12, 1973 where it says in |
| | 16 | this document you were appointed director of the Mutual |
| Order, | 17 | Fund Savings Bank of the armed forces per Executive |
| | 18 | Executive Power Decree Number 173. |
| | 19 | A. This is the one I just made reference to. |
| funds? | 20 | Q. Did you have any training in banking or mutual |
| the | 21 | A. No. It was a board of directors and I was one of |
| | 22 | directors. |

- 23 Q. Okay. And then next in June of '73 you were sent to
- 24 United States?
- 25 A. That is so.

| | 1 | Q. Okay. What did you take place in there? |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---|
| | 2 | A. It was I learned, it was an international course |
| we | 3 | where there were representatives of many countries. And |
| used | 4 | learned the methods that in the event of disaster are |
| | 5 | to care for displaced persons. |
| | 6 | Q. Now, wasn't your country at war in 1969? |
| | 7 | A. Yes. We had a war with Honduras. |
| | 8 | Q. Okay. And when did that war end? |
| | 9 | A. It was a rapid war that lasted 100 days I |
| | 10 | apologize, I apologize, 100 hours. |
| and | 11 | Q. When was there a peace signed between El Salvador |
| | 12 | Honduras? |
| | 13 | A. It was years later, and I personally participated in |
| achieve | 14 | the bilateral commissions with Honduras in order to |
| | | |
| | 15 | peace with Honduras. |
| | 15 16 | peace with Honduras. Q. Okay. And what happened next in your career? |
| | | |
| President. | 16 | Q. Okay. And what happened next in your career? |
| President. | 16 17 | Q. Okay. And what happened next in your career?A. I was appointed Deputy Chief of the Presidential |
| President. | 16 17 18 | Q. Okay. And what happened next in your career? A. I was appointed Deputy Chief of the Presidential General Staff, which is the general staff to the |
| President. happened? | 16 17 18 19 | Q. Okay. And what happened next in your career? A. I was appointed Deputy Chief of the Presidential General Staff, which is the general staff to the I was later on appointed President of the National |

23 the peace negotiations with Honduras, and on November 1st, 24 1973, which is the same year, I was Deputy Chief of the 25 Presidential General Staff. And in February of 1974, I was

| | 1 | appointed President of ANTEL. |
|--------|----|---|
| | 2 | THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter will spell |
| | 3 | A-N-T-E-L, ANTEL. |
| | 4 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 5 | Q. What is ANTEL? |
| | 6 | A. ANTEL is the National Administration for |
| | 7 | Telecommunications. |
| | 8 | Q. And what was your next appointment? |
| the | 9 | A. Later on I was changed, I was transferred back to |
| | 10 | military school to hold the position I held previously. |
| | 11 | Q. And who was the head of the military school at that |
| | 12 | time? When was that and who was the head of it? |
| I | 13 | A. This happened in July of 1977. The director was |
| | 14 | don't have it in mind right now. Oh, it was Colonel |
| | 15 | Agustin Martinez Varela. |
| | 16 | Q. And then tell us what happened from there up until |
| | 17 | your appointment as Minister of Defense. |
| | 18 | A. Then I was passed on as commander as one of the |
| I | 19 | departments of the Department of Sonsonate. Later on |
| become | 20 | was in San Vincente, and later on I was called in to |
| | 21 | Minister of Defense. |
| | 22 | Q. Now, how were you appointed Minister of Defense, and |
| | 23 | by whom? |

24 A. Well, I was called upon by the military members of

the

25 government Junta, by both of them, Colonel Gutierrez and

1 Colonel Majano. To both of them I refused to become 2 minister because I did not want to be Minister of Defense. 3 Q. Why not? First, because I felt it was such a convulsive 4 Α. situation, and so powerful. I felt that anything that 5 was б done in addition to being difficult would possibly not be 7 understood. And in addition, I had already considered retirement. I was called not once, but one of them 8 called me twice and the other four times. I didn't accept until 9 10 the following day, and with the reservations of --11 THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter corrects 12 himself. With the necessary reservations because it was an extremely difficult situation that we lived in in El 13 14 Salvador. BY MR. KLAUS: 15 Let me go back. You are married, correct? 16 Ο. 17 Α. Yes. 18 And when were you married? Q. 19 I was married on July the 26th of 1959. Α. 20 Q. And how many children do you have? Five. 21 Α. 22 Do they all live here in the United States? Ο. They all live over here -- they are the reason why I 23 Α.

24 am here, because when I was Minister of Defense, we also 25 suffered of the pressure of threats that we lived under at

| | 1 | the time. My children were threatened with death, |
|----------|----|--|
| them | 2 | especially the smallest, and I decided it was best for |
| | 3 | to leave in order to not expose them. |
| | 4 | Q. Okay. You are still married to the same woman? |
| | 5 | A. Yes, sir. |
| States? | 6 | Q. When did you send your children to the United |
| | 7 | A. I sent them in November, 1979, approximately about a |
| | 8 | month after October 15. It was all because one of my |
| | 9 | children, the youngest, who was attending school under a |
| | 10 | fictitious name so as not to be identified, at one point |
| | 11 | was identified in school and I took that to be a threat |
| | 12 | because he had been threatened with death. |
| | 13 | Q. Do you know who threatened them? |
| | 14 | A. No. |
| you | 15 | Q. You were Minister of Defense, but you didn't feel |
| | 16 | could protect your own children? |
| | 17 | MR. GREEN: Objection; leading. |
| well, | 18 | THE COURT: I don't think that suggests |
| rephrase | 19 | it does, actually. Let me go back and ask you to |
| | 20 | the question. |
| | 21 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 22 | Q. You were Minister of Defense at the time, correct? |

- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. Were you able to protect your own children?
- 25 A. Relatively.

1 Q. But you sent them to the United States? 2 Α. Yes, because I decided if anything were to happen, let 3 it happen to me and not my children. 4 Q. Did you identify where the threats came from? 5 Α. No. I found the threats which were in writing, some б by phone, but we found surveillance, which was being 7 carried out not only towards my family, but also of myself. Were you being followed, is that what you are 8 ο. saying? 9 Α. No. We were being followed by places where we would 10 go, what routes we would follow, and later all that was confirmed. Well, in fact two of my driver's had attempts 11 12 on their lives. My Chief of Security was shot, killed, decapitated, next to his son because he was a member of 13 my 14 security staff. 15 My foster brother was also murdered for the mere reason of being my foster brother. And one of my 16 driver's 17 was shot twice. And that has resulted in the fact that he 18 is in a wheelchair with half a kidney, practically no 19 intestines, half a stomach and a totally damaged spine. 20 And the other one was shot in his right lung. He almost lost his life. He now lives in Canada. 21 22 Q. Did you ever find out who did these things?

23 A. No.

Q. Do you know if they were done by right-wing people, 24 or

> 25 left-wing people?

| 1 | A. I don't know, but I wondered about both. |
|-------------------|---|
| 2 | THE COURT: Mr. Klaus, if I might, I think we |
| are | |
| 3 | at a time when we ought to stop for the mid-morning |
| 4 | recess. |
| 5 | Why don't we take a 15 minute break and we will |
| б | come back and continue on with the direct examination. |
| 7 | Let me allow the jury to step out. |
| 8 courtroom.) | (Thereupon, the jury retired from the |
| 9 | (Thereupon, trial reconvened after recess.) |
| 10 | THE COURT: Mr. Marshal, would you bring in the |
| 11 | jury, please? |
| 12 courtroom.) | (Thereupon, the jury returned to the |
| 13 | THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen, please be |
| 14 | seated, when we stopped we were in direct examination. |
| 15 | Let me turn back to Mr. Klaus so he may proceed. |
| 16 | Mr. Klaus. |
| 17 | MR. KLAUS: Thank you, Your Honor. |
| 18 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| 19 | Q. General Garcia, what was the situation in your |
| 20 | country, in El Salvador, when you were appointed Minister |
| 21 | of Defense? |
| 22 | A. Well, it was a situation which might be considered |
| 23 | chaotic. There was a history of different attitudes on |

the

part of the population in terms of wanting some kind ofchange, some kind of substantial reformist changes. And

I

1 agree with those who say changes were needed in El 2 Salvador. I participated in a meeting with two other 3 persons where the representatives of those who are known by 4 the name of oligarchy, they seated us before them. 5 When was that meeting? Ο. б Α. That was in 1978 -- no, I am sorry. It was before 7 1977, I'm sorry. Okay. Who was present at that meeting? 8 Ο. 9 Α. The President of the republic and representatives of 10 those known as the oligarchy. I mention this because it is 11 important in terms of what has happened to us in El 12 Salvador. Three of us who were there had been considered 13 to have the possibility of becoming presidential candidates 14 at that point. 15 I arrived there much the same way as I think the other person arrived as well, without knowing what was 16 happening. 17 And they seated us before all those people, some I knew because, for example, Engineer Mauricio Borgonovo, who 18 was 19 the Secretary of State, had been with me during the peace 20 negotiations with Honduras, that is why I knew him. So I asked him what is this meeting all about, and 21 he

| | 22 | said, oh, the same thing as always, because Mauricio |
|-------|----|--|
| class | 23 | Borgonovo was one of the people who belonged to that |
| own | 24 | but held reformist ideas. He was murdered later in his |
| | 25 | home. |

1 You know what that meeting was about? It was simple, they were deciding who was going to be the next 2 3 presidential candidate and appoint him right then and 4 there. That's why they asked for the opinion of the three 5 of us who were there. б I was the first one who spoke, and I said that I had 7 an opportunity to say what I felt at that time, and I was 8 clear when I was asked what opinion I had of El Salvador and its future and I told them if profound changes were 9 not 10 instituted at that point in El Salvador, we were later 11 going to lament the consequences, and I said other things. 12 The other person spoke after, and then the third one. 13 The second person who spoke, the second person was in 14 agreement with what the country needed doing at that time, just set it forth differently. 15 16 And the last one who spoke simply said these things should not be done. This country should be ruled as it 17 has 18 been ruled, with an iron hand. That's the candidate that 19 was nominated, and that was the next President of El 20 Salvador. 21 I mention this because I am not ashamed to say that in

El Salvador that's how candidates were appointed. I took that as a lesson, that it was not yet time to express everything one feels in order to carry out some kind of change.

1 I once say I was singled out as a possibility because the representatives of the Christian Democratic union 2 3 approached me as the representatives of the MMR party, with -- I am sorry, socialist tendency. They told me if 4 Ι 5 was appointed the candidate for the official party, they, the Christian Democrats, and the MMR would join the б 7 official party in order to avoid any opposition. 8 And I told the President of the republic that, but 9 there was no comment. 10 What I would like to lay before you is that we were 11 arriving at the very last time when El Salvador could have been controlled --12 13 MR. GREEN: Objection; non-responsive to the question. 14 15 THE COURT: What was your question? 16 MR. KLAUS: What were the conditions in El Salvador at the time. 17 18 THE COURT: I will overrule the objection. BY MR. KLAUS: 19 20 Q. Let me ask you, who were the other two people with you 21 at the meeting? One of them was General Vides Casanova, and the 22 Α. other

- 23 was General Romero.
- 24 Q. Who was the second one?
- 25 A. General Vides.

1 Q. And who was the third one? 2 Α. General Romero. 3 Q. Okay, go ahead. I believe that my country was in urgent need of 4 Α. those 5 reforms that were later carried out, but unfortunately a б better future was not being contemplated for my country. That's all. 7 Q. So in what state was your country when you took 8 office 9 as Minister of Defense? 10 As I said, a very chaotic situation. We had Α. protests 11 every day, there were dead people every day, and there were 12 also abuses. 13 While General Romero was President, were you ever Q. 14 disciplined for participating in any meetings regarding 15 reforms? 16 Α. No. 17 Ο. You weren't transferred to a less prestigious 18 position? 19 MR. GREEN: Objection; leading. THE COURT: Sustained. 20 21 BY MR. KLAUS: Were you ever transferred? 22 Q. 23 Α. Yes.

- 24 Q. Were you transferred to a less prestigious position?
- 25 A. Relatively so.

1 Q. Do you know why? 2 Α. I don't know. Many times it's for expressing my opinion, but mostly my transfers later were because there 3 was a new government. The President was General Romero. 4 Now, how many people were at that meeting and were 5 ο. you asked questions? б 7 MR. GREEN: Objection; compound question. THE COURT: I think the question is how many 8 9 people were at the meeting. 10 MR. GREEN: And were you asked questions. 11 THE COURT: I will permit it. Go ahead. BY MR. KLAUS: 12 13 Q. How many --14 Let's go back. Where was that meeting? 15 It was in somebody's home, I never knew whose, but Α. it 16 was the home of a wealthy person. 17 And how many people were there? Q. 18 Α. Maybe about 40, 45 people. 19 Did those people ask you and General Vides and ο. 20 President Romero questions? 21 Α. Yes. The difference was in the answers. 22 How long did that meeting last? Q. 23 Maybe approximately two hours. What I would like to Α. 24 emphasize --

| | 1 | THE COURT: I would like to hear the answer. |
|----------|----|---|
| | 2 | THE WITNESS: What I would like to emphasize to |
| | 3 | be understood in my country. |
| | 4 | THE COURT: Let me ask counsel to go back and |
| | 5 | restate the question, if you would, please. |
| | 6 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| country? | 7 | Q. Is that how the President was chosen in your |
| | 8 | A. That's how he was chosen. |
| | 9 | Q. That group wouldn't actually choose the President, |
| is | 10 | they would choose the candidate for a particular party; |
| | 11 | that correct? |
| | 12 | MR. GREEN: Objection; leading. |
| | 13 | THE COURT: Sustained. |
| | 14 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 15 | Q. Were there elections in your country at the time? |
| | 16 | A. Yes. |
| | 17 | Q. The person chosen at that meeting, what would he be? |
| | 18 | A. A candidate for the official party. |
| | 19 | Q. Had anyone but the official party every won an |
| | 20 | election in El Salvador prior to '77? |
| 1930. | 21 | A. I think there was one, but I think it was before |
| | 22 | Q. What about Napoleon Duarte in '72? |
| | 23 | A. That was an election decided by the assembly. There |

- 24 was no absolute majority so the assembly was the one who
- 25 chose the president.

