Appendix B

ATTACKS ON EL SALVADOR'S JESUITS*

1971
Immigration authorities threaten to cancel the residency permits of Father Ignacio Ellacuña and six other foreign priests, accusing them of "subversive and antidemocratic activities."

1973
Spring and Summer. Jesuits teaching at the Jesuit high school, Externado San José, are accused of teaching Marxism and turning child against parent. Considering criminal proceedings for teaching "communist, anarchic or antidemocratic doctrines," the Attorney General's office holds hearings. Father Juan Ramón Moreno, Externado rector, is called in to testify.

1975
July 30. Security Forces fire on a demonstration of university students, including some from the Central American University José Simén Cañas (UCA), killing 12 people and wounding 20. Forty more students are detained. The students were protesting repression and the government's expenditure of $3.5 million on the Miss Universe contest. On August 7, the UCA Superior Council condemns "exaggeratedly violent repression" of the demonstration.

Television spots announce that a priest, a nun and a politician would be killed. Though no names are mentioned, Jesuits learn that the targeted priest is Jon Sobrino, S.J., who had recently moved to El Salvador.

1976
January 6. The offices of the UCA journal, Estudios Centroamericanos (ECA), bombed.

January 15. Declaration by the Agricultural Front for the Eastern Region (FARO), a right wing landowners' association, appears in newspapers attacking the Jesuits because of their support for agrarian reform. The ads, which mention by name Jesuits working in Aguilares and the UCA, warn, "either obey our laws and respect our government or leave the country."

March. UCA administration building bombed.

* During the period described, there were also numerous attacks on Catholics other than Jesuits. Two of the most prominent cases were the March 1980 murder of Archbishop Romero and the December 1980 murders of four U.S. churchwomen.
August 23. ECA offices just off the UCA campus bombed about midnight. The house is nearly destroyed.

September. Two small propaganda bombs explode in the UCA. The flyers contain attacks on the Jesuits.

December 2-3. UCA administration building bombed at night. Father Francisco Javier Ibarsate and others are still in the building when the blast occurs. A death squad calling itself the White Warriors Union assumes responsibility.

December. The death of an Aguilares landowner is blamed on the Church and Jesuits in particular. Both are attacked in a newspaper campaign, which mentions Father Rutilio Grande, S.J., and another priest by name.

1977

January 4. Two ex-Jesuit seminarians working in Aguilares expelled.

February. Former Jesuit, Juan José Ramírez, interrogated, beaten, tortured with electric shock for 10 days and expelled. He is later located in a Guatemalan prison.

February 21. Father Benigno Fernández, S.J., a Spanish citizen working in Aguilares, is refused re-entry to the country.

February 22. Father Luis de Sebatíán, S.J., a naturalized Salvadoran, UCA Vice-Rector and economics professor, refused re-entry to the country, told his life was in danger.

February 22. Father Ignacio Ellacuría, S.J., naturalized Salvadoran, refused re-entry to the country.

March 12. Rutilio Grande, S.J., assassinated on his way to say mass in El Paisnal. Also murdered were two parishioners, Manuel Solórzano, 72, and Nelson Rutilio Lemus, 15. Well known and respected throughout the country, Father Grande’s killing shocked Salvadorans, who did not suspect that the rhetoric directed against the church would translate into this kind of violence. Some 100,000 people attended his funeral on March 20.

April 22. Foreign Minister Maucio Borgonovo kidnapped by the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL). A communiqué in La Prensa Gráfica places responsibility for the kidnapping on “Jesuit priests and other communist priests of the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), front for the FPL. If [Borgonovo] is assassinated, it will be an eye for an eye.”

May 6. Father Jorge Franklin Sarsanedas del Sid, S.J., a Panamanian citizen, is kidnapped on May 1 but the Jesuit Provincial is not notified until four days later that he is in the custody of the National Guard. He is held with his hands and feet tied, blindfolded and only fed twice. The first night he is kicked and beaten. Expelled from the country, the 30-year-old priest is charged with “participation in subversive activities.” Archbishop Romero refuses to sign the National Guard document releasing Sarsanedas to him because of numerous inaccuracies.