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1 Q. Do you know if the president was chosen the same way
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2
     in Mexico?
               MR. GREEN: Objection; irrelevant.
 3
 4
               THE COURT: Overruled on relevancy grounds.
5
               THE WITNESS: I have no knowledge of whether it
б
      was that way.
     BY MR. KLAUS:
7
8
          What about in Guatemala?
     Ο.
9
    Α.
         Same thing.
10
         You don't know?
     Ο.
11
        No, I don't.
     Α.
12
               MR. GREEN: Objection -- withdrawn.
13
    BY MR. KLAUS:
14
     Ο.
          What about in Honduras?
15
          I can't give an opinion. I don't know.
     Α.
16
          Where do you live now, General Garcia?
     Ο.
17
          I live in Plantation, the City of Plantation.
    Α.
          And how long have you lived there?
18
     Q.
19
     Α.
          About approximately ten -- 12 years.
20
          And how did you come -- are you a permanent resident
     Ο.
21
     of the United States?
22
    Α.
          Yes, yes.
23
          How did you come to be a permanent resident of the
     Ο.
    United States?
2.4
25
     Α.
          As I said in the beginning, my family came here, and
```

| | 1 | later I came, too, and I requested political asylum. | | | | | | | | |
|--------|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | 2 | Q. And were you granted political asylum? | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | A. Yes, sir. | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | Q. Now, going back to the conditions in your country at | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | the time you were appointed, who was your direct superior | | | | | | | | |
| | 6 | when you were Minister of Defense? | | | | | | | | |
| Junta, | 7 | A. Well, first, it was the governing revolutionary | | | | | | | | |
| | 8 | and then Colonel Gutierrez as Colonel and Chief of the | | | | | | | | |
| | 9 | armed forces. | | | | | | | | |
| | 10 | Q. Can you tell us when those changes took when did | | | | | | | | |
| | 11 | Colonel Gutierrez become Commander in Chief of the armed | | | | | | | | |
| | 12 | forces? | | | | | | | | |
| the | 13 | A. I don't know exactly, but I believe it was towards | | | | | | | | |
| | 14 | middle of 1980, but I am not very sure. | | | | | | | | |
| | 15 | Q. Was it in January of 1980? | | | | | | | | |
| | 16 | MR. GREEN: Objection; leading. | | | | | | | | |
| | 17 | THE COURT: Sustained. | | | | | | | | |
| | 18 | BY MR. KLAUS: | | | | | | | | |
| | 19 | Q. You've seen the letter from the Christian Democrats, | | | | | | | | |
| | 20 | correct? | | | | | | | | |
| | 21 | A. Yes. | | | | | | | | |
| | 22 | Q. Can you tell me when what governments you were | | | | | | | | |
| | 23 | Minister of Defense under? | | | | | | | | |
| | 24 | A. Well, the first Junta, until December 31, or | | | | | | | | |

25 January 1st, 1980 when the Junta was restructured. Later,

| | 1 | in the beginning of 1980, a new Junta was formed where |
|---------|----|---|
| | 2 | Dr. Dada Hirezi was a member, and he was replaced by |
| | 3 | Engineer Duarte. |
| | 4 | Q. And when was that? |
| | 5 | A. That was in March, 1980. |
| | 6 | Q. And when who were the members of the Junta who |
| | 7 | were the members of the first Junta; who were the members |
| | 8 | of the second Junta? |
| | 9 | A. The ones in the first Junta were Colonel were |
| Majano, | 10 | Colonel Gutierrez, Engineer Mayorga Quiros, Colonel |
| | 11 | and Dr. Ungo, and Mr. Andino. |
| | 12 | Q. Were any of those people present at that meeting in |
| | 13 | '77? |
| | 14 | A. The meeting I talked about? |
| | 15 | Q. Yes. |
| | 16 | A. Not that I recall. |
| | 17 | Q. Okay. And who were the members of the second Junta? |
| 1980, | 18 | A. The second Junta, which was formed January 9th, |
| | 19 | one person was Dr. Morales Erlich, Dr. H,ctor Hirezi, and |
| | 20 | Doctor a physician Jos, Avalos, and also Colonel Jaime |
| | 21 | Gutierrez and Colonel Adolfo Majano. |
| | 22 | Q. Were any of those people present at the meeting in |
| | 23 | 1977? |
| | 24 | A. No. |

25 Q. And in March, 1980, there was another Junta formed,

| | 1 | correct? | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | 2 | MR. GREEN: Objection; leading. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | THE COURT: Sustained. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | BY MR. KLAUS: | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | Q. Who were the members of the next Junta, and when was | | | | | | | | | | |
| | б | that formed? | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 7 | A. Once again, there were five members. Jos, Napoleon | | | | | | | | | | |
| Majano, | 8 | Duarte, Dr. Avalos Navarrete again, Colonel Adlofo | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 9 | Colonel Gutierrez, and Dr. Jos, Morales Erlich. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 10 | Q. And then was there a fourth Junta? | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 11 | A. Well, it was restructured in December, 1980 when | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 12 | Dr. Majano left the Junta. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 13 | Q. And who | | | | | | | | | | |
| that | 14 | A. Colonel Gutierrez was appointed Vice President at | | | | | | | | | | |
| President | 15 | point, and Engineer Napoleon Duarte was appointed | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 16 | of the Junta. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 17 | Q. And who were the other members? | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 18 | A. I am sorry, Colonel Gutierrez, Dr. Avalos Navarrete, | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 19 | and Dr. Morales Erlich. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 20 | Q. Now, Napoleon Duarte was a Christian Democrat, | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 21 | correct? | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 22 | A. Yes, he was a Christian Democrat. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 23 | Q. Were any of those people at that meeting in '77? | | | | | | | | | | |

- 24 A. No, none of them.
- 25 Q. What was the next government you served Minister of

Defense under? 1 2 Well, after the elections of 1982 -- and by the way, Α. we have a video to recall what those of us who lived 3 4 through it, as to how that election was carried out, and 5 how the people of El Salvador in the midst of the chaos б MR. GREEN: Objection; non-responsive. THE COURT: Sustained. 7 Let me go back to allow Mr. Klaus to restate 8 the 9 question. 10 BY MR. KLAUS: 11 What was the next government that you served under Ο. as Minister of Defense? 12 13 That of Doctoral Alvaro Magana in 1982. I had Α. 14 finished with the Junta, and Dr. Magana called me once 15 again to be the minister. How did Dr. Magana come to become president of the 16 Ο. republic? 17 18 By that time those of us who were in Government felt Α. an urgent need to exit the de facto state in which we 19 found 20 ourselves, to have elections and appoint a President. 21 These elections were held on March 26, 1982. Was Dr. Magana a candidate for president in that 22 Ο. 23 election?

A. No. It was just so as to appoint a constitutionalassembly.

Was this one of the reforms called for in the 1 Ο. 2 proclamation of the armed forces October 15, 1979? Yes, free elections was one of the key points of the 3 Α. 4 proclamation. 5 Ο. Was this one of the reforms called for by the 6 Christian Democrats; letter of 1980? 7 Α. That, and the other basic ones carried out in El Salvador such as agrarian reform --8 9 MR. GREEN: Objection; nonresponsive. He 10 answered the question, now he is adding more. 11 THE COURT: Sustain the objection. 12 BY MR. KLAUS: 13 What were the other reforms called for in the Ο. October 15 proclamation? 14 Agrarian reform, banking reform, and reform in 15 Α. foreign 16 trade. Did you support all these reforms? 17 Ο. Yes, sir. 18 Α. 19 Did you do whatever was in your power to institute Q. those reforms while you were Minister of Defense? 20 21 Α. I did everything I could to support the decision of 22 the Junta which carried out these reforms in a way which had never been seen in El Salvador. And we all ran the 23 24 risk in supporting these reforms.

For example, bank reform, that was done in one day,

in

| | 1 | one single day our soldiers occupied all banking offices |
|---------|----|--|
| carried | 2 | throughout El Salvador, and the transformation was |
| Callieu | | |
| | 3 | out in a legal form. |
| | 4 | Q. What was the transformation? |
| | 5 | A. All banks came under the control of the central |
| | 6 | Government. |
| | 7 | Q. What about the agrarian reform, was that ever |
| | 8 | instituted? |
| am | 9 | A. Yes, there was a difference of about three days. I |
| main | 10 | not exactly sure, but it was immediate. That was the |
| | 11 | reform. |
| | 12 | Q. What, what did that reform entail? |
| it | 13 | A. Take away ownership of land in El Salvadoran, make |
| | 14 | the property of peasant cooperatives. At that time, land |
| | 15 | reform was considered to be very advanced for that time. |
| | 16 | Q. Was that done in phases? |
| | 17 | A. No, I think it was one fell swoop at once. |
| | 18 | Q. Was land taken from landowners and distributed to El |
| | 19 | Salvadorans? |
| | 20 | A. Everyone. That's why it was considered to have been |
| | 21 | such an exaggerated great event at that time in our |
| | 22 | country. |
| | 23 | Q. Did that meet with resistance from landowners? |

- 24 A. Well, it wasn't so much of it, for some reasons,
- 25 because it was the armed forces that physically occupied

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1 the land.

| during | 2 | Q. Was there a rise in violence in the countryside |
|---------|----|--|
| | 3 | that time? |
| | 4 | A. Yes. Because once the reformists instituted, the |
| | 5 | reaction follows immediately against the reform, so then |
| of | б | those that were in government found that we had two sets |
| | 7 | well defined resistants, the right, and the left, both |
| we | 8 | violent. And if that weren't enough, the great problem |
| | 9 | all lived with at that time, infiltration of the armed |
| were | 10 | institutions, from the right and from the left, which |
| look | 11 | acting quietly, surreptitiously to make the government |
| | 12 | bad. And at that time, coups were talked about every |
| brought | 13 | question, there was a coup from the right and this |
| | 14 | about not exactly instability of the armed forces |
| | 15 | MR. GREEN: Objection; non-responsive to the |
| | 16 | question of countryside. |
| | 17 | THE COURT: Let me ask you to ask the next |
| | 18 | question. |
| | 19 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 20 | Q. What brought about the resistance of the land reform |
| | 21 | and other reforms that the the Junta, your Government |
| | 22 | was trying to institute? |

23 A. The violent factions in El Salvador increased.

Bombs

| 24 | were | placed in | ı ba | nks, | nobc | ody i | knew | who | had | done | it. |] | They |
|----|------|-----------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|------|-----|----|------|
| 25 | were | supposed | to | be f | rom c | one | side, | the | rig | ght, | and | at | the |

1 same time there were bombs from the left. 2 What about torture and disappearances, and killings? Ο. 3 Yes. If you look at the newspaper from that time, Α. if 4 you would like to have an idea, I have newspaper clippings 5 in order from that time, you can see what was happening б every day in El Salvador. Attempted crimes, kidnappings, machine gunnings, religious -- houses of worship were 7 being 8 occupied, threats. Everything, everything that can 9 contribute to chaos in a country. 10 Were these violations, tortures, detentions, Ο. occupations of churches, were they being done by members 11 of 12 the military? They were organizations either from the right 13 No. Α. or 14 from the left, but I want to be honest, within the armed 15 institutions there were elements that served the right and 16 also there were elements of the armed forces that served 17 the terrorists. Both had the same objective, to make the government at that time look bad. 18 19 Q. Had you issued orders against violations of human rights during your time as Minister of Defense? 20 21 Yes, we issued orders and we also made them public. Α.

Ι

22 have here some examples. We won't see it all, but I want

23 you to realize what it was that we did.

24 Q. Let me go back. When you were a student in the

25 military academy, were you taught to respect human

rights?

1 Directly as specifically, no. Yes, but it was also Α. 2 considered in classes on international law in which laws were made known. 3 4 Okay. When you were -- that is when you were a Ο. 5 student; is that correct? 6 Α. Yes. 7 Were there already laws -- when you became Minister Q. of Defense and before that, were there already laws in El 8 9 Salvador requiring protection of human rights? Laws as such, no. And I would like to make a short 10 Α. explanation on this point. 11 12 MR. GREEN: Objection; non-responsive. 13 THE COURT: No. I will permit the witness to 14 explain his answer. THE WITNESS: At that time, 20 or 22 years ago, 15 16 to speak of human rights in El Salvador is not the same as you speak of human rights now nor as it is spoken of in 17 18 the world. 19 If albeit it wasn't an unknown term, many people 20 held reservations. For that reason human rights were not 21 taken so explicitly as they are today. And precisely one

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22 of the major products of this process that we started,

| 23 | that we initiated was that in the Constitution of 1983, |
|----|---|
| 24 | the value of human rights is set forth for El Salvador. |
| 25 | THE COURT: Let me go back to Mr. Klaus. |

| | 1 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
|-------|----|---|
| | 2 | Q. Do you have copies of any orders that you issued |
| | 3 | regarding human rights? |
| all | 4 | A. Yes. What I am going to show was disseminated to |
| | 5 | of the military corps in order to set forth conditions of |
| | 6 | respect. |
| | 7 | For example |
| | 8 | Q. When was that distributed? |
| 1979. | 9 | A. This was disseminated on the 15th of November of |
| | 10 | And it says, and I am only going to read some short |
| | 11 | excerpts |
| | 12 | MR. GREEN: Your Honor, could we have a copy of |
| | 13 | the order that he is quoting from? |
| | 14 | THE COURT: Yes. |
| | 15 | MR. KLAUS: It is coming from Exhibit 38. |
| to | 16 | THE COURT: Could I stop you all? I want you |
| | 17 | reflect on where we are and what is happening. |
| | 18 | MR. KLAUS: I need in order to get it out of |
| | 19 | my exhibit I need to see |
| | 20 | THE COURT: I understand that. What are you |
| | 21 | doing? |
| | 22 | MR. KLAUS: He is referring to this exhibit. |
| | 23 | THE COURT: I understand that. Is there some |

- 24 agreement counsel have between themselves that I am not
- 25 aware of?

| | 1 | MR. GREEN: No, Your Honor. |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | THE COURT: The witness is reading from a |
| | 3 | document not in evidence. Is that by your agreement? |
| | 4 | MR. GREEN: No. |
| | 5 | THE COURT: There is no objection about that? |
| | б | MR. GREEN: I will object because he is reading |
| | 7 | from an exhibit. I may end up agreeing to the exhibit. |
| procedure | 8 | THE COURT: I understand that, but the |
| | 9 | we have been following, the exhibits must be marked in |
| to | 10 | evidence, and if they are marked, they can be published |
| | 11 | the jury. I am inquiring whether you have made an |
| | 12 | agreement to deviate from that procedure. |
| | 13 | MR. GREEN: No, Your Honor. |
| allow | 14 | THE COURT: Let me go back to Mr. Klaus and |
| | 15 | him to lay the appropriate predicate. |
| | 16 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 17 | Q. Is this a copy of the order you issued at that time? |
| to | 18 | A. It is not exactly an order, but this is a position |
| | 19 | the entire nation disseminated over a national chain of |
| | 20 | media, radio and television upon the 15th of November, |
| | 21 | 1979. |
| | 22 | Q. What is it exactly that you are looking at? |
| | 23 | A. What does it say? |

- 24 Q. No, can you identity it?
- 25 A. It is titled the Salvadoran people must trust its

1 armed forces. 2 Is that from your notebook marked Exhibit 49? Ο. No, but this is a copy, I believe. I believe it is 3 Α. 4 over there. 5 Ο. Is this Exhibit 49? 6 Α. Yes. 7 MR. GREEN: Your Honor, may we be heard sidebar? THE COURT: Hold on a second, if you would. 8 9 MR. KLAUS: I am going to move to admit the 10 exhibit. I need to give him the actual exhibit. What he 11 is looking at is a copy. 12 THE COURT: Is there any objection to the receipt of Defendants' Exhibit 49? 13 14 MR. GREEN: Yes, Your Honor, there is. 15 THE COURT: What is the basis of the objection? MR. GREEN: Not prepared in conformity of the 16 17 pretrial order, and explicit directions, it has documents not authenticated. 18 19 THE COURT: Forgive me, are you offering the 20 entire book? 21 MR. KLAUS: No.

THE COURT: The specific exhibit has to bemarked. Is there an objection to specific Exhibit 49?

| 24 | MR. KLAUS: | I will mark it 49-A. |
|----|------------|---------------------------------|
| 25 | THE COURT: | No. It is marked on the exhibit |

| 1 | list. Is there any objection to the document being |
|----|--|
| 2 | offered Defendants' Exhibit 49? |
| 3 | MR. GREEN: Yes, Your Honor. There has been an |
| 4 | inadequate foundation laid. |
| 5 | THE COURT: What is missing? |
| 6 | MR. GREEN: In that he has not indicated that, |
| 7 | where this document comes from. |
| 8 | THE COURT: I think what has to be established |
| 9 | is, number one, who is the author, and to whom did it |
| 10 | MR. KLAUS: Okay. If I can |
| 11 | THE COURT: And if this is an accurate copy of |
| 12 | what went out. |
| 13 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| 14 | Q. Can you identify that? |
| 15 | A. Yes. |
| 16 | Q. What is it? What is it? |
| 17 | A. It is a communication to the people disseminated |
| 18 | national chain of radio and television upon November 15, |
| 19 | 1979. |
| 20 | Q. Is that an accurate copy and transcript and |
| 21 | transcription of your words that went out over national |
| 22 | radio and television November 15, 1979 in El Salvador? |
| 23 | A. Yes. |
| 24 | MR. KLAUS: I offer it into evidence. |

go.

over

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1
                 exhibit?
            2
                          MR. GREEN: Again, inadequate foundation. He
did
            3
                 not indicate whether he personally heard this broadcast.
                          THE COURT: All right. I will let you explore
            4
            5
                 that, as to whether the general is aware it was in fact
            б
                 broadcast.
                BY MR. KLAUS:
            7
                     Do you know whether it was broadcast or not?
            8
                Ο.
            9
                Α.
                    Yes.
                     And over what radio stations and what television
           10
                Q.
                stations was it broadcast?
           11
                     All stations radio and television of El Salvador.
           12
                Α.
           13
                          MR. GREEN: Objection; hearsay. He has not
                 established whether he heard it over all radio and
           14
           15
                 television stations.
           16
                          THE COURT: I will overrule the objection and
                 receive Defendants' 49 into evidence over objection.
           17
                          (Defendants' Exhibit 49 received in evidence
           18
over
           19
                          objection.)
           20
                          THE COURT: You may proceed.
           21
                BY MR. KLAUS:
                     What did you say to the people of El Salvador in
           22
                Q.
your
           23
                speech that day?
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24 A. Is mainly, the acts of the institution are founded

on

25 the ideological principles of the armed forces

1 proclamation, with special emphasis upon the validity of 2 the -- of human rights, of breaking away from past schemes 3 or frame works, the elimination of corruption, and the 4 guarantees of respecting the will of the people as stated 5 in free elections and beyond any official party, with б respect to republic and norms -- Republican, Democratic and 7 representative norms that are basic to our Constitution. 8 Okay. Ο. A wish -- is also to say to the people that our wish 9 Α. 10 is that the people be the ones to exercise power. Is but 11 following Democratic pathways in a peaceful and orderly 12 fashion. We, the military officers, wish to perform in 13 such a manner that we may be prepared in accordance with 14 the best interests of the homeland and that we might be a 15 guarantee for the people. We need retraining, such that should be intensive as 16 to relationships especially those against civility framed 17 18 within and making emphasis upon the compliance with laws as 19 a guarantee for peace and stability because we are aware 20 that through modern technique and modern systems we shall be able to better serve. 21 22 We will be able to eliminate violations to human 23 rights which so many problems have brought for our country.

We search for the full identification of the armed forceswith the people, the fundamental mission of the reason of

1 being and the objectives of the current government. 2 We invite dissident groups to the current government 3 to make the most of the opportunity of expressing 4 themselves legally and in a timely fashion --5 THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter corrects himself. To express themselves legally and peacefully б for 7 the development of our country and avoiding destruction that violence brings with it. 8 9 THE WITNESS: The armed forces follows the 10 framework for, for development as established by the revolutionary government Junta which is to search for 11 12 political solutions and peaceful solutions. We have faith 13 in the process, and we desire calm and we also want peace. 14 These are the principal parts of the speech. 15 BY MR. KLAUS: Did threats against you and your family increase 16 Ο. after 17 this speech? I could not -- I could not -- I do not recall. I do 18 Α. not recall that. 19 20 Q. What were the public reactions to this speech; if you 21 know? 22 Α. There were reactions in the sense that the Salvadoran

23 people, albeit that they are a peaceful people, but at the 24 same time they are too violent. It is a characteristic of 25 Salvadorans, but the reaction was along the lines that the

1 majority, this is what they wanted. 2 Ο. Was there increased violence because of this? MR. GREEN: Objection; leading. 3 4 THE COURT: Sustained. BY MR. KLAUS: 5 Did you discern any public reaction to this? б Ο. MR. GREEN: Objection; asked and answered. 7 8 THE COURT: I will permit the witness to answer 9 the question. 10 THE WITNESS: Yes. We were living the very 11 beginning of this Junta. We had been in but one month, 12 this was on the 15th of November, 1979, one month later. And this possibly created an increase in violence. 13 MR. GREEN: Objection; calls for speculation. 14 15 THE COURT: Sustained. 16 MR. GREEN: Move to strike. 17 THE COURT: I grant the motion to strike. BY MR. KLAUS: 18 19 Do you know or discern any change -- any reaction Ο. 20 the public in this? 21 MR. GREEN: Objection; repetitive, asked and 22 answered. 23 THE COURT: Overruled. You may answer the 24 question.

so

from

25 THE WITNESS: Not from the public in general,

but

1 reactions from those unidentified elements from the right 2 and from the left. 3 BY MR. KLAUS: 4 Q. Was there a reaction from the military regarding this 5 speech? б Α. Well, yes, of acceptance. 7 Was there any reaction from rightist elements in the Ο. 8 military at that time? 9 I do not recall exactly. Α. 10 Okay. When the revolt of October 15 took place, Q. 11 were -- what happened in the military? 12 Well, the majority within the armed force was Α. 13 supporting this movement. 14 Were any officers removed from the armed forces by Q. the 15 new Junta? 16 Yes. Yes. Α. 17 Q. How many? 18 Α. Between 40 and -- 40 or 50, I do not recall the exact 19 number, but within the first order a large number were 20 either retired or dismissed. 21 And what happened to the President, General Romero? Q. Well, he was expelled from the country. 22 Α.

23 Q. Were some of those officers removed expelled from

> 24 country, also?

25 A. Yes.

the

1 Q. Did officers that supported Romero remain in the 2 military after the coup? Almost no, but maybe some may have, but the main 3 Α. ones left, including Major D'Aubuisson. 4 5 Were there officers within the military who -- I am Ο. б including all the armed forces -- that oppose the reforms? 7 Α. I think not. I don't remember, but the majority was 8 in agreement with the proclamation. 9 Okay. Now, did you give any other speeches -- what ο. 10 was the next time you gave a speech regarding human rights? THE COURT: Mr. Klaus, if I might, unless 11 you've 12 separately marked these exhibits, I am going to ask that you do that. And I am looking at your exhibit list and 13 Ι 14 noticed what was marked as Exhibit 49 refers to a scrap 15 book and so on. And I think it is very important, we talked about this earlier, that all of the exhibits be 16 17 individually marked and, by the way, that I have a correct exhibit list, because that is going to be very important 18 19 at the end of the case so we can keep track of these 20 things. Why don't we stop at this point, and I ask you 21

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to

22 go back and individually mark each of the exhibits. And

ask that you get me an updated exhibit list with each of
the exhibits listed on there. That is what we need from
both sides, and I have that from the Plaintiffs.

1 Why don't we stop at this point. Let's stick to our schedule. We will come back at quarter of two and 2 come back to General Garcia for the continuation of 3 direct 4 examination. 5 We will be in recess until quarter of two. (Thereupon, the jury retired from the 6 courtroom.) 7 (Thereupon, a short recess was taken.) (Trial reconvened after recess at 1:45.) 8 THE COURT: Would you bring the jury in? 9 General Garcia, if I might, if I could ask if 10 you 11 would listen to Mr. Klaus' question and try to respond directly, understanding that Mr. Klaus is going to have 12 an 13 opportunity to ask a second or follow-up question. I 14 think that would help us move forward. Okay? Thank you. (Thereupon, the jury returned to the 15 courtroom.) 16 THE COURT: Mr. Marshal, could I see you for a 17 second? 18 Ladies and gentlemen, please be seated. When we stopped, we were in direct examination 19 so I am going to turn back to Mr. Klaus and allow him to 20

21

proceed.

| 22 MR | KLAUS: | Thank you. |
|-------|--------|------------|
|-------|--------|------------|

23 BY MR. KLAUS:

24 Q. General Garcia, do you own the house that you live

in?

25 A. No.

| | 1 | Q. Do you pay rent? |
|----------|----|--|
| | 2 | A. No. I live with my children. |
| | 3 | Q. Do you what was your income last year? |
| | 4 | A. Six, 6,000 and something. I do not recall the rest. |
| | 5 | Q. And where do you get your income from? |
| | 6 | A. We have 11 grandchildren and I take them to and from |
| | 7 | school in addition to the pension that I have. |
| El | 8 | Q. What pension do you receive from the Government of |
| | 9 | Salvador? |
| | 10 | A. \$700.00 monthly. |
| | 11 | Q. Do you have any income from investments or interest |
| | 12 | earned on bank accounts or certificates of deposit? |
| | 13 | A. None, no. |
| | 14 | Q. Do you have any other income beside your pension and |
| | 15 | what you earn by taking your grandchildren to school? |
| | 16 | A. No, I have not. |
| | 17 | Q. How many people live in the house in Plantation? |
| | 18 | A. In that house we live, my son, his wife, their two |
| | 19 | children, my wife, my son and I. |
| | 20 | THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter stands |
| | 21 | corrected. |
| husband, | 22 | THE WITNESS: It is my daughter and her |
| | 23 | and to complete the list their two children, my wife, my |
| | 24 | male son and I, seven. |

BY MR. KLAUS: 1 2 How many bedrooms does the house have? Ο. 3 Α. Four. 4 Q. Have you lived in the same house since you came to 5 United States in 1989? б MR. GREEN: Objection; assumes a fact not in 7 evidence, leading. 8 THE COURT: What was the objection? 9 MR. GREEN: Assumes a fact not in evidence, mainly the year. He said ten to 12 years before. And 10 11 number two, leading. 12 THE COURT: I will overrule both of those 13 objections. You may proceed. BY MR. KLAUS: 14 15 I want to go back to El Salvador in 1979 and I want 0. you to look at an exhibit. It is Exhibit 31. Can you 16 identify that exhibit? 17 A. Yes. It is the organizational chart of the National 18 Guard. 19 Q. And was that the way the National Guard was 20 organized 21 when you were Minister of Defense? 22 Α. Yes. 23 MR. KLAUS: I would like to move that into 24 evidence, Your Honor.

1760

the

| | 1 | MR. KLAUS: Defendants' Exhibit 31. |
|-----------|----|--|
| receipt | 2 | THE COURT: Is there any objection to the |
| recerpe | | |
| | 3 | of what would now be marked Defendants' Exhibit 31? |
| | 4 | MR. GREEN: No, Your Honor. |
| evidence | 5 | THE COURT: Defendants' 31 received into |
| | 6 | without objection. |
| | | |
| | 7 | (Defendants' Exhibit 31 received in evidence |
| | 8 | without objection.) |
| | 9 | MR. KLAUS: Your Honor, I have copies for the |
| | 10 | jury. |
| | 11 | THE COURT: All right. You may publish that. |
| that | 12 | MR. GREEN: Judge, we do have a jury binder |
| LIIAL | | |
| | 13 | we talked about, and this would be appropriate, I think, |
| | 14 | with the other documents we talked about. |
| | 15 | THE COURT: Why don't we wait on that. We can |
| it | 16 | discuss that further. I think we were going to discuss |
| IL | | |
| | 17 | this evening. |
| | 18 | You may pass that out. |
| together. | 19 | MR. KLAUS: They have to hold the pages |
| enough | 20 | THE COURT: Let's make sure everybody has |
| | 21 | copies, and you can show how it should be held together, |
| | 22 | if you would. Maybe it is obvious. |

| 23 | A JUROR: | Yes. |
|----|----------|------|
| | | |

24 THE COURT: Okay.

| | 1 | BY M | R. KLAUS: |
|------|----|------|---|
| | 2 | Q. | What is the lowest rank indicated on that chart? |
| | 3 | A. | National Guard, agent, agent, National Guard. |
| or | 4 | Q. | Is that an individual member, or is he a sergeant, |
| | 5 | a co | rporal? |
| | 6 | A. | No rank. |
| | 7 | Q. | Okay. Does that indicate how many members of the |
| | 8 | Nati | onal Guard there were when you were Minister of |
| | 9 | Defe | nse? |
| | 10 | A. | Yes, more or less between 1500 and 2000. |
| | 11 | Q. | Now, when you became Minister of Defense, how many |
| | 12 | memb | ers of the National Guard were there? |
| | 13 | A. | I do not recall the exact number. |
| | 14 | Q. | Was it roughly the same, 2000? |
| | 15 | Α. | Yes, more or less. Yes, more or less. |
| | 16 | Q. | Did that number increase while you were Minister of |
| | 17 | Defe | nse? |
| | 18 | A. | Perhaps a little. |
| many | 19 | Q. | So when you resigned as Minister of Defense, how |
| | 20 | memb | ers of the National Guard were there? |
| was | 21 | Α. | I do not recall the exact number. Nevertheless it |
| | 22 | more | or less the same. |
| | 23 | Q. | How many were there? |

- 24 A. 1500, 2000, more or less.
- 25 Q. Where would -- at the time you were Minister of

| Guard, | 1 | Defense, General Vides was director of the National |
|--------|----|--|
| | 2 | correct? |
| | 3 | A. Yes, yes. |
| | 4 | Q. Where would he appear on that organizational chart? |
| | 5 | A. Here (indicating). |
| | 6 | Q. And where would the Commander of the National Guard |
| | 7 | post at San Vincente appear? |
| | 8 | A. Here (indicating). |
| the | 9 | Q. Okay. And where would the Commander in charge of |
| | 10 | detention facility at the National Guard headquarters |
| | 11 | appear? |
| | 12 | A. Right there (indicating). |
| at | 13 | Q. At the same level of the Commander of the barracks |
| | 14 | San Vincente? |
| | 15 | A. Yes, he held he was the Commander of the |
| | 16 | Commander's post in San Vincente. |
| | 17 | Q. Okay. Was there a separate commander for the |
| | 18 | National for the detention facility at the National |
| | 19 | Guard headquarters at San Salvador at that time? |
| | 20 | THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter requests the |
| | 21 | question read back. |
| | 22 | MR. KLAUS: I can repeat it. |
| | 23 | BY MR. KLAUS: |

- 24 Q. Was there a commander for the detention facility at
- 25 the National Guard headquarters in 1979?

| | 1 | A. Would you please repeat the question? |
|----------|----|---|
| Guard | 2 | Q. Was there a commander in charge of the National |
| Guaru | | |
| San | 3 | detention center at the National Guard headquarters in |
| | 4 | Salvador at that time? |
| | 5 | A. Specifically as a special commander, no. |
| | 6 | Q. Would there be an officer in charge of the detention |
| Salvador | 7 | facility at the National Guard headquarters in San |
| | 8 | in 1979? |
| | 9 | A. Yes. |
| | 10 | Q. Where would he appear on that chart? |
| | 11 | A. At S-1, Department of Personnel and Justice. |
| | 12 | Q. Okay. How many officers would be in between General |
| the | 13 | Vides and the commander of the San Vincente barracks of |
| | 14 | National Guard? |
| | 15 | A. Three or four tiered. |
| | 16 | Q. And how many between General Vides and the commander |
| in | 17 | in charge of the detention facility at the headquarters |
| | 18 | San Salvador? |
| | 19 | MR. GREEN: Objection; assumes there was a |
| | 20 | commander. |
| | 21 | THE COURT: Overruled. |
| | 22 | THE WITNESS: Two. |

23 BY MR. KLAUS:

25 you were Minister of Defense by any international

1 organization? 2 Α. Yes. And what international organization? 3 Ο. 4 The International Red Cross. Α. 5 Did they have free and open access to all detention Ο. б facilities in your country? 7 MR. GREEN: Objection; leading. 8 THE COURT: I don't think that suggests an 9 answer. I will permit that. 10 THE WITNESS: Totally. They would enter at the 11 time that they wished, and they had absolute freedom to 12 visit all of the posts in the country. 13 BY MR. KLAUS: 14 If the Red Cross had a complaint about a prisoner, Q. who 15 would receive that in the Government at that time? 16 The Red Cross had a very special procedure. They Α. would arrive, they would visit the corps, they would 17 visit 18 the prisoners or captives, they would see the conditions, 19 or their conditions, and they would provide their 20 recommendations. 21 Sometimes directly to the President of the republic, 22 Engineer Duarte, sometimes to me, and sometimes to the chief of the corps, related only to the condition of the 23 24 prisoner.

25 Q. Did you receive any complaints from the Red Cross

1 regarding any one of these Plaintiffs while you were in 2 office? 3 Α. No. 4 What were your orders regarding detention of Ο. 5 individuals while you were Minister of Defense? 6 THE INTERPRETER: Interpreter requests 7 clarification from counsel. 8 BY MR. KLAUS: 9 What were your orders regarding detention of Ο. 10 individuals while you were Minister of Defense? 11 THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter is unclear 12 whether the orders are orders issued or orders received. 13 Counsel, would you clarify for the interpreter? 14 BY MR. KLAUS: Under what orders would you operate, whether you 15 Ο. received them or gave them, regarding detention of 16 individuals while you were Minister of Defense? 17 Repeat, please. 18 Α. 19 ο. Under what orders -- can you describe the orders 20 you operated and those under you operated regarding 21 detention of individuals while you were Minister of 22 Defense? 23 Commanders, and I am referring to the corps of Α. 24 security, had requests from respective judges who would

that

public

25 order the arrest of persons.

1 Q. And what happened to someone after he was arrested? 2 Α. He was taken to the corps of whomsoever was capturing 3 him and a preliminary investigation was performed and to 4 whomsoever according report was issued for the legal 5 aspect. б ο. Were any member -- when you say the corps of public 7 security, do you mean Treasury Police, National Guard and the National Police? 8 9 Α. Yes. 10 Q. Is -- does that also include prisoners taken by the 11 Army? 12 When the Army arrested or had arrested people, they Α. 13 would usually send them to the security corps. 14 What about prisoners of war? Q. 15 Them, too. Α. 16 Okay. Was anyone in any of the public security Q. corps or the Army authorized to torture any prisoners? 17 18 Α. No. Were they expressly forbidden to torture prisoners? 19 Q. 20 Yes. Α. 21 Q. And did those orders come from you directly, or did 22 they come from the Junta? From both as well as from the respective security 23 Α. 24 corps.

25 Q. Okay. How do you explain the 22,000 complaints

| | 1 | received by the U.N. Truth Commission, the 750 urgent |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | action telegrams from Amnesty International |
| | 3 | MR. GREEN: Objection; assumes a fact not in |
| | 4 | evidence. |
| | 5 | THE COURT: Overruled. |
| | 6 | MR. KLAUS: I didn't hear. |
| | 7 | THE COURT: I overruled the objection. |
| | 8 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 9 | Q. How do you explain those among other complaints of |
| | 10 | torture if it was against your orders? |
| it | 11 | A. They simply followed channels to get to whomsoever |
| | 12 | corresponded to, and I am referring to those we received |
| | 13 | because both Amnesty International as well as other |
| | 14 | organizations would send the correspondence, be it to the |
| sometimes | 15 | presidency, the ministry, the general staff, and |
| | 16 | to the commanders. |
| | 17 | Q. I don't think I made my question clear. |
| | 18 | THE COURT: Could I stop you, though, for a |
| | 19 | second? I want to go back to something. |
| | 20 | The jury is going to have to decide what is |
| | 21 | what has been testified to in evidence. If you conclude |
| | 22 | that someone is misstating something or that they are |
| | 23 | for instance, someone poses a question and said if such |
| | 24 | and such happened, you know, what would be the cause or |

25 what have you, you are going to have to decide whether