May 11. Father Alfonso Navarro, the parish priest in the Miramonte section of San Salvador, is assassinated the day after Foreign Minister Borgonovo’s body appeared. A 15-year-old youth is murdered with Navarro.

May. Flyers and radio announcements urge “Haga Patria, Mate un cura” (Be a Patriot, Kill a Priest).

May 19. In “Operation Rutilio,” the military lays siege to the town of Aguilares. Sealing off a 500-square mile area, they search every house. While the government acknowledges seven deaths, witnesses place the number at around 50. Among those killed is the sacristan, who was shot while ringing the church bell warning of the troops’ arrival. Father Grande and three other Jesuits had worked in the area since 1972. The church is occupied by troops for the next month.

May 19. Fathers Salvador Carranza, S.J., José Luis Ortega, S.J., and Marcelino Pérez, S.J., all working with Father Rutilio Grande around Aguilares and Guazapa are detained at 5:00 a.m., handcuffed, mistreated and deported to Guatemala at mid-day. They remain jailed in Guatemala until May 25, incommunicado.

June 20. The White Warrior’s Union death squad issues an ultimatum for all 47 Jesuits to leave the country within 30 days.

October 25. A State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research report entitled “The Catholic Church and Human Rights in Latin America” reports the Salvadoran government’s charges that the Jesuits were abetting a leftist guerrilla organization, the Popular Liberation Movement (FLP) [sic]. Further, the report notes the threat made by the right-wing death squad White Warriors Union (UGB) against all Jesuits who had not left the country within 30 days.

1978

January 1. The Curia, seat of the Province of Central America of the Society of Jesus, is broken into and equipment stolen.


March. Roberto Zarruck, a Jesuit student, is refused entry to El Salvador.

July 8. One of the Jesuit residences in Jardines de Guadalupe, then known as UCA II, searched at 2:00 p.m. by over 50 agents of the Security Forces who said they were looking for weapons. Soldiers take up positions on the roof and block off traffic in the surrounding streets. The troops — who arrive in six police cars and two trucks — bring along cameras and medical equipment, in case of casualties.

1979

February 3. Monsignor Pedro Arnaldo Aparicio y Quintanilla, Bishop of San Vicente, is quoted in Diario Latino saying that “some Jesuits are responsible for the situation” of violence in El Salvador. The headline reads, “Monsignor Aparicio Blames the Jesuits.”

September. A homily by Monsignor Aparicio triggers paid ads in support of his views and further attacking the Jesuits. Aparicio charges that the left itself killed four priests, among them Father Rutilio Grande, who was supposedly murdered by the left because they were “afraid that Grande would discover that his Jesuit comrades were..."
inciting the insubordination of the peasantry against the State, against the government and against the Church.

December. A newspaper column signed by "Josefo" directly attacks Luis de Sebastian, S.J. and Archbishop Romero.

December 27. Three bombs explode outside the UCA computer center.

1980

January 5. Members of the death squad White Warriors Union (UGB) machine-gun the Jesuit high school, Externado San José.

February 16. Jesuit residence known as UCA II fired upon by machine-guns and G-3s; 100 bullet holes are later found.

February 18. Bomb destroys part of UCA library.

March 22. National Police enter the UCA campus at 1:15 p.m. shooting their weapons. Manuel Orantes Gutiérrez, a math student, is killed and two others arrested.


June 29. At dawn, the Salvadoran Anticommmunist Army (EAS) detonates two powerful bombs at the UCA, one in a room used by a student association and another in the printing press, which was largely destroyed.

July 5. Externado San José encircled by some 150 soldiers at 7:00 a.m. The school is searched and the offices of the human rights group, Socorro Jurídico, especially examined and documents and money taken. All flies on the killing of Archbishop Romero are stolen. Only the doorman, Brother José de la Cruz Alberdi, S.J., is present during the operation. Tanks block off surrounding streets and soldiers posted at the entrance prohibit the entry of the principal, Father José Santamaria. La Prensa Gráfica falsely reports that weapons, molotov cocktails and a shooting range were found.