1 that premise has been established in the evidence, okay? 2 And obviously when someone answers a question that is premised on something, if the premise is not 3 independently established, then the answer falls, too. 4 5 I think we talked about this, before, when a б lawyer asks a question, the lawyer cannot testify, that 7 has to be in the evidence somewhere. Okay. So the jury is going to ultimately decide whether something was in 8 fact established in the evidence. 9 10 And so I come back once again, if by chance a question is asked that says what if this or that 11 happened, 12 if that is not independently established in the evidence, 13 then obviously the answer falls, because the answer is 14 dependent on that premise being established, okay? Now, let me go back to Mr. Klaus and allow him 15 to restate the question. 16 17 BY MR. KLAUS: Do you acknowledge that people were tortured in 18 Ο. detention facilities of the armed forces of El Salvador 19 20 while you were Minister of Defense? 21 No, I have never had any proof of that. Α. If they were, would that have been against your 2.2 Ο. 23 orders?

24 A. Yes.

 $25\,$ Q. If you had reports of those, of tortures happening in

| | 1 | detention facilities of the armed forces, what would you |
|------------|----|--|
| | 2 | do? |
| in | 3 | A. I would have acted in a manner, in the first place, |
| with | 4 | accordance with the law. And in second, in accordance |
| | 5 | my own principles, because I have always been against |
| | 6 | torture. |
| | 7 | Q. So what would you have done? |
| | 8 | A. I would have punished in accordance with the law. |
| to | 9 | Q. Who received the letters that were sent in response |
| | 10 | the urgent action request of Amnesty International? |
| | 11 | A. Well, there was someone at the personnel department |
| whomsoever | 12 | who was also in charge of transmitting those to |
| | 13 | it corresponded, if it was to the National Police, the |
| | 14 | National Guard or the Treasury Police or to a military |
| | 15 | corps. |
| | 16 | Q. What about the letters that were addressed to you? |
| | 17 | A. They were also sent to whomsoever it corresponded. |
| | 18 | Q. Who is that person? Was that only one person who |
| | 19 | opened those letters? |
| | 20 | A. Normally, yes. |
| complaints | 21 | Q. Was that the same person that received the |

22 from the Red Cross?

- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. Who was that person?
- 25 A. Could be the chief of personnel or someone within

his

1 department. 2 Well, you were Minister of Defense, who was chief of Ο. 3 personnel? 4 Well, I could not give you the name now, but I could Α. 5 find it. During the time when you were Minister of Defense, б Ο. did 7 El Salvador receive military aid from the United States? 8 Α. Yes. 9 Was that aid contingent on El Salvador being Ο. certified 10 regarding human rights? 11 In part, yes. Α. 12 Was certification ever withheld during your Ο. 13 administration as Minister of Defense? 14 Maybe delayed. When I became Minister of Defense, Α. 15 there was a period, a lag time in the assistance that did not materialize -- that did not materialize until the 16 year 17 1981, which is to say that after the 15th of November and 18 until January of 1981, there was no assistance. Were there U.S. military advisers in El Salvador 19 Ο. 20 during your administration as Minister of Defense? 21 Α. Yes. 22 Did you meet with them on a regular basis? Ο. 23 Α. Yes.

- 24 Q. How many advisers were there?
- 25 A. There was a maximum of 55, but it was almost always

| | 1 | not that full number, it was less. | | | | | |
|-----------|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| | 2 | Q. Did you also meet with the Ambassador and members of | | | | | |
| | 3 | his staff while you were Minister of Defense, United | | | | | |
| States | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | Ambassador? | | | | | |
| | 5 | A. Yes, many times. | | | | | |
| occurring | 6 | Q. Did they mention violations of human rights | | | | | |
| | 7 | by your armed services in any of those meetings? | | | | | |
| | 8 | A. There was mention, but in general terms without | | | | | |
| rights | 9 | exclusively specifying, but we did speak upon human | | | | | |
| | 10 | violations. | | | | | |
| | 11 | Q. Did they mention specific instances at all to you | | | | | |
| | 12 | during your whole administration? | | | | | |
| | 13 | A. How do you mean specific instances? | | | | | |
| | 14 | Q. I mean either murders or tortures or massacres. | | | | | |
| | 15 | A. Not specifically. | | | | | |
| | 16 | Q. What was your procedure if you received a complaint | | | | | |
| | 17 | about someone being tortured who was being held in | | | | | |
| | 18 | detention? | | | | | |
| | 19 | A. To investigate it. | | | | | |
| three | 20 | Q. Did you ever receive complaints of any of these | | | | | |
| | 21 | Plaintiffs being tortured? | | | | | |
| | 22 | A. No. | | | | | |
| | 23 | Q. Did you ever receive complaints of anyone else being | | | | | |

24 tortured?

25 A. No.

| | 1 | Q. Did you receive complaints from the United States or | | | | | |
|--------|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| | 2 | any of its representatives regarding death squads? | | | | | |
| | 3 | A. Yes. | | | | | |
| | 4 | Q. And what was your response? | | | | | |
| | 5 | A. Obtain information. As I would say to everyone who | | | | | |
| | б | would point out in including the national and | | | | | |
| | 7 international press, that they should mention s | | | | | | |
| | 8 | names and specific events. | | | | | |
| | 9 | Q. What about the specific names that were mentioned by | | | | | |
| | 10 | Archbishop Romero in his homilies? | | | | | |
| | 11 | A. Yes, they were names, but they were mentioned in a | | | | | |
| by | 12 | general manner. For example, we knew Mayorda (phonetic) | | | | | |
| | 13 | zone was in the death squads or any other, but the events | | | | | |
| | 14 | themselves were not specified. | | | | | |
| on | 15 | Q. What about the names mentioned by Major D'Aubuisson | | | | | |
| | 16 | television? | | | | | |
| | 17 | A. Mentioned in what sense? | | | | | |
| | 18 | Q. Lists of subversives. | | | | | |
| | 19 | A. Well, if he well, in fact, I don't understand the | | | | | |
| | 20 | question very well, excuse me. | | | | | |
| | 21 | Q. You heard Professor Karl describe an incident where | | | | | |
| people | 22 | she saw Major D'Aubuisson on television showing some | | | | | |
| that | 23 | and the next day they showed up dead. Do you remember | | | | | |

- 24 incident?
- 25 A. I do not recall the event, no, but I do recall that

| but | 1 | more than once Major D'Aubuisson mentioned some people, |
|----------|----|---|
| | 2 | I do not recall specifically who. |
| | 3 | Q. Do you have any memory of when he would read lists, |
| that | 4 | Major D'Aubuisson would read lists over the television |
| | 5 | some of those people would turn up dead? |
| | б | A. I do not recall that, because if I did recall it, I |
| | 7 | would have to give names, and I have no specifics. |
| | 8 | Q. Who did you attribute those deaths to? |
| | 9 | MR. GREEN: Objection; lack of foundation. |
| | 10 | THE COURT: What do you mean by that? |
| | 11 | MR. GREEN: Lack of predicate. |
| | 12 | THE COURT: That is not a legal objection. |
| | 13 | MR. GREEN: He has not indicated how he would |
| | 14 | come to attribute anything. |
| | 15 | THE COURT: I will overrule that. |
| | 16 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| whose | 17 | Q. To whom would you attribute the deaths of people |
| | 18 | bodies were found on the street? |
| | 19 | A. Right, it could be from several sources. In El |
| violence | 20 | Salvador, as we have already stated, the state of |
| the | 21 | was exaggerated, and when a dead body would show up on |
| death | 22 | street, even with marks that would indicate that that |

had been caused by a death squad, it was possible, and this
24 is without proving it, that it could have been done by
25 another group that didn't belong to a death squad.

| | 1 | MR. GREEN: Objection; speculation. |
|--------|----|--|
| the | 2 | THE COURT: Right. But the question goes to |
| | 3 | witness' state of mind. So I am receiving this not for |
| | 4 | the truth, but what was the witness thinking, why did he |
| allow | 5 | act or not act, so I will overrule the objection and |
| | б | the witness to continue with his answer. |
| | 7 | THE WITNESS: Yes, that was one of the big |
| people | 8 | problems we had, that cadavers would show up, dead |
| not | 9 | would show up, they would be identified, but there was |
| | 10 | a way in order to identify where that came from. |
| | 11 | Suppositions were made because of the way in which a |
| | 12 | cadaver would show up, because there was their suspicion |
| | 13 | there was another organization committing the crime and |
| | 14 | left traces to indicate as if it was another one. And |
| | 15 | that is one of the big problems that we had. |
| | 16 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| period | 17 | Q. Do you agree that there were, during that time |
| in | 18 | from 1979 to 1983, approximately 30,000 civilians killed |
| | 19 | El Salvador? |
| | 20 | A. No. I believe it was less. |
| | 21 | Q. How many do you think were killed? |
| | 22 | A. In the period excuse me, from when? |

23 Q. From the coup to when you resigned?

| 24 | A. | The | glo | bal | focu | ıs is | mor | ce, | not | 30, | 000, | maybe | e son | ne 50 |
|----|-------|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-----|-----|------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 25 | 60,00 |)0, | but | I w | ould | like | to | cla | rify | | These | are | not | dead |

to

1 people found in the street, but I am including all that 2 happened in El Salvador. How many people -- how many members of the military 3 Ο. 4 were killed during that time? 5 Α. 14,000. б How many querillas were killed? Ο. 7 Α. I do not know the exact number. 8 When you took over as Minister of Defense, what was Ο. 9 the total number of -- how many members of the armed 10 forces, including all the armed forces, security forces, 11 Army, Navy, Air Force, how many members were there? It reached a maximum number of 59,000 and while I 12 Α. there, it reached a maximum of some 40, 45,000. 13 14 MR. GREEN: Objection; non-responsive to the 15 question. 16 THE COURT: Sustained. 17 MR. GREEN: Move to strike. 18 THE COURT: I grant the motion to strike and 19 allow Mr. Klaus to restate the question. BY MR. KLAUS: 20 21 Q. When you started in November, 1979, how many members 22 of the armed forces were there? 23 There were approximately seven or 8,000. Α. 24 Total, including the security forces? Q.

was

25 A. Including the security forces, the maximum number

| | 1 | would be approximately 13,000. |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | Q. And when you left office, how many were there in all |
| | 3 | of the armed forces? |
| a | 4 | A. Approximately 59,000 no, no, I apologize, I made |
| | 5 | mistake. Approximately 40,000. |
| | 6 | Q. Where did the during the time you were in office, |
| | 7 | you said 14,000 members were killed? |
| | 8 | A. Yes. |
| | 9 | Q. Where did the new recruits come from? |
| | 10 | A. They were recruited, there was a recruiting system, |
| two | 11 | and they were replaced. We had a mandatory service for |
| | 12 | years, so they were constantly renewed. |
| Salvador? | 13 | Q. At what age would somebody be drafted in El |
| | 14 | A. 18 years of age. |
| younger | 15 | Q. Did you have members of the military who were |
| | 16 | than 18? |
| | 17 | A. Some. |
| into | 18 | Q. What was the minimum age you would accept someone |
| | 19 | the military? |
| youths, | 20 | A. It was not that they were accepted, they were |
| | 21 | they were kids, and it would seem incredible, but they |
| | 22 | wanted to be in the Army, who wanted to serve, and so, |

- 23 therefore, we would accept those younger than 18 years of 24 age.
- 25 Q. Were you aware of corruption within the military?

1 Specifically not, but it is a subject upon which we Α. 2 try to provide an example. When the military coup started, 3 the first thing the young officers requested was that, 4 avoid corruption, and to comply with that when it was 5 requested of me one day at an officers' meeting, my answer б was, we will make an example. I said here there are four or five officers who own 7 а 8 Mercedes Benz vehicle and who have not the capacity to own it, economic capacity. I am not going to name them, but 9 Ι 10 do give you 24 hours to turn in the car that you are using 11 These were some Mercedes Benz cars that had been now. sent 12 over from Nicaragua and that belonged to the Somoza family. And the second test will be that all purchases made 13 at 14 the military of defense will be made by a commission, made 15 up of all of the chiefs and offices of the armed forces. Did you come to find out after your term in office 16 Ο. 17 there were incidents of corruption? I have no knowledge. 18 Α. Have you heard allegations of corruption while you 19 Ο. were in office? 20

21 A. I don't recall.

22~ Q. Did you have actual or direct control over the people

- 23 in the National Guard detention center while you were
- 24 Minister of Defense?
- 25 A. No.

| | 1 | Q. Who did? |
|--------|----|--|
| | 2 | A. The Director of the National Guard. |
| | 3 | Q. Did you have direct control over the individual in |
| | 4 | charge of the National Guard headquarters in San Vicente |
| | 5 | while you were in office? |
| | б | A. No. |
| | 7 | Q. Who did? |
| would | 8 | A. Well, according to the organizational chart, it |
| | 9 | be the assistant director of the National Guard. |
| | 10 | Q. And who was that? |
| | 11 | A. At the time it was Colonel Montes. |
| | 12 | Q. Can you spell that? |
| | 13 | THE INTERPRETER: M-O-N-T-E-S. |
| | 14 | THE WITNESS: Montes. |
| | 15 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| you | 16 | Q. Did you ever have an officer disobey an order from |
| | 17 | while you were Minister of Defense that you know of? |
| | 18 | A. It's possible. |
| | 19 | Q. Can you recall any specific instances? |
| | 20 | A. I don't remember right now. |
| things | 21 | Q. Do you remember any allegations of people doing |
| | 22 | against your orders people under your command doing |
| | 23 | things against your orders? |

- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. And do you recall any specific instances of

| | 1 | allegations of people disobeying your orders? | | | | | |
|-------|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| that | 2 | A. Not specifically, but I know that it is possible | | | | | |
| cilac | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | they may have been doing things that were not the proper | | | | | |
| | 4 | things. | | | | | |
| you | 5 | Q. Did anyone were there any attempted coups while | | | | | |
| - | 6 | were Minister of Defense? | | | | | |
| | 7 | A. Many. | | | | | |
| | 8 | Q. Can you give us any examples? | | | | | |
| | 9 | A. Well, it is difficult to define specifically who was | | | | | |
| | 10 | about to effect a coup. They are trying to keep it a | | | | | |
| very | 11 | secret, but there were many attempted coups. It was a | | | | | |
| VCLY | | | | | | | |
| | 12 | delicate time, and within the armed forces there were | | | | | |
| | 13 | totally opposed points of view, and those opposing forces | | | | | |
| to | 14 | wanted to hold power. They would do everything possible | | | | | |
| | 15 | make it appear as though the Government had problems, it | | | | | |
| | 16 | wasn't doing well. | | | | | |
| | 17 | Q. Was there efforts by officers to destabilize the | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | 18 | government? | | | | | |
| | 19 | A. Yes, many. | | | | | |
| | 20 | Q. Can you give us specific examples? | | | | | |
| | 21 | A. Well, specific example is Colonel Majano I am | | | | | |
| | 22 | sorry Major D'Aubuisson who was always plotting. | | | | | |
| | 23 | Q. Did any U.S. advisers ever inform you of potential | | | | | |

- 24 coups?
- 25 A. Well, they would give general information.

1 How did you come to leave the military service? Q. 2 Α. There was an internal problem within the armed 3 institutions. The kind of war that was being waged in El 4 Salvador was very special, as is a regular war. And I 5 myself had my own way of carrying out this kind of war and б I was always opposed to generalized actions, for example 7 bombings, because El Salvador is very populated, and it is 8 difficult to specify what area it is that needs to be 9 bombed. It was always my inclination to carry out war in 10 small 11 combat units and that created problem within the 12 institution. For example, and this is very specific case, 13 I have problems with the Air Force because I refused to 14 allow them to use napalm. You know what napalm is. It's material that once it falls, it hits, it burns, it is 15 abrasive material, and it is forbidden by international 16 17 law. Of course that caused opposition which gave me problems. 18 There was a case of an officer who was giving me 19 20 problems and I was ordered to transfer him out of the country. This man did not carry out the order. He got 21 his people together, and he practically carried out 22

23 insubordination. I tried to handle the problem personnel 24 wise, but when I realized the problem was too large because

25 I was dealing with two different sectors of the armed

| problems | 1 | forces, I opted for resignation in order to avoid |
|-----------|----|--|
| | 2 | within the armed institutions. |
| | 3 | Q. Who were those officers? |
| | 4 | A. One was Colonel Ochoa Perez. |
| | 5 | Q. And who was the other? |
| | б | A. Colonel Blandon. Colonel Bustillo mainly. And if |
| | 7 | I no, I don't remember the other. |
| instances | 8 | Q. So, as a result were there ever any other |
| | 9 | where you faced removal because of opposition within the |
| | 10 | military? |
| | 11 | A. Not that I recall. |
| | 12 | Q. Was it a constant worry about opposition within the |
| | 13 | armed forces to your policies? |
| were | 14 | A. Not in the beginning, but it increased, and there |
| | 15 | different ways of focusing the problems within the armed |
| the | 16 | forces, and that was one of the big problems we had in |
| the | 17 | institution. We had to deal with personnel problems in |
| to | 18 | institution, we had to deal with the war itself. We had |
| | 19 | deal with government politics. It was a whole series of |
| 24 | 20 | things that would keep us busy not only not all day, |
| | 21 | hours a day. |

21 hours a day.

- 22 Q. Did the United States through its advisers and
- 23 representatives express concern to you about maintaining
- 24 the integrity of the armed services?

25 A. Yes.

1 And who -- who from the United States expressed Q. those 2 concerns? 3 Well, several people, the military attaches, the Α. Ambassador. 4 Were you afraid of the Army falling apart beneath 5 Ο. you? б Α. Partly because we were at war, and it was what was 7 least expected, least desired, but I did everything 8 possible to keep the armed institution together. But, if 9 for example, we had officers who went too far -- the 10 guerillas, they would kill their commanders, and they would take the troops away, all those problems had to be 11 solved. 12 It's difficult to be in a position such as we had trying to deal with all those huge problems which were 13 14 really serious. Out of one Brigade, one of the officers, а 15 captain, which is one of the people in this room we refer 16 to as the young officers, he took his whole -- his troop 17 over to the guerillas after having murdered his own 18 commander, and having set a whole barracks afire, that of 19 the second Brigade. So we had very grave internal problems which gave 20 rise to maintaining particularly rigid positions to avoid some 21 22 of the things that happened.

Q. Did you have problems with members of the military
carrying out murders or massacres against civilians?
A. Yes, there were.

1 Had there ever been, prior to '79, had there ever Q. been divisions of this magnitude within the military? 2 3 Α. Yes, there had. When? 4 Q. 5 Before 1979, yes, there were attempted crimes, there Α. б were murders, there were massacres, and --7 THE COURT: Would you repeat that for the general? There were murders, there were massacres and? 8 9 THE WITNESS: Yes, there used to be before we 10 took over. BY MR. KLAUS: 11 What I asked you is, were there ever divisions 12 Q. within 13 the military of that magnitude before 1979? Yes, they did exist. 14 Α. 15 When? Ο. Well, for example, when there would be a coup. But 16 Α. that would be in a different environment, different from 17 18 the war that we had to deal with. You can have divisions in terms of difference of opinions, and difference in 19 terms 20 of armed differences, which in fact were happening in our 21 day. 22 That is what I am asking. Were there ever that Ο. serious divisions within the military, was it ever in 23 that

24 much of a danger of falling apart as, prior to '79 as it 25 was from '79 to '83?

| | 1 | A. No, it was different. It was the possibility was |
|---------|----|--|
| | 2 | greater in our day than before. |
| | 3 | Q. Even with the Tanda System, the possibility of the |
| | 4 | armed forces falling apart was real; is that correct? |
| | 5 | A. Before, or after? |
| | 6 | Q. No, during the time you were Minister of Defense. |
| | 7 | A. Yes. |
| | 8 | Q. What caused those divisions? |
| | 9 | A. Well, the different inclinations that existed within |
| | 10 | the armed institutions. There was one segment that had |
| ideas, | 11 | been prepared or different, perhaps new progressive |
| | 12 | and there was another segment with exaggeratively |
| | 13 | conservative views, that would create difference, |
| weapons | 14 | opposition which it is different where there are no |
| | 15 | then when people are armed. |
| | 16 | Q. Did that interrupt the chain of command? |
| | 17 | A. Yes. |
| | 18 | Q. Now, you were able to retire, correct? |
| | 19 | A. Yes. |
| | 20 | Q. What did you do after you retired in '83? |
| | 21 | A. Well, I came here, I would come and go from El |
| | 22 | Salvador. Part of my family was there and the bulk of my |
| | 23 | family here. I spent some time trying to decide whether |

| 24 | stay here or go there, and I opted for staying here. | And |
|----|--|-----|
| 25 | then I gave myself over entirely to my daughter's | |

| 1 | education. In the end they were all educated here. |
|----|--|
| 2 | MR. KLAUS: I would like an opportunity to |
| 3 | approach. |
| 4 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| 5 | Q. Can you identify that exhibit? It is marked Exhibit |
| б | 11, Defendants' Exhibit 11. |
| 7 | A. Yes. |
| 8 | Q. What is that? |
| 9 | A. It's recognition I received here from the Government |
| 10 | of the United States. |
| 11 | MR. GREEN: Your Honor, same objection as |
| 12 | earlier. |
| 13 | THE COURT: Well, I don't think we have quite |
| 14 | gotten to that point. Let's move to the next question |
| 15 | we could have the formal offer and preserve the |
| 16 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| 17 | Q. Where did you receive that? |
| 18 | A. From the Department of Defense. |
| 19 | Q. And when did you receive it? |
| 20 | A. After I was no longer Minister of Defense. |
| 21 | Q. I am going to ask you to look can you identify |
| 22 | Exhibit 12? |
| 23 | A. Yes. |
| | 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 |

- 24 Q. Did you receive them together?
- 25 A. Yes.

| | 1 | Q. And where were you when you received them? |
|----------|----|---|
| | 2 | A. I came here to the United States. |
| | 3 | Q. And who gave them to you? |
| | 4 | A. The Secretary of Defense. |
| | 5 | Q. The Secretary of Defense of the United States? |
| | б | A. Yes, sir. |
| | 7 | MR. KLAUS: I would ask to move Exhibits 11 and |
| | 8 | 12 into evidence, Your Honor. |
| | 9 | THE COURT: Preserving the same objections that |
| | 10 | were raised earlier? |
| | 11 | MR. GREEN: Yes, Your Honor. |
| | 12 | THE COURT: Defense Exhibits 11 and 12 are |
| | 13 | received into evidence over objection. |
| | 14 | (Defendants' Exhibits 11 and 12 received in |
| | 15 | evidence over objection.) |
| | 16 | MR. KLAUS: Your Honor, I have copies for the |
| | 17 | jury. |
| | 18 | THE COURT: Yes, you may publish that. |
| | 19 | BY MR. KLAUS: |
| | 20 | Q. Can you read what Exhibit 11 says? |
| | 21 | THE COURT: Wait a moment, and we will get that |
| | 22 | passed out. |
| | 23 | Mr. Klaus, if you want, you are entitled to |
| publish. | 24 | publish the exhibit yourself or have the witness |
| | | |

1 in English. 2 BY MR. KLAUS: The exhibit says, "The President of the United 3 Ο. States 4 of America, authorized by Act of Congress, has awarded the 5 Legion of Merit, Degree of Commander, to Brigadier Jos, б Guillermo Garcia Merino -- is that you? 7 Α. Yes. "-- Minister of Defense and public security 8 Ο. government 9 of El Salvador, for meritorious performance of duty. "General Garcia distinguished himself by 10 exceptionally 11 meritorious conduct in outstanding performance of duty as Minister of Defense and public security of El Salvador 12 fro 13 October, 1979 to April, 1983. During this period, General Garcia's professionalism, dedication to duty and 14 democratic ideals marked him as a true soldier statesman. His 15 tenure as Minister of Defense and public security saw El 16 Salvador, 17 although beset by an externally supported Marxist-Leninist 18 insurgency, move irrevocably toward the goal of participatory democracy. The reforms that were initiated 19 20 after the October, 1979 revolution have been implemented

21 successfully in large due to General Garcia's tireless 22 efforts. His sound judgment, military leadership and 23 political acumen have been a singular inspiration to the 24 people of El Salvador and a sterling example of the role of 25 a military leader in a representative government. General

1 Garcia's extraordinary accomplishments, leadership and 2 service reflect great credit upon him, the Salvadoran armed 3 forces and El Salvador." 4 Do you remember what year you received this? 1983. After I stopped being Minister. 5 Α. MR. KLAUS: If I could have a moment. б 7 No further questions. THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen, this is 8 9 probably the appropriate time to take a break for the 10 mid-afternoon recess. Why don't we take a 15 minute break 11 and we will come back and continue with the cross 12 examination. 13 Court will be in recess for 15 minutes. (Thereupon, the jury retired from the 14 courtroom.) 15 (Thereupon, a short recess was taken.) (Thereupon, trial reconvened after recess.) 16 THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen, please be 17 seated. Please sit down for a moment. 18 Ladies and gentlemen, when we were trying to 19 20 decide where to hold the trial, we talked about it, that is the lawyers and myself, and we decided for many 21

reasons

22 that this courtroom was preferable to some of the other

23 facilities that were available. We thought the acoustics

- 24 were better here, and even though it was a relatively
- 25 small courtroom, that we could accommodate everyone. I

1 mention that, though, because the room is a relatively 2 small room. Now, secondly, I think that it is clear to 3 everybody that the issues that we are discussing in the 4 5 case are terribly, terribly difficult issues, and the parties on both sides have waited a great deal of time б to 7 come here to court to try to put this in front of a jury, 8 to allow the jury to hear the positions that are taken by 9 both sides so the jury can give us whatever their verdict 10 is going to be. 11 Now, and, of course, when you think about it, 12 that is the essence of the trial. Many times there are two sides to a story, and for there to be an orderly 13 resolution, both sides have to have the opportunity to 14 put their positions in front of the jury, understanding that 15 at the end of the case, after the lawyers have argued, 16 the jury is going to have a right and obligation indeed to 17 choose. 18 19 Now, I want to share with you a note I have received from the jury. And I haven't, by the way, had 20 а chance to share this with counsel, I just received it.

| | 22 | The note reads as follows: Someone in the |
|---------|----|---|
| certain | 23 | gallery is huffing and puffing a lot, seemingly at |
| find | 24 | moments in the testimony. Could she please stop. I |
| | 25 | it distracting along with several other jurors. I don't |

1 know if it is being done on purpose or not, but it 2 happened a lot today, and several of us agree. Meaning 3 several of the jurors. Now, sometimes if people are not conscious of 4 something like that, sometimes people may be expressing 5 themselves without being aware of it, and I want to tell б 7 you, and I said this earlier, I really think that the parties and the folks who have been with us, the 8 observers 9 in the courtroom have behaved admirably throughout the 10 entire trial. I think this is one of the most difficult 11 trials 12 that I have ever presided over, and by that I mean in 13 terms of the emotional quotient of the evidence being presented. But I would simply mention to all of the 14 guests in the courtroom, and in a sense, you are not 15 guests, this is a courtroom of the United States, and as 16 people in the United States, you have an absolute right 17 to 18 be here because this is a public proceeding, but I think 19 the one proviso has to go with that is that all of us have 20 an obligation to do nothing that would interfere with the 21 parties' rights to have this matter finally resolved. 22 May I ask you to be extra on guard, to kind of

23 catch yourself, and if there is something that comes up
24 that is tough on you, step outside if you need to do
25 I think that would be the better way to handle that.

| | 1 | We don't want to do anything that distracts the |
|-------------|----|--|
| | 2 | jury's attention from the evidence. Ultimately the jury |
| sides | 3 | will have a chance to listen to the lawyers on both |
| | 4 | argue the case aggressively to them, and that would help |
| believable | 5 | the jury make their own judgments about what is |
| | 6 | or not, and what have you. |
| for | 7 | So I want to share that with you and ask you |
| | 8 | your cooperation and help in that regard. |
| please? | 9 | Mr. Marshal, would you bring in the jury, |
| courtroom.) | 10 | (Thereupon, the jury returned to the |
| | 11 | THE COURT: Ladies and gentlemen, please be |
| | 12 | seated. As we were about to break, Mr. Klaus concluded |
| | 13 | his direct examination. Let me turn to Mr. Green to |
| Plaintiffs. | 14 | conduct the cross examination on behalf of the |
| | 15 | Mr. Green. |
| | 16 | MR. GREEN: Thank you, Your Honor. |
| | 17 | CROSS EXAMINATION |
| | 18 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| | 19 | Q. Good afternoon, General Garcia. |
| | 20 | A. Good afternoon. |
| | 21 | Q. Do you agree with the principle that the soldier, be |
| | 22 | he friend or foe, is charged with protection of the weak |

- and unarmed?
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. Do you agree that it is the very essence and reason

for a soldier's being? 1 2 Α. Yes. Do you agree that when a soldier violates this 3 Ο. sacred trust, he not only profanes his entire cult but threatens 4 5 the very fabric of international society? б Α. Yes. 7 Q. Sir, I would like to ask you some questions about your 8 resum, which you testified about earlier today. 9 Α. Yes. 10 Q. Now, you were a member of the Tanda of 1956? 11 Α. Yes. 12 And you had enrolled at the military academy of El Ο. 13 Salvador in 1953? 14 Yes, sir. Α. 15 So, you were there with the Tanda of 1953, 1954, Q. 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, and 1959? 16 17 Α. Yes. 18 And General Vides Casanova was in the Tanda of 1957, Ο. so he was there for three years while you were at the 19 20 military school? 21 Α. Yes, one, yes. 22 Nicholas Carranza was in the Tanda of 1957? Ο.

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23

Α.

Yes.

- 24 Q. General Garcia, you graduated first in your class at
- 25 the military school in 1956, correct?

1 Α. Yes. 2 And you received the President of the republic's Ο. 3 award? 4 Α. Yes. 5 And given the history of military dictatorship in El Ο. Salvador from 1930 on, graduating first in your Tanda was б 7 very important? Α. Important as it is in any other type of graduation, 8 it 9 seems to me. But in El Salvador, given the military dictatorship 10 Q. that occurred effectively from 1930 through 1956, the 11 date 12 of your Tanda, graduating first in your Tanda was a pretty 13 important, pretty significant accomplishment? 14 Well, first, I don't think that they were all Α. 15 dictatorships at that time, other than the first one, which 16 was that of General Martinez. 17 Ο. But they were military governments, weren't they? 18 Α. Yes. Given the importance of the military role in El 19 Q. 20 Salvador Government from 1930 through your 1956 Tanda, you 21 would agree, would you not, that graduating first in your Tanda was a significant accomplishment? 22

23 A. An accomplishment up until that moment, because the24 rest of the career is based on the development that canbe

25 achieved.

1795

| | 2 | people to consider you to be presidential material? |
|-------|----|---|
| | 3 | A. No. |
| | 4 | Q. General Garcia, just as in the United States with |
| in | 5 | being assigned to West Point, being assigned as you were |
| | 6 | 1960 to the military academy of El Salvador was a very |
| | 7 | important posting? |
| | 8 | A. Relatively, yes. |
| | 9 | Q. And you were then appointed section commander in |
| | 10 | company of cadets structure? |
| | 11 | A. Yes. |
| | 12 | Q. The following month you were appointed professor of |
| | 13 | the study of armsat? |
| date, | 14 | A. No, that is level unless there is a different |
| | 15 | but, yes. This was simultaneous. |
| | 16 | Q. And the following year, February 1st, 1961, you were |
| | 17 | appointed professor of ballistics and gun instruction at |
| | 18 | the military academy? |
| | 19 | A. Yes. |
| | 20 | Q. And one year later, you were appointed professor of |
| | 21 | cadet and command? |
| | 22 | A. Yes. |
| | 23 | Q. And as professor of cadet and command, one of your |
| | 24 | responsibilities was to instill in the cadets respect for |

1 Q. In fact, graduating first in your Tanda allowed many

25 authority and command?

| | 1 | THE INTERPRETER: The interpreter would request |
|-----|----|---|
| | 2 | counsel repeat the last part of the question. |
| | 3 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| | 4 | Q. As professor of cadet and command, one of your |
| | 5 | responsibilities was to instill in the cadets respect for |
| | 6 | authority and command? |
| | 7 | A. Yes. |
| and | 8 | Q. And as the number one graduate in your 1956 Tanda, |
| had | 9 | continuing as a professor at the military academy, you |
| | 10 | great knowledge and leadership abilities, correct? |
| of | 11 | MR. KLAUS: Objection, requires it evidence |
| | 12 | character. |
| the | 13 | THE COURT: I will overrule. You may answer |
| | 14 | question. |
| | 15 | THE WITNESS: I believe that I did not consider |
| | 16 | that I had leadership. |
| | 17 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| | 18 | Q. You had knowledge of leadership, you had learned |
| | 19 | leadership skills during your four years at the military |
| | 20 | school? |
| | 21 | A. It was an obligation. |
| | 22 | Q. And one of the obligations well, let's move on a |
| | 23 | little bit. |

In 1963, you were appointed professor of "Ability to Command and Tactics School" at the military academy?

1 Yes, tactics and command, that is the subject Α. matter. And it is a very important subject matter for cadets 2 Q. 3 and military commanders? 4 Α. Like all of the others that were taught at the school. 5 But the purpose of a military academy, and the Q. purpose б of a place like West Point and Annapolis and the United 7 States is to identify potential leaders and train them on 8 how to lead? 9 MR. KLAUS: Objection; confusing, misleading --10 THE COURT: I am sorry? MR. KLAUS: Confusing, misleading the jury, 11 12 relevance --THE COURT: Sustained on relevancy. The basis 13 of 14 the objection is West Point and Annapolis. Let's go to El Salvador. 15 BY MR. GREEN: 16 17 Could you tell the ladies and gentlemen of the jury Ο. 18 what you taught students during the course that is on your 19 resum, as "Ability to Command and Tactics School"? 20 The specific ways in which an officer, depending on Α. his level and category, performs his mission. 21

22 Q. At El Salvador at the time you were in the 1956 Tanda, 23 and at the time you went back to teach courses on command, 24 the armed forces were based and organized on a chain of

25 command?

| | 1 | A. Yes, like all armies normally. |
|---------|----|---|
| law | 2 | Q. General Garcia, in fact El Salvador had very clear |
| | 3 | on the chain of command? |
| | 4 | A. It had its laws, yes. |
| | 5 | Q. And under Salvadoran law a captain was supposed to |
| | б | obey a major? |
| yes. | 7 | A. From rank to rank and from position to position, |
| | 8 | Q. So a captain would have to obey a major, and a major |
| | 9 | would have to obey a colonel all the way up to general? |
| | 10 | A. Yes. |
| | 11 | Q. And that hierarchy flowed all the way down the |
| | 12 | chain of command flowed all the way down to the lowest |
| | 13 | rank, which was private? |
| | 14 | A. Yes. |
| chain | 15 | Q. And in fact a military cannot function without a |
| | 16 | of command? |
| | 17 | A. That is so, yes. |
| command | 18 | Q. And part of the chain of command, and part of |
| | 19 | structure are the twin principles of command and |
| | 20 | subordination? |
| | 21 | A. That is the principle. |
| | 22 | Q. And when you were Minister of Defense, people under |
| | 23 | your command had to obey you? |
| | | |

24 A. On principle, yes, that's the law. But in reality,

it

25 depends on whether or not the order is complied with.

1 Q. General Garcia, when you were general or when you were a colonel, you could issue an order to a lieutenant or a 2 3 sergeant, couldn't you? THE INTERPRETER: Issue an order to --4 MR. GREEN: A lieutenant or sergeant. 5 6 THE WITNESS: No. No. It must follow a regular 7 channel. BY MR. GREEN: 8 9 General Garcia, if you saw a captain pistol whipping Ο. 10 an unarmed civilian, is it your testimony to this jury you 11 had no authority to give that captain a direct command to cease and desist? 12 Yes, of course, because he is violating a law. 13 Α. 14 So you would agree that as a colonel or as a Ο. general, you could give a direct command to a subordinate whether 15 it 16 is a lieutenant or a sergeant, correct? 17 So long as there is an emergency or there is a Α. consummated act. If I see that the law is being 18 violated, 19 it is not necessary for me to be general or colonel, anyone 20 has the duty to act in order to prevent what is happening.

21 Q. General Garcia, you also had a duty to investigate

- 22 alleged violations of human rights?
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 Q. General Garcia, let's go back to your resum,.
- 25 In October of 1963 you were appointed commander of

the

| | 1 | Company of Cadets at the military academy? |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | A. Yes. |
| 1964? | 3 | Q. And you held that position through the middle of |
| | 4 | A. Yes. |
| testified | 5 | Q. So let me make sure I understand this. You |
| | 6 | earlier that during your time at the military school when |
| | 7 | you were a student, you had contacts with cadets from the |
| | 8 | 1953 Tandas, all the way up to the 1959 Tanda? |
| | 9 | A. Yes. |