September 24. The Maximiliano Hernández Martínez Anti-Communist Brigade burns the Guazapa parish archive and photos of the Pope and Archbishop Romero. They also burn the convent and threaten the nuns to leave the zone. The Jesuit serving the parish had already been expelled from the country.

September 30. Rafael Santos and Oscar Romano, two primary school teachers at the Externado San José, are assassinated in the doorway of the school.

October 10. Combined Security Forces shoot at the Aguilares church, they enter the church, stealing and shooting up the interior. The parish house is also ransacked and items stolen. The parish clinic is attacked with machine guns and clothing stolen from the parish warehouse.

October 24. Two high potency bombs explode at 2:00 a.m. at UCA II, a residence where 10 Jesuits were sleeping at the time. The first explosive, which was thrown over the wall, left behind a meter-wide hole in the wall of Segundo Montes' bedroom. Father Montes was asleep in bed at the time. Fearing a second explosion, the men got up but did not leave. Minutes later a second bomb exploded at the metal gate, which melted. Later, 10 more small bombs were found which had not gone off.

October 27. UCA II, the same Jesuit residence in Jardines de Guadalupe, is bombed again. Partially destroyed, the house is uninhabitable and the community breaks up and moves elsewhere.

November. ECA offices bombed for the fourth time.

Late November, Father Ellacuría flees the country after being tipped off about a military plot to kill him; he remains outside the country until April 1982.

November 28. Armed men in civilian clothing return to occupy the Externado San José and remain for the next two weeks.

December 19. San Antonio Abad residence of Jesuits working at the Externado San José is thoroughly searched by Security Forces.

1981

January 16. Two Jesuit residences, UCA I and II, are searched for an hour and a half at 5:00 a.m. Since UCA II is unoccupied, soldiers break windows and doors and force open cabinets.

January 17. Combined forces occupy the UCA campus.

May 1-2. Father John Willmering, S.J., a U.S. citizen travelling over land from Honduras, is denied entry to the country by the National Guard and turned over to the Honduran police.

October 8. Salvadorean Anticommmunist League leaflet: "Out with Marxist Jesuits! Out with the Creators of Violence and Crime in El Salvador. Out with the Founders of the FPL." This new paramilitary group arose following accusations by a Jesuit kidnapped by the Guatemalan Armed Forces (see below).

October 22. The Salvadoran Armed Forces sponsors a press conference at the Military Academy by Father Luis E. Pellecer, a Jesuit kidnapped on June 9 in Guatemala. Pellecer makes a series of accusations against the Jesuits who he says are involved in "subversive activities." A one and a half hour videotape made by the Guatemalan Armed Forces is also aired on Costa Rican television and twice in one week in El Salvador. Held incommunicado for over 100 days by the Guatemalan Armed Forces, Pellecer is believed to have been brainwashed. The Society of Jesus said that Pellecer was being used to "justify religious persecution." After his appearance, the Archdiocese is attacked during curfew hours and the Divine Providence high school dynamited.

1982

June 9. A U.S. embassy cable describes ECA as "the most important of the very few non-clandestine pro-FMLN/FDR publications available in El Salvador."

October 7. Bishop Pedro Arnoldo Aparicio y Quintanilla of San Vicente meets with the Armed Forces High Command and later publicly attacks the Jesuits, especially Ignacio Ellacuría, accusing them of subversive
activity and promoting violence. *Prensa Gráfica* says Apacir has turned over documentation to the government proving the collaboration of 30 priests with clandestine organizations, most of them Jesuits.

1983

August 16. A U.S. embassy cable describes an article in ECA as containing a "bias for a negotiated solution to the Salvadoran conflict which will ultimately lead to an authoritarian leftist (but not Marxist-Leninist) regime, and a willingness to forego democratic freedoms such as elections."

September 6. The Secret Anti-Communist Army (ESA) bombs Jesuit residence UCA II and home of UCA professor Italo López Vallecillos. An ESA communiqué accuses Jesuits of "open membership in the terrorist organizations that make up the FMLN" and delivers a "warning to those who are interested in dialogue" with the FMLN.

October 13. Security Forces search Jesuit residence in San Antonio Abad around 10:00 p.m.