| | 10 | Q. And since you were back at the military school as a |
| had | 11 | professor or as a commander from 1960 through 1964, you |
| '63, | 12 | continuing contacts with the Tandas of 1960, '61, '62, |
| | 13 | '64, '65, '66, and '67? |
| | 14 | A. No. |
| | 15 | Q. Which of those Tanda did you not have contact with? |
| | 16 | A. As time passes, graduating classes or Tanda begin to |
| | 17 | dissolve because certain requirements must be met for the |
| | 18 | next promotion. |
| | 19 | Q. Let me try to shorten this. |
| | 20 | THE COURT: Wait a minute, now. You need to |
| | 21 | allow the witness to finish his answer. |
| | 22 | Had the general completed the answer? |
| | 23 | THE WITNESS: No, no. |

24 MR. GREEN: I apologize.

25 THE WITNESS: Situations arise in which Tanda

| | 1 | practically separate. |
|----------|----|---|
| | 2 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| | 3 | Q. But you had at least some contact with each of those |
| | 4 | seven or eight Tandas from 1960 to 1967? |
| | 5 | A. But I apologize, but I don't understand what type of |
| | б | contact. |
| military | 7 | Q. Well, you were professor or commander at the |
| | 8 | school during the five year period from 1960 to 1964? |
| | 9 | A. Yes. |
| | 10 | Q. So during that time, you did have contact with those |
| | 11 | Tanda? |
| | 12 | A. Well, no, because I was at the military school, but |
| | 13 | those Tanda had gone to the headquarters, to the military |
| what | 14 | posts, the garrisons. We were not together. That is |
| | 15 | I am referring to. |
| | 16 | Q. I didn't ask you whether you were together, I asked |
| | 17 | you whether you had isn't it true you had some contact |
| | 18 | with each of those Tanda? |
| | 19 | A. Well, relatively in the way that I had contact with |
| | 20 | all officers in the armed forces. It makes no difference |
| | 21 | if they are from one or another Tanda. |
| | 22 | Q. General Garcia, in May of 1965 you were appointed |
| | 23 | company commander in the National Guard? |
| | 24 | A. Yes. |

25 Q. And where were you assigned during your initial

| 1 | assignment | to | the | National | Guard? |
|---|------------|----|-----|----------|--------|
| | | | | | |

2 Α. In the National Guard as a result of an order I was appointed, but physically I was only approximately in the 3 National Guard for one week because I was within other 4 5 commissions at my own request because I didn't want to be б in the National Guard because it was a public security 7 corps and I didn't like being in a public security corps I was changed over and I was sent to the President's 8 9 general staff. 10 General Garcia, when you became Minister of Defense, Q. 11 isn't it true your official title was Minister of Defense 12 and Public Security? 13 Α. That is so. 14 And your control, your command included both the Ο. 15 military forces and security forces? 16 Α. Yes. 17 Particularly the National Guard and the National Ο. 18 Police? 19 Α. Yes. You returned, did you not, to the military academy 20 Ο. 21 1971? 22 Α. Yes. And you stayed there from 1971 until 1973? 23 Ο. 24 Α. Yes.

so

in

25 Q. And again you had direct contact with the Tanda that

1 were presently at the military academy during those years, 2 correct? 3 Α. That's where I don't understand the question when you 4 say to me did I encounter the Tanda. The members of the Tanda. 5 Ο. б Α. Oh, some member or some members? 7 Ο. Yes. Yes, it is possible. 8 Α. 9 And you continued to teach classes, correct? Q. 10 Α. Yes. And you have five, ten, 20 people in your class? 11 Ο. 12 Yes, yes. Α. 13 Q. And these were all candidates for graduation? 14 Yes. Α. 15 ο. Cadets? 16 Yes. Α. 17 And then in 1977 you went again back to the military Q. 18 academy? 19 Yes. Α. 20 General Garcia, you were appointed commander of Q. 21 military unit number five, and commander of the Department 22 of San Vincente July 1st, 1978, correct?

1803

23

Α.

Yes.

- 24 Q. And you said earlier that you were born in San
- 25 Vincente?

| | 1 | A. Yes. |
|------|----|---|
| map, | 2 | MR. GREEN: Mr. Stern, could you put up the |
| | 3 | please? |
| | 4 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| the | 5 | Q. General Garcia, could you use the pointer and show |
| | б | ladies and gentlemen of the jury where San Vincente is on |
| | 7 | the map? |
| | 8 | A. San Vincente is here (indicating). |
| of | 9 | Q. And what was the name what was the official name |
| | 10 | your command? |
| | 11 | A. Department commander. |
| of | 12 | Q. And could you give the jury an approximate outline |
| | 13 | the department that you were commanding? |
| | 14 | A. More or less it was this, up to here, over here |
| | 15 | (indicating). |
| | 16 | Q. And where is the quartile you commanded? |
| | 17 | A. In the center of the in the central area of the |
| | 18 | City of San Vincente. |
| | 19 | Q. And you went to the Coelgio, C-O-E-L-G-I-O, Santo |
| | 20 | Thomas. Where is that? |
| | 21 | A. Across from the Canas Park in the City of San |
| | 22 | Vincente. Canas is C-A Spanish N-A-S, south side. |

23 Q. And on that map you indicate that the department that 24 was in your Army command extended from the low lands on the

25 Pacific coast up into the high lands?

| but | 1 | A. No. I pointed to the Department of San Vincente, |
|--------|----|---|
| | 2 | within an organization, military organization, brigades, |
| | 3 | battalions or companies have their seat in one place, but |
| | 4 | their activities are in accordance with instructions that |
| | 5 | they receive and they must not be confused with security |
| | 6 | corps that function within the same City of San Vincente |
| | 7 | and throughout the other municipalities of San Vincente. |
| some | 8 | In some of them it is the National Police, and in |
| public | 9 | others it is the National Guard charged with purely |
| | 10 | security activities. |
| is | 11 | The San Vincente command, just like any other, only |
| | 12 | involved in purely military instruction, combat. |
| | 13 | Q. And, General Garcia, isn't it true as in the case |
| | 14 | reported by Dr. Romagoza, that there are times when the |
| | 15 | Army and the National Guard conduct joint operations? |
| | 16 | A. In war time, yes. |
| | 17 | Q. Now, there was a National Guard headquarters in San |
| | 18 | Vincente, correct? |
| | 19 | A. Yes. |
| | 20 | Q. And that was the fourth command, the fourth |
| | 21 | commandancia? |
| | 22 | A. Let me see. I think so. Yes. Yes, the fourth. |
| | 23 | Q. And how far is the Army quartile from the National |

- 24 Guard headquarters in San Vincente?
- 25 A. Approximately one block more or less.

| | 1 | Q. And, General Garcia, the National Guard headquarters |
|-------|----|--|
| | 2 | is near the market area, the central square area of San |
| | 3 | Vincente, correct? |
| | 4 | A. Yes. And precisely, since you mention that to me, I |
| | 5 | think this is an opportunity |
| | 6 | Q. No, sir. Just answer my question, please. |
| | 7 | Let me ask you, how many people were in the National |
| 1978 | 8 | Guard headquarters in San Vincente in 1978, July 1st, |
| | 9 | when you arrived? |
| | 10 | A. I don't know. I don't know. |
| | 11 | Q. Okay. |
| | 12 | A. There was no relationship between the National Guard |
| | 13 | and the headquarters of San Vincente. Absolutely no |
| | 14 | relationship. |
| time? | 15 | Q. General Garcia, you lived in San Vincente at the |
| | 16 | A. Yes, yes. |
| | 17 | Q. In fact, there were a lot of times you commuted |
| | 18 | between San Vincente and San Salvador and back, correct? |
| | 19 | A. Yes. |
| | 20 | Q. And that was less than 40 miles, probably closer to |
| | 21 | like 34, 35 miles? |
| | 22 | A. 60 kilometers exactly. |
| | 23 | Q. Point 62, we end up with something like 36 miles? |
| | 24 | A. Yes. |

25 Q. Now, General Garcia, when you were assigned to the

| in | 1 | National Guard command in San Vincente, you were living |
|------|----|---|
| | 2 | San Vincente, correct? |
| | 3 | A. National Guard command |
| | 4 | Q. Excuse me. When you were military commander in San |
| | 5 | Vincente, you were living there? |
| to | б | A. My family lived in San Salvador, and I would travel |
| San | 7 | San Salvador, but I would spend a lot of time there in |
| | 8 | Vincente, yes. |
| | 9 | Q. It was a commute that you made very frequently, |
| | 10 | correct? |
| | 11 | A. Yes. |
| were | 12 | Q. And how many men were under your command when you |
| | 13 | in San Vincente? |
| | 14 | A. A, 300, two companies, 150 and 150. |
| | 15 | Q. And you had barracks there? |
| | 16 | A. Yes. |
| | 17 | Q. And you would go out there and review your troops |
| | 18 | under your command when you were in San Vincente? |
| | 19 | A. Yes. |
| | 20 | Q. And you wear a uniform? |
| | 21 | A. Yes. |
| | 22 | Q. And they salute you? |
| | 23 | A. Yes. This is normal. |

24 Q. And every so often you would inspect your troops?25 A. Yes.

| 1 | Q. | And you didn't keep your troops right inside the |
|----|------|--|
| 2 | barr | acks 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 365 days a |
| 3 | year | , did you? |
| 4 | Α. | Yes. |
| 5 | Q. | You kept them there under lock down conditions 365 |
| б | days | a year? |
| 7 | Α. | No. |
| 8 | Q. | You send them out on patrols? |
| 9 | Α. | Normally it was for training, not for patrolling. |
| 10 | They | would go for training. There was a training field. |
| 11 | The | garrison had its training field on the west side of |
| 12 | city | |
| | - | |
| 13 | Q. | But your troops would come and go to the quartile on |
| 14 | dail | y, weekly basis, correct? |
| 15 | Α. | Yes. |
| 16 | Q. | And so your troops would be wearing their uniforms, |
| 17 | corr | ect? |
| 18 | Α. | Yes. |
| 19 | Q. | They were identifiable as such? |
| 20 | A. | Yes. |
| 21 | Q. | And the National Guardsmen were also wearing their |
| 22 | unif | orms a block away? |
| 23 | Α. | Yes. |
| 24 | Q. | And the National Guardsmen were coming and going? |

а

the

25 A. Yes.

| 1 | Q. During the 18 strike that. |
|----|---|
| 2 | You were appointed commander of military unit five |
| 3 | July 1st, 1978? |
| 4 | A. Yes. |
| 5 | Q. And you stayed in that position as colonel until |
| б | October 19, 1979 when you were appointed Minister of |
| 7 | Defense? |
| 8 | A. Yes. |
| 9 | Q. And during that time it was your obligation as |
| 10 | military commander to know what was going on militarily |
| 11 | the Department of San Vincente? |
| 12 | A. From a military standpoint, yes. |
| 13 | Q. And you would agree, General Garcia, that a military |
| 14 | commander has a duty to preserve the peace? |
| 15 | MR. KLAUS: Objection to the form of the |
| 16 | question. He speaks |
| 17 | THE COURT: What is the legal basis? |
| 18 | MR. KLAUS: Misleading, confusing. It is in a |
| 19 | declarative sense, not in an interrogatory sense. |
| 20 | THE COURT: I think it is a question. What is |
| 21 | your objection? I don't understand the objection. |
| 22 | MR. KLAUS: Confusing and misleading. |
| 23 | THE COURT: I will allow the witness to answer |
| | |
| 24 | he can do it. This is cross examination. |

in

if

25 Let's go ahead.

1 THE WITNESS: Yes. 2 BY MR. GREEN: And military commander has a duty to fight wars? 3 Ο. 4 Α. Yes. 5 Ο. And in preserving the peace and in fighting wars, a б military commander has a duty to respect the rights of unarmed civilians? 7 8 Α. Yes. 9 And a military commander has a duty to protect Ο. unarmed civilians from violations of human rights, there being 10 11 committed by others? 12 THE INTERPRETER: Committed by, counsel? BY MR. GREEN: 13 14 Committed by others. Q. 15 Could you please repeat the question? Α. 16 Isn't it true that a military commander has a duty Q. to protect unarmed civilians from violations of human rights 17 18 being committed by others? 19 There could be a difference there. As a principle, Α. Not because I am a military officer, but I believe 20 no. any 21 person has the duty and obligation to respect and protect 22 the human rights of others. But specifically during peace 23 time, that's what the security forces were there for.

24 Q. So is it your position that if the security forces San Vincente in 1978 and 1979 were engaged in massive

in

| | 1 | repression against unarmed civilians, you had no duty |
|------------|----|--|
| provent | 2 | whatsoever as a military commander to investigate, |
| prevent | 2 | |
| | 3 | or punish? |
| | 4 | A. Massive in what way? |
| | 5 | Q. You know |
| | 6 | MR. KLAUS: Objection; argumentative. |
| question | 7 | THE COURT: Sustained. But I think the |
| | 8 | that is being asked, Mr. Green, you correct me if I have |
| | 9 | the wrong question, I think the question you put is, if |
| | 10 | the military commander believes that members of the |
| | 11 | security force, in other words, someone who is not under |
| military | 12 | the military commander's responsibility, does the |
| millicary | 13 | commandar have an abligation to intervene. To that the |
| | | commander have an obligation to intervene. Is that the |
| | 14 | question you put? |
| | 15 | MR. GREEN: Yes, Your Honor. |
| | 16 | THE COURT: Okay. |
| | 17 | THE WITNESS: As I explained earlier, the |
| | 18 | security forces, the police, National Guard were |
| | 19 | responsible for everything that pertains to public |
| | 20 | security. At that time the Army had no could not |
| concerning | 21 | interfere or had no responsibility for matters |
| | 22 | public safety. |
| | 23 | BY MR. GREEN: |

Q. So your answer is you, as a military commander, hadduty whatsoever to intervene to protect unarmed civilians

no

| unarmed | 1 | from massive repression that was occurring against |
|-----------|----|--|
| | 2 | civilians? |
| | 3 | A. To protect them in a moment of the occurrence of a |
| intervene | 4 | fact, to protect them, yes. But the Army did not |
| | 5 | in anything that had to do with public safety. Examples, |
| | б | accidents, murders, robbery, et cetera, these are police |
| | 7 | activities, not military. |
| | 8 | Q. General Garcia, during your 16 or 17 months as |
| | 9 | military commander of unit five in the Department of San |
| | 10 | Vincente, did you read the newspapers? |
| | 11 | A. Yes, normally, yes. |
| had | 12 | Q. Did you see bodies along the side of the road that |
| | 13 | been killed or decapitated? |
| | 14 | A. At that time, no. |
| | 15 | Q. Did you know anyone who was in the National Guard |
| | 16 | headquarters who was assigned to the National Guard |
| | 17 | headquarters in San Vincente? |
| | 18 | A. I don't recall because we did not have contact with |
| | 19 | them. |
| | 20 | Q. Did you hear stories about the National Guard |
| between | 21 | torturing people in the Department of San Vincente, |
| | 22 | 1978 and 1979? |
| | 23 | A. No. No. |

Q. General Garcia, do you have -- let's go back to themilitary school for one second.

| | 1 | What kind of uniforms did the cadets wear? |
|-----------|----|--|
| academies | 2 | A. They had several uniforms, such as military |
| | 3 | have in any part of the world. Daily uniform, campaign |
| | 4 | uniform, gala uniform. |
| wear? | 5 | Q. Was the gala uniform the parade dress that they |
| | б | A. Yes. And on Sundays to go out on leave. |
| | 7 | Q. General Garcia |
| | 8 | MR. GREEN: Mr. Stern, if you could get the |
| | 9 | military school. |
| | 10 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| | 11 | Q. Before we put it on the easel, General Garcia, I am |
| the | 12 | going to show you a photograph. Does that appear to be |
| | 13 | military school cadets? |
| | 14 | A. Yes. |
| | 15 | MR. KLAUS: Objection as to relevance. |
| | 16 | THE COURT: I will permit it. |
| | 17 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| | 18 | Q. General Garcia, I notice that these cadets are |
| step | 19 | marching in a particular parade step and what is that |
| | 20 | called |
| | 21 | THE COURT: Let's move on to something else, |
| | 22 | please. |
| | 23 | BY MR. GREEN: |

Q. General Garcia, you testified earlier about a speechthat you gave that was broadcast over the radio and

| | 1 | television? |
|--------|----|---|
| | 2 | A. Yes. |
| | 3 | Q. It is Defense Exhibit Number 47? |
| | 4 | A. Yes. |
| | 5 | Q. You have it with you? |
| | 6 | A. No. It is over there. |
| | 7 | Q. General Garcia, could you read to the ladies and |
| | 8 | gentlemen of the jury the title of that speech. |
| | 9 | THE COURT: Mr. Stern, would you remove the |
| | 10 | photograph? Thank you. |
| | 11 | Go right ahead. |
| | 12 | THE WITNESS: The Salvadoran people must trust |
| | 13 | its armed forces, words of the Minister of Defense and |
| | 14 | Public Safety Colonel Jos, Guillermo Garcia. Broadcast |
| | 15 | over the national chain of radio and television |
| | 16 | November 15, 1979. |
| | 17 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| was | 18 | Q. General Garcia, when you issued this speech, this |
| | 19 | directed to civilians throughout El Salvador, correct? |
| | 20 | A. To the entire nation, yes. |
| | 21 | Q. And by issuing the speech, did you personally assume |
| | 22 | the responsibility of protecting everyone's human rights? |
| world? | 23 | A. I think we have always had that. Of the whole |
| | 24 | Q. No, in El Salvador. |

25 A. Yes.

| | 1 | Q. General Garcia, going back to your resum, for a |
|-----------|----------|--|
| the | 2 | minute, I notice that on October 19, 1979, going on to |
| | 3 | next page where you talk about Engineer Jaime Abdul |
| | 4 | Gutierrez. |
| | 5 | A. Yes. |
| of | б | Q. And you refer to him by his professional specialty |
| | 7 | engineer, correct? |
| | 8 | A. Colonel and Engineer Jaime Gutierrez. |
| | 9 | Q. Mr. Gutierrez, his military command was in the |
| | 10 | engineering corps as opposed to an actual field command, |
| | 11 | correct? |
| | 12 | A. First, he was a military officer, a career military |
| engineeri | 13 ng | officer infantry, and as an officer he studied |
| | 14 | and graduated as an engineer. |
| | 15 | Q. General Garcia, you mentioned that you allowed the |
| | 16 | inspection of jails by the Red Cross, correct? |
| | 17 | A. Yes. |
| | 18 | MR. KLAUS: Objection. |
| | 19 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| | 20 | Q. And General Garcia, the Red Cross could only inspect |
| | 21 | jail cells that they could find? |
| | 22 | A. All of them. They had absolute freedom to enter all |
| place | 23 | of the corps of the country without limitation as to |

- 24 or time.
- 25 Q. General Garcia, if there was a secret cell, if it is

1 being hidden from the Red Cross, the Red Cross could not 2 find it, correct? MR. KLAUS: Objection; beyond the scope of his 3 4 knowledge, calls for speculation. 5 THE COURT: Let me just stop for a minute. Ladies and gentlemen, this is what I mentioned before. б In 7 other words, there is a premise, and so clearly the answer 8 depends on whether the premise is established. And it will be up to you ultimately to decide whether, looking 9 at 10 the evidence, whether the premise has been established. 11 I think the question asks the general if in fact 12 there were a secret cell or secret jail, would that have precluded the Red Cross from finding it if it had not 13 been 14 shown to the Red Cross. I think that was the question. BY MR. GREEN: 15 16 Q. Would you please answer the question? 17 Yes. What I say is that the Red Cross with its Α. 18 authorization to enter any of the military corps without 19 limitation of any kind could take it upon itself to find any type of jail or cell or whatever it is. 20 21 General Garcia, the National Guard had secret jail Ο. cells, didn't it? 22

23 MR. KLAUS: Objection; relevance unless there is 24 a time frame. 25 THE COURT: Let me ask you to specify the time

```
1
      frame if you would.
 2
     BY MR. GREEN:
          General Garcia, there were secret jail cells at the
 3
     Ο.
 4
     National Guard headquarters in 1978, weren't there?
 5
               MR. KLAUS: Objection as to --
 б
               THE COURT: Overruled. You may answer the
 7
      question.
 8
               THE WITNESS: '78?
     BY MR. GREEN:
 9
10
          Yes.
     Ο.
11
     Α.
          I don't know.
12
          There were secret jail cells in the National Guard
     Ο.
13
     headquarters in San Salvador in 1979, correct?
14
     Α.
          I don't think so.
          And there were secret jail cells in the National
15
     Q.
16
     headquarters in 1980 to '81, correct?
17
          I don't think there were secret, I don't think.
     Α.
18
     Q.
          You never went over there to inspect, did you?
19
     Α.
          Yes.
          Did you go through every room, through every floor -
20
     Ο.
21
               THE COURT: Just a minute. I don't think the
22
      witness had a chance. The general was about to answer
      that question.
23
```

Guard

24 THE WITNESS: Yes, and here is something that

25 important. When the revolutionary government Junta

is

1 appointed General Casanova at that time, at that time 2 Colonel Casanova, the Junta and I went to the National Guard. On the first day that he went to the National 3 Guard and General Vides called together all the 4 personnel 5 for the National Guard and verbally recited the first 6 rules under which the National Guard was going to operate, 7 insisting upon the respect for human rights, and that is 8 why I say I don't think. 9 And later on, allow me to qualify, during an 10 inspection by General Vides at the National Guard, he was 11 asked to empty a pool that was in the National Guard 12 because it was thought there was some sort of a jail or 13 something, what do I know, hidden in there, and nothing 14 was found. 15 BY MR. GREEN: General Garcia, let me make sure I understand. 16 You Ο. heard the testimony of Roberto Alvarez in this case? 17 18 Α. Yes. 19 Roberto from the organization? Ο. 20 THE COURT: Let's go back to Mr. Green and allow 21 Mr. Green to state the question.

22 BY MR. GREEN:

23 Q. General Garcia, Roberto Alvarez testified in thiscase24 that he went to the National Guard headquarters not once,

25 but twice. The first time he went, he could not find any

1 of the secret cells. On the second time he went, he found secret cells; isn't that true? 2 3 He said that, that is his opinion, that is his Α. 4 testimony. And isn't it true that the Organization of American 5 Ο. б States issued a report to the Government of El Salvador 7 concerning those secret cells and Mr. Alvarez's attempts to find those? 8 9 Yes. Α. 10 General Garcia, when you became Minister of Defense Q. in 11 October, 1979, did you order an investigation as to who was 12 responsible for the secret torture cells in the National Guard headquarters in San Salvador? 13 14 I don't recall, because I think that it was General Α. Vides who had to do that, and I hope that he did so. 15 General Garcia, did you ever order the Director of 16 Q. the 17 National Guard, then Colonel Vides Casanova, to conduct an 18 investigation as to who was responsible for those secret 19 cells? 20 As of the first day he was ordered by the Α. 21 revolutionary government Junta to perform that type of 22 investigation.

Q. Did you ever personally order Colonel Vides Casanova to conduct an investigation as to who was responsible for the secret torture cells in the National Guard

1 headquarters? 2 Personally, I do not recall having said that Α. directly 3 to him, no. 4 Q. General Garcia, do you think that if you had even qone 5 over and conducted an investigation personally in October of 1979 or November of 1979, as to who was responsible б for 7 the secret cells, you might have prevented this man, 8 Dr. Juan Romagoza, from being tortured and raped? 9 Α. I never had knowledge that there was torture cells in 10 the National Guard. 11 And as far as you are concerned, nothing that the ο. 12 Organization of American States said made any difference to 13 you whatsoever as a military commander? 14 Α. Of course you must attend to any resolution or recommendation, but I do not recall nor have I received 15 any 16 recommendation making any type exclusive recommendation. 17 General Garcia, is it your testimony that a military Ο. commander exercises his command responsibility when he 18 19 takes an attitude of I see nothing and I hear nothing? 20 I believe that it should not be that way. But Α. No.

one must tell the truth, whatever that may be.

General Garcia, is it your contention that all

21

22

Q.

| 23 | oppo | onents of the milt | itary government were Communist? |
|----|------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 24 | A. | No | |
| 25 | | MR. KLAUS: | Objection as to relevancy, time |

1 period. 2 THE COURT: I think the time period would be helpful. Could you specify that? 3 BY MR. GREEN: 4 5 Ο. Is it your testimony that all opponents of the military government between 1979 and 1983 were Communist? б 7 Α. No. 8 MR. KLAUS: Objection; confusing, misleading, relevancy, misstates evidence. 9 10 THE COURT: Overruled on all grounds. 11 Let me go back to Mr. Green. 12 BY MR. GREEN: 13 Is it your testimony that all opponents of the Ο. 14 military government between 1979 and 1983 were Communist? THE COURT: I think the question has been 15 16 answered. The answer is no. 17 MR. GREEN: Okay. BY MR. GREEN: 18 19 Ο. General Garcia, you testified earlier that the military under your regime was instrumental in 20 implementing the bank reforms, the reforms of the banks in El 21 Salvador?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Could you tell the ladies and gentlemen of the jury

24 how, exactly, you were able to order the implementation

of

25 the bank reform within a 24 hour period?

| | 1 | A. It was not I who implemented the bank reform. I |
|-------|----|---|
| Junta | 2 | received the orders from the revolutionary government |
| with | 3 | to provide protection to the banks in order to comply |
| Junta | 4 | the reform law issued by the revolutionary government |
| | 5 | and physically our soldiers were present at every bank in |
| | б | El Salvador and had in writing the order from the |
| | 7 | government Junta in which it was said to all of the |
| in | 8 | employees upon their arrival that a change was in place |
| | 9 | the bank management of El Salvador. That. |
| | 10 | Is the order that I issued after having received the |
| was | 11 | order from the revolutionary government Junta and so it |
| | 12 | with the agrarian reform as well. |
| | 13 | Q. And who in particular did you ask to implement your |
| | 14 | order? |
| | 15 | A. To the entire armed institution. |
| | 16 | Q. Navy? |
| | 17 | A. I think not, because they are on the water. |
| | 18 | Q. The Army? |
| | 19 | A. The Army, yes. |
| | 20 | Q. How about the public security forces? |
| | 21 | A. Yes, I believe so. |
| | 22 | Q. And they followed your order? |

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And this was an unpopular order, correct?

25 A. A difficult order, and transcendental in El Salvador,

maybe because within the armed institution, they were
 people who were opposed to the bank reform, that was our
 problem.
 Q. But you were able to get it done?
 A. With opposition, but we managed. Not all liked that,

But you were able to get it done? With opposition, but we managed. Not all liked б nor were all in agreement. 7 Q. In fact, there was opposition from the rich 8 landowners? Of course. 9 Α. 10 Q. But you and your subordinates were able to give firm 11 orders and implement that within a 24 hour period? Uh, yes. 12 Α. 13 Q. And you personally had the will to do that? 14 Α. Yes. 15 Because you thought it was important? Ο. 16 Α. Yes. 17 General Garcia, you said on your direct testimony Ο. 18 human rights were not taken as explicitly in 1979 as they 19 are today? 20 I don't understand, pardon, I apologize. I said? Α.

Q. Yes. You indicated that human rights in El Salvador
in 1979 were not as -A. I am sorry, yes. What I want to say, what I say in

fact is that before 1979 and during that time to speak of

that

25 human rights was not such as it is today where everyone

| | 1 | knows and has knowledge what human rights are. In that |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | time it was different. |
| | 3 | Q. General Garcia, in 1979, in 1980, and 1981, all the |
| | 4 | way up to 1983, it was clear from the Geneva protocols, |
| | 5 | Geneva conventions that torture of unarmed civilians was |
| | б | never permitted under any circumstances anywhere? |
| evidence. | 7 | MR. KLAUS: Objection. Document not in |
| | 8 | THE COURT: I will overrule the objection. You |
| | 9 | may restate the question. |
| | 10 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| became | 11 | Q. General Garcia, isn't it true in 1979 when you |
| | 12 | Minister of Defense, all the way through 1983 when you |
| | 13 | resigned from the Ministry of Defense, it was absolutely |
| | 14 | clear from the Geneva conventions and protocols that |
| | 15 | torture was never permitted against unarmed civilians |
| | 16 | anywhere, anyplace, any time? |
| | 17 | A. Yes. Yes. |
| | 18 | Q. You knew that then and you know that now? |
| | 19 | A. Yes. Yes. |
| against | 20 | Q. And the prohibition, the absolute prohibition |
| | 21 | torture under any circumstances was just as clear in 1979 |
| | 22 | as it is today in 2002? |
| | 23 | A. Yes, yes, that is so. |

Q. General Garcia, you talked about the bank reform andhow you and your subordinates were able to implement that

1 within a very short period of time. You issued orders? 2 Α. One order, yes. You sent troops out to banks all over the country? 3 Ο. 4 Α. Yes. 5 Ο. And your troops told the bank employees about your б order? 7 Yes, they were carrying the instructions. Α. Now, General Garcia, you testified when you came in 8 Ο. as Minister of Defense, 40 to 50 officers were removed from 9 10 military service and/or expelled from the country? 11 Α. Approximately, yes. 12 Ο. And that happened because there was a will to get rid 13 of the bad apples? 14 Yes. Α. 15 General Garcia, you said that, during your direct Q. testimony that El Salvador -- the El Salvadoran armed 16 forces were in danger of falling apart between 1979 and 17 '83 18 because of divisions between progressives and reactionaries within the El Salvadoran armed forces? 19 20 Α. Yes. 21 There were progressives in the forms of the likes of Q. Colonel Majano? 22 23 Α. Yes.

24 Q. And the 17 reformist officers commonly associated with

> 25 him?

| | 1 | A. Yes. |
|-----------|----|---|
| in | 2 | Q. And there were the reactionaries that were arrested |
| | 3 | May, 1980? |
| | 4 | A. Yes. |
| | 5 | Q. And when you had a choice between getting rid of the |
| like | 6 | reactionaries or getting rid of the reformist officers |
| got | 7 | Colonel Majano and his 17 followers, you reassigned and |
| | 8 | rid of Colonel Majano and his 17 reformers? |
| | 9 | A. No. |
| | 10 | MR. GREEN: May I have a moment, Your Honor? |
| | 11 | THE WITNESS: That was an instruction from the |
| | 12 | revolutionary government Junta. |
| | 13 | MR. GREEN: May I have a moment, Your Honor? |
| | 14 | THE COURT: Surely, yes. |
| | 15 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| Catholic | 16 | Q. General Garcia, the Socorro Juridico was the |
| | 17 | Church organization? |
| | 18 | A. Yes. |
| | 19 | Q. And in your opinion information from the Socorro |
| credible? | 20 | Juridico about civilians being retained would be |
| | 21 | A. Some of it, yes. |
| | 22 | Q. You did not think, you did not believe that the |

23 Socorro Juridico was a subversive organization, did you?

24 A. No.

 $25\,$ Q. Yet you deny that the officers of the Socorro Juridico

| | 1 | were ever raided by the Salvadoran armed forces? |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | MR. KLAUS: Objection; relevancy without a time |
| | 3 | frame. |
| | 4 | THE COURT: Let me ask Mr. Green if he would be |
| | 5 | good enough to give us a time frame. |
| | б | BY MR. GREEN: |
| Juridico | 7 | Q. Yet you deny that the offices of the Socorro |
| and | 8 | of San Salvador were ever raided between the years 1979 |
| | 9 | 1983 by members of the Salvadoran armed forces? |
| | 10 | A. When did I deny this? |
| | 11 | THE COURT: No, the question is, do you deny it |
| | 12 | today? |
| | 13 | THE WITNESS: No. |
| | 14 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| the | 15 | Q. Did you, as of January 31, 2001, did you deny that |
| | 16 | forces of the military and/or security forces |
| | 17 | THE COURT: Let me stop you, Mr. Green. Is the |
| | 18 | answer inconsistent with what was given? |
| | 19 | MR. GREEN: Yes. |
| | 20 | THE COURT: The answer is no, he does not deny |
| | 21 | it. |
| recently. | 22 | MR. GREEN: I am asking if he denied it |

23 THE COURT: You want to do that with deposition,

24 you want to show there was a prior inconsistent statement

25 at a earlier time?

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1 MR. GREEN: Yes, your Honor. 2 THE COURT: You may do that. BY MR. GREEN: 3 General Garcia, isn't it true as recently as 4 Ο. 5 January 31, 2001 you denied -б THE COURT: You need to read the full question and answer, if you would, and line and page to the other 7 8 side. 9 MR. GREEN: Page 147, General Garcia's 10 deposition, lines three through six. 11 BY MR. GREEN: 12 Do you recall being asked the following question and Ο. 13 giving the following answers? 14 "Did the forces of the military and/or security forces 15 raid the officers of Socorro Juridico on or about July 16 1980? 17 "Answer. No." 18 Do you recall being asked that question and giving 19 that answer? 20 I do not recall that very well, but if it is written Α. 21 thusly, and my answer is no, then I accept that that is 22 what I answered. General Garcia, with respect to the Christian 23 Ο. Democrat

4th,

24 letter, you testified on direct that you were aware of that

25 letter. General Garcia, that letter detailed 19 specific

| | 1 | instances of torture and killings by members of the El |
|------------|-----------|---|
| | 2 | Salvadoran armed forces as of January 31, 1980? |
| | 3 | THE COURT: That is a question? You are asking |
| | 4 | the question? Does he agree that is what the letter |
| did? | | |
| | 5 | MR. GREEN: Yes. |
| | 6 | THE COURT: Okay. |
| 4 | 7 | THE WITNESS: If the letter says so, yes, that |
| is | | |
| | 8 | correct. |
| | 9 | BY MR. GREEN: |
| the | 10 | Q. General Garcia, did you order an investigation of |
| | | |
| | 11 | case of La Colonia, April 22, that reported four murdered |
| | 12 | in the presence of an Army tank? |
| | 13 | A. What colony was this? |
| | 14 | Q. The case of La Colonia, a neighborhood in San |
| | 15 | Salvador. It was reported as incident number two in the |
| | 16 | Christian Democratic letter. |
| | 17 | A. No. I don't recall. |
| investigat | 18 ion | Q. Okay. General Garcia, did you order an |
| Mejia | 19 | in incident number three, which was the case of Jos, |
| | 20 | and Francisco Ventura, university students captured in |
| | 21 | front of the United States Embassy where witnesses |
| | 22 | confirmed that it was National Guardsmen who captured |
| them? | | |

them?

| I | 23 | A. In accordance to what we saw in the exposition here, |
|---|----|---|
| | 24 | believe that no investigation was performed directly from |
| | 25 | the ministry. But in accordance with that very same |
| | | |

1 information, some investigation was in fact performed. 2 You never ordered the investigation, and you never Ο. 3 reviewed the investigation to determine whether the investigation was a whitewashed or whether it was in fact 4 а 5 legitimate investigation, did you? б Α. No, no, I do not recall that. 7 Q. General Garcia, with respect to incident number four, 8 which reports two persons violently taken from their house 9 in Cojutepeque, C-O-J-U-T-E-P-E-Q-U-E, in the early morning 10 of January 23 by agents of the security forces, and then 11 disappeared, did you order an investigation, did you 12 personally order an investigation of that incident? 13 It is difficult to remember whether an investigation Α. 14 was ordered or not when it comes to an incident of that nature, but specifically, I don't recall that. 15 And you never issued a written order that it be 16 Q. 17 investigated, did you? I don't recall. I don't think so. 18 Α. And you never picked up the telephone to call either 19 Ο. 20 the National Guard headquarters, Treasury Police 21 headquarters or in Cojutepeque what happened to those men on January 23, correct? 22

23 A. It is possible that something was done, but I don't

24 recall. It is such a long time ago and there were so many 25 cases. To be specific on such a matter like that, no, no.

1 I cannot answer categorically. 2 You produced no written orders whatsoever concerning Ο. 3 investigations whatsoever of these 19 instances, have you? 4 You haven't produced a single one? 5 Α. It's possible. б ο. You have not produced one to the Plaintiffs in this 7 case, or to The Court, have you? In their case? 8 Α. 9 In any of these 19 incidents reported in the Ο. January 31, 1980 Christian Democrat letter. You produced 10 no written orders, you produced no investigations? 11 12 MR. KLAUS: Objection; relevancy, Your Honor. THE COURT: I beg your pardon? 13 14 MR. KLAUS: Objection as to relevancy. 15 THE COURT: Overruled on relevancy grounds. 16 MR. KLAUS: Could I be heard? Prejudicial effect 17 outweighs probative value. 18 THE COURT: I will overrule that. I will hear you later when we stop today, and we can come back to 19 20 that. 21 Let me see if we can't get the answer to that question and we will stop for the day. 22 23 MR. GREEN: May I state the question? 24 THE COURT: Yes.

| | 1 | BY MR. GREEN: |
|-----------|----|---|
| | 2 | Q. General Garcia, isn't it true that you produced not |
| | 3 | one single written order, not one single piece of paper |
| | 4 | indicating an investigation of any of the 19 specific |
| were | 5 | instances of disappearance or torture or killing that |
| Christian | 6 | set forth in the January 31, 1980 letter from the |
| | 7 | Democrats? |
| | 8 | A. I believe that it depends on who the letter is |
| of | 9 | addressed to. Is it addressed directly to the Minister |
| | 10 | Defense? |
| | 11 | Q. It was directed to you as a member of the high |
| | 12 | command. Have you seen that letter, sir? |
| | 13 | A. Then it is possible that some member of the high |
| or | 14 | command of the government Junta, of the the President |
| | 15 | the prosecuting attorneys office may have ordered an |
| | 16 | investigation. |
| | 17 | MR. GREEN: Move to strike the answer. |
| | 18 | THE COURT: I think we need to stop at this |
| | 19 | point, let's do that. |
| | 20 | Ladies and gentlemen, again, please understand |
| case, | 21 | how important it is to not talk to anybody about the |
| | 22 | please do not let anyone talk with you. I wanted to ask |

you again to be very, very careful with respect to
whatever media coverage there might be of the case, you
want to avoid that. The whole reason is we want to make