November 23. At 7:30 a.m., during a major military operation in the area, UCA I and II are searched by the National Police. Two Jesuits are held for 11 hours, while the soldiers thoroughly examine the house. After 7-8 hours, some 400 books deemed "subversive" are gathered in the dining room to be confiscated. The search is finally called off at 6:00 p.m. after an appeal is made to the President of El Salvador and the U.S. Embassy intervenes. Nothing is confiscated. During the search, the back part of the UCA campus is occupied.

1984

January 20. Agents of the Section for Criminal Investigations (SIC) of the National Police raid the Loyola Center during a meeting of COTRAMY, a co-operativo, following reports that cannons were being stored there. Loyola director Father Fermín Sáinz was present throughout the search, during which 15 people were arrested and 600 colones stolen.

December 17. The Traditional Catholic Movement (MTC) publishes an open letter to Archbishop Rivera y Damas blaming the UCA Jesuits for "instigating the assassination of Archbishop Romero" and for promoting a "confrontation among Salvadorans and class hatred and destruction of our country's economic, political and social structures." Father Ignacio Ellacuría is named an "author" of the "poisonous fruit, the most advanced theory of communist Marxism-Leninism. . . ."

1985

September 30. Brother Magdiel Cerón Alvarado, S.J., arrives from Nicaragua to attend his mother's funeral and is detained by the police and accused of carrying information and orders from Nicaragua. He is released after intervention by the Jesuit Provincial.

1986

September. ARENA, supported by some members of the Christian Democratic Party, launches a campaign to strip Father Ellacuría of his Salvadoran citizenship, citing two provisions in the Constitution barring the clergy and foreigners from entering into the country's political life.

September 10. An ARENA Assembly group introduces a bill appointing a Special Commission to investigate Father Ellacuría.

Mid-September. U.S. Jesuit Michael Kennedy is arrested while travelling with staff of the Archdiocese en route to a resettlement site.

1987

March 12. Security Forces check the documents of all those Jesuits gathered in El Paisnal to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the death of Rutilio Grande.

June. A media campaign by the Armed Forces and *Diario de Hoya* accuses Father Ellacuría of defending the use of land mines by the guerrillas.

July 20. Salvadoran Institute for Political, Social and Economic Studies (ISEPES), a small right-wing research group, calls for closure of UCA and the National University and outlawing of the UNTS labor federation.

November. Ignacio Ellacuría and eight other theologians are named in a document attacking liberation theology prepared for a meeting of the Conference of American Armies, which includes the armed forces of 15 nations in the Americas, including El Salvador and the United States. "Aligned with Marxists ideology," the document observed, "because of their attitudes and means of operation they have marginalized themselves from serious theological discussion." The theologians are mentioned in a chapter entitled, "Strategy of the International Communist Movement in Latin America through Different Means of Action." Colonel Juan Orlando Zepeyri, El Salvador's vice-minister of defense, is part of the working group responsible for the document.

1988


August. Attacks appear in the press against the National Debate for Peace, sponsored by the Archdiocese. Much of the vitriol was directed toward the Jesuits at the UCA, who provided technical support. An article entitled, "The Basque Curse," accuses the Bishops of getting involved in politics and of being manipulated by the Jesuits and liberation theology.

September 2. A preannounced lecture series by Father Jon Sobrino at the Jesuit-affiliated Rafael Landivar University in Guatemala is protested in the Guatemalan press. Though the lectures were canceled and Sobrino did not go to Guatemala, bombs were set off at the Landivar campus.
on the day the program was to begin, destroying several cars. Leaflets demanded that the Jesuit theologian leave Guatemala immediately.

October. A media campaign accuses Father Ellacuría of defending the use of car bombs by the FMLN.

1989

March 3. A paid advertisement by the Crusade for Peace and Work denounces what they call "tiny group of satanic brains led by Ellacuría and a pack of communist hounds" who they say are ruining the country.


March 18. A paid advertisement by the Civic Patriotic Committee mentions the "deceptive Jesuit Ignacio Ellacuría, Segundo Montes and others, who with their doctrines, are poisoning many young minds... ." April 6. A paid advertisement by the High Command of the Armed Forces of El Salvador charges Father Segundo Montes with defending the FMLN's use of land mines, saying