sure whatever you are looking at to make your final 2 decisions, it is information presented here in the 3 courtroom through this process of examination, cross examination, and then you can consider that and reach 4 the 5 conclusions that you think are appropriate. б In talking with the lawyers last night, we still believe there is the possibility that we are moving 7 toward 8 the conclusion of the case next week. 9 There is the possibility that it might go over until the following Monday, that is, we might have 10 following arguments the next Monday, and we will have to 11 12 wait, really, until we have perhaps another day of the defense case to get a sense of the length of time that 13 it 14 is taking. 15 So, I ask you to be vigilant regarding the general jury instructions, and we will reconvene Monday 16 17 morning at 9:30 and we will continue on with the cross examination at that time. 18 Have a nice weekend, everybody. We will see 19 you 20 then. 21 General, you may step down.

(Thereupon, the jury retired from the

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courtroom.)

23THE COURT:Ladies and gentlemen, please be24seated.

25 I've passed out what I indicated, what I have

marked as The Court's fourth draft which deals with the 1 2 concept of command responsibility that we have been 3 discussing. I wanted to point out to you, and I apologize, this morning I had the papers mixed up, I 4 5 didn't realize it was a three page revision, but I put in б bold what is an addition on the second page. 7 And the purpose of that was to indicate that 8 wherever we used the term subordinate, whether it be in 9 the first two elements or for that matter the third and 10 fourth element, that it refers to somebody who does enjoy 11 a subordinate relationship to one of the Defendants. 12 The purpose of that is to underscore the fact 13 that whether we are talking about the person accused of actually torturing one of the Plaintiffs in the case or 14 15 someone accused of having committed similar acts of torture on other people, the critical issue is all of 16 those people have to be under the effective control of a 17 18 particular Defendant. That was the purpose of it. I wasn't sure that 19 that was clear. 20 21 What I was going to suggest, if it is all right with everybody, is to put the jury instruction aside 22 tonight and we will come back to that on Monday or

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24 whatever else we need to do. I know we have other issues

25 that we have to deal with.

| | 1 | I wondered whether you had the opportunity to |
|-------|----|--|
| | 2 | reflect on the approach we needed to take because of the |
| | 3 | potential claims under two statutes, and I thought maybe |
| | 4 | it would be helpful if everybody had an opportunity to |
| | 5 | kind of lay their concerns on the table about the issues |
| | 6 | that are at hand in those two statutes. And then what |
| | 7 | approach we ought to take in either a verdict form or in |
| | 8 | the instructions as well. |
| going | 9 | And I think we all agree by the way we are |
| | 10 | to have some type instruction that explains what is the |
| | 11 | Alien Tort Claims Act, and another that explains what is |
| | 12 | the Torture Victim Protection Act, and both of those do |
| of | 13 | allow claims in the Federal District Court for the type |
| | 14 | issues that are complained of. |
| | 15 | I wonder if it would be helpful to have a |
| have, | 16 | discussion about the concerns that both parties may |
| | 17 | and then try in light of that to figure out an approach |
| | 18 | that we need to develop to safeguard those concerns. |
| to | 19 | Is the Plaintiff still of a mind that it wants |
| | 20 | pursue claims under both statutes? |
| | 21 | As I said before, it sort of moots the issue if |
| | 22 | the Plaintiffs ultimately decide what we are really |
| | 23 | talking about is torture, and torture certainly is |

24 cognizable under the Torture Victim Protection Act,

there

25 is no question.

| | 1 | What I think has gotten us moving on there are |
|--------|----|--|
| | | |
| | 2 | other aspects, other torts under the Law of Nations that |
| | 3 | might be different from torture, might be less than |
| | 4 | torture, but cognizable under the Alien Tort Claims Act. |
| | 5 | Have the Plaintiffs reached a conclusion, or |
| | 6 | would it be beneficial to give you more time if you are |
| | 7 | still thinking that through? |
| issue. | 8 | MR. GREEN: Judge, there is an exhaustion |
| | 9 | That is applicable to one statute and not the other, and |
| | 10 | that has required us to do some research. |
| | 11 | THE COURT: You want to take more time on that? |
| | 12 | MR. GREEN: I believe so. There is a lot to be |
| | 13 | said for the simplicity and focus of just going |
| | 14 | THE COURT: If it can be done. If it can't, it |
| | 15 | can't. It calls for a judgment call by the Plaintiffs. |
| | 16 | Just if you do feel you want to pursue both statutes, we |
| that | 17 | need to seriously talk about first how do we present |
| | 18 | to the jury, because the claims would be different, I |
| in | 19 | think, and how do we elicit the jury's verdict on that |
| | 20 | a way that preserves the separateness if we need to so |
| | 21 | should there be a recovery on both, but should the |
| the | 22 | appellate court find there is some impediment to one, |

| about | 23 | other stands independent. I think we need to think |
|-------|----|--|
| | 24 | those issues. |
| start | 25 | Ultimately it seems to me what is going to |

1 all of this is the judgment call that the Plaintiffs have to make based on their research and consideration. And 2 you are right, I suppose there is the issue of 3 simplicity 4 and straightforwardness on one side versus some of these 5 other legal concerns that are there. And I think if at б some point, if you would be willing to kind of lay out what your concerns are, it may be that the defense is 7 not 8 as concerned about something and might be willing to 9 stipulate that that isn't an issue or something. I was thinking that might help you as well in making an 10 election 11 if you are inclined to do that. 12 MR. GREEN: We have had some preliminary discussions with the defense, if I may have a moment. 13 14 THE COURT: Yes. MR. GREEN: Judge, we haven't put together a 15 complete list, it is clear punitives are available under 16 17 the Alien Tort Claims Act, and we think they are available 18 under the Torture Victim Protection Act. Your Honor ruled 19 that way in the other trial, we are comfortable with that. 20 There is not a huge amount of case law on the 21 issue of punitives being available under the Torture

- 22 Victim Protection Act. We think the legislative history 23 and existent case law clearly supports what Your Honor 24 ruled in the Ford case.
- 25 That is one of the issues we are mulling over

1 among ourselves and that we can -- I can tell you I think 2 by Monday we can give you a more exhaustive list of some of our concerns. But as Your Honor has recognized 3 4 repeatedly, and I believe the Eleventh Circuit suggested as much, this is a developing area of the law. The U.S. 5 б Supreme Court has not spoken on many of the issues, 7 particularly command responsibility except in the Yamashita case 75 years ago. 8 9 These are some of the things the lawyers are 10 trying to work out among ourselves, where do we think the 11 law is, where do we think the law should be, what is the 12 best prediction where the U.S. Supreme Court will go in 13 addressing some of these issues. 14 THE COURT: I read some of the cases, too, that 15 talk about concerns allowing punitive damages on a statute 16 being made retroactive. In other words, applying the 17 statute to the events that occurred prior to enactment in 1992, I guess it was. 18 The case law seems to me to be without question 19 20 that the Act has been applied to activity that occurred before 1992 and the rationale has always been is that 21 the Law of Nations, the international law has been 22 ultimately

| 23 | clear. | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|---------|--------|--------|--------|------|----------|-----------|
| 24 | | Now, | I read | some | recent | case | s. Judg | e Leonard |
| 25 | a case | dealing | with a | a gent | leman | from | Chile ha | s again |

in

| Supreme | 1 | voiced the concern about punitive damages, citing |
|---------|----|--|
| | 2 | Court case, but there is no case that I've read |
| | 3 | explicitly no Supreme Court case that explicitly says |
| | 4 | they are not recoverable. |
| | 5 | My attitude, my conclusion, a tentative |
| | б | conclusion, is that I realize we are in the civil |
| | 7 | forum, but we have to remember this same doctrine was |
| | 8 | invoked at Nuremberg and Tokyo and resulted in the issue |
| arena | 9 | of death sentences. If punishments in the criminal |
| | 10 | can be imposed and punitives can be imposed, I see no |
| | 11 | difference. I don't think there is a constitutional |
| Torture | 12 | impediment in allowing punitive damages under the |
| | 13 | Victim Protection Act. |
| cite | 14 | But as you pointed out, there are cases that |
| some | 15 | concern. I think where we have to be, either through |
| | 16 | discussions with the defense allaying the concerns you |
| | 17 | might have, and if you can't do that, and if you simply |
| | 18 | conclude you are going to proceed under both statutes, |
| do | 19 | then we need to come back to how do we do that, and how |
| | 20 | we do it in such a way so that the separateness of these |
| | 21 | issues are preserved in the event that the concerns that |

| are | 22 | have led you to pursue it that way in the first place |
|--------|----|---|
| | 23 | validated. |
| affect | 24 | We need to discuss that. That is going to |
| | 25 | us in terms of how we go from here on the jury |

| | 1 | instructions. And also, as I said, on the other issues. |
|------------|----|--|
| | 2 | I don't know what else we can do on that. We |
| Plaintiffs | 3 | have to wait for a definitive decision by the |
| to | 4 | and we are getting to that point where you really need |
| | 5 | arrive at some conclusion on that. |
| | 6 | It occurred to me, I don't know what your |
| you | 7 | thinking about this is, but it occurred to me that if |
| | 8 | ultimately do decide to pursue remedies under both |
| I | 9 | statutes, and putting aside the issue of torture, which |
| | 10 | think is cognizable under both, we then need to look at |
| | 11 | what are torts recognized by the Law of Nations that are |
| | 12 | really being sought in this particular case. |
| could | 13 | And I think it would help if the Plaintiff |
| has | 14 | simply delineate the particular tort that the evidence |
| | 15 | suggested, and it would seem to me the way that ought to |
| | 16 | be handled is that The Court ought to instruct the jury |
| of | 17 | that if the jury finds that this did occur, as a matter |
| | 18 | law that is a tort cognizable under the Law of Nations, |
| | 19 | and therefore an appropriate subject matter of the Alien |
| | 20 | Tort Claims Act. |
| | 21 | What I was thinking about the normal way, for |

| a | 22 | instance in a criminal case where you are talking about |
|--------|----|--|
| of | 23 | controlled substance, and you turn and say as a matter |
| | 24 | law, for example, cocaine is a controlled substance, and |
| nature | 25 | you go on from there. I would think that given the |

1 of the description of the activities apart from the 2 torture, that we would have little difficult in concluding 3 that those acts fit a particular tort and are cognizable under the concept of the Law of Nations, but we do need 4 to 5 consider how we approach that. б MR. GREEN: Judge, I operate pretty well under deadlines, and am I hearing a deadline of five o'clock 7 on 8 Monday? THE COURT: Well, we have a problem, we have to 9 deal with the remainder of the jury instructions. 10 We have 11 made a dent, I think a significant dent, but there are 12 other issues, but seems to me if you are going to submit these other approaches, we need to sit down and talk 13 about 14 that. I would ask the Plaintiffs if you would be 15 16 prepared by Monday to have thought this through and give 17 us your answer what route or routes you want to take, and your thought on how do we approach this, do we say here 18 19 are two claims, you should award damages under one, without reference to the other, and do the same with 20 other without reference to the other, and The Court would make 21

22 whatever adjustment is needed in terms of monetary so 23 there would not be double recovery in the event there is a 24 recovery by the Plaintiffs? If there is no recovery, that 25 would be clear as well.

| | 1 | But I think we need to think that through, |
|-----------|----|--|
| | 2 | because your concerns are, obviously, if by chance |
| not | 3 | punitive damages are recoverable under one statute but |
| jury | 4 | the other, we need to present that and make sure the |
| have | 5 | responds under that statute. I don't know. I don't |
| | 6 | any approach to this, but I have been thinking about it. |
| were | 7 | MR. GREEN: One of the things we could do |
| | 8 | we to keep it go under both statutes on a parallel |
| | 9 | basis, come up with a decision kind of approach and |
| | 10 | special instructions to the jury. |
| | 11 | THE COURT: Would you give a little thought to |
| | 12 | that? All of this is going to be, I think, driven by |
| are | 13 | first your choices, and secondly by the concerns that |
| direction | 14 | moving you one way or the other. But we do need |
| | 15 | and guidance from the Plaintiffs on that. |
| | 16 | I don't want to place a limit on you. What is |
| | 17 | your sense in terms of cross examination? |
| | 18 | MR. GREEN: I have another 30 to 45 minutes on |
| | 19 | cross. |
| | 20 | THE COURT: And on Monday what was our |
| | 21 | agreement Monday morning? |
| | 22 | MR. KLAUS: Try to start Ambassador Corr. |

23 THE COURT: Is that all right with you and move 24 forward, take Ambassador Corr, come back and complete 25 cross examination of General Garcia, and begin direct

examination of General Vides? 1 2 MR. KLAUS: I am going to have redirect. 3 THE COURT: I am saying that. I am not 4 suggesting you don't. 5 MR. KLAUS: Are you saying to finish cross б examination first? 7 THE COURT: No. I thought the agreement was in order to accommodate former Ambassador Corr we would 8 take 9 him first thing Monday morning. 10 MR. KLAUS: I prefer that for his sake. THE COURT: We will get him in and out and move 11 on to General Garcia, and move on to General Vides' 12 13 testimony. It sounds to me, I don't know whether we are in 14 15 the window to conclude next week. Why don't we hold that 16 in abeyance and see where we are. 17 The only concern, the case that is following you 18 requires interpreters who speak a very difficult 19 dialect -- difficult to get dialect of Chinese, and they 20 are being flown in from Albuquerque, and I am getting pressure from the interpreter's office to see if I can't 21 22 give them a day. We told them we are talking Monday or Tuesday for that case. If you could let me know so I 23

24 could let the other folks know about that.

25 Any other critical matter we need to talk about?

| | 1 | MR. GREEN: There is one matter, I did move to |
|------------|-----|---|
| question. | 2 | strike general Garcia's last response to my last |
| _ | 3 | THE COURT: I am inclined to let it stand. I |
| + | 4 | hear what you are saying. I have asked the general to |
| try | | |
| as | 5 | to listen to the questions and try to be as responsive |
| | 6 | possible understanding you can ask additional questions |
| | 7 | and Mr. Klaus can do the same on redirect. |
| | 8 | I really think we have been making much better |
| | 9 | progress. Your questions are very specific and to the |
| | 10 | point, and I really think with the interpretation |
| | 11 | difficulties that that has helped tremendously. |
| | 12 | Okay. Let's take a break. |
| belaboring | 13 | MR. STERN: Your Honor, at the risk of |
| Deraboring | 1 / | the point T want to call on your views of distributing |
| | 14 | the point, I want to ask on your views of distributing |
| | 15 | jury binders. |
| are | 16 | THE COURT: I heard you on that. I think we |
| that | 17 | beyond that, but if you feel there are some exhibits |
| | 18 | would be beneficial to the jury, I don't have a problem |
| | 19 | with you preparing a binder for the jury to take back |
| you | 20 | during their deliberations, if there are exhibits that |
| | 21 | all agree. |

| | 22 | Anything we can do to help the jury in its |
|-------|----|--|
| I | 23 | discussion and evaluation of the case is well taken, and |
| front | 24 | would think that, you know, just a directory at the |
| | 25 | of it as to what the exhibits are that are in there. I |

would like to leave that with you, but I said 1 repeatedly, I think a jury book is a beneficial thing, and I suspect 2 3 both of you have contributions you want to make to it. 4 MR. KLAUS: When it comes time, it is great. I 5 think he wants to give them their exhibits now, I think it б is too late to be looking at their exhibits while my case 7 is on. 8 THE COURT: Obviously. Most jury books are 9 passed out at the beginning and we talked about it, and we 10 got involved in other things and didn't get to it. That 11 having been said, I think also this may be the kind of 12 case where it may be helpful if the jury had a binders that had some of the principal exhibits that are 13 14 contributed by both sides. That is what we talked about all the way along. 15 Understanding where we are looking in terms of 16 17 the jury beginning deliberations, either Thursday evening 18 or perhaps the following Monday evening, I would urge you 19 to put that together if you can all agree to it. 20 MR. KLAUS: I don't have a problem with what they have in here so far, and I am going to probably put a 21 few

- 22 in, too. They really have nice ones, big ones. I will23 put a few in there, too.
- 24 MR. STERN: We will give final thought to it.
- 25 That may be something we want to do on Monday.

| | 1 | MR. KLAUS: I object to it being done now. |
|-----------|----|--|
| middle | 2 | THE COURT: You don't want the jury in the |
| | 3 | of the defense case paging through Plaintiffs' exhibits? |
| | 4 | Maybe the time we have it ready is when jury begins its |
| | 5 | deliberation. |
| prejudice | 6 | Now, please understand that is without |
| | 7 | to any party in cross or anything else. If the exhibit |
| | 8 | becomes helpful, and you want the jury to have the |
| | 9 | exhibit, I don't have a problem with that. |
| be | 10 | It occurs to me, Mr. Green, I thought it might |
| | 11 | helpful if the general had a copy of the letter, and it |
| | 12 | occurred to me it is probably in English. |
| | 13 | MR. GREEN: They are attached. |
| | 14 | THE COURT: Please don't hesitate to do that. |
| reconvene | 15 | Okay, we will be in recess and we will |
| | 16 | Monday at 9:30. |
| | 17 | (Thereupon, trial was recess at 5:30.) |
| | 18 | |
| | 19 | |
| | 20 | |
| | 21 | |
| | 22 | |
| | 23 | |

| 1 | I N D E X | | |
|----|-------------------------|----------|---------|
| 2 | OPENING BY MR. KLAUS | 1701 | |
| 3 | WITNESSES FOR THE DEFEN | NDANTS | |
| 4 | Direct Cross | Redirect | Recross |
| 5 | JOSE GARCIA 1716 1792 | | |
| б | EXHIBITS | | |
| 7 | Defendants' Exhibit 10 | 1719 | |
| 8 | Defendants' Exhibit 11 | 1787 | |
| 9 | Defendants' Exhibit 12 | 1787 | |
| 10 | Defendants' Exhibit 31 | 1761 | |
| 11 | Defendants' Exhibit 49 | 1752 | |
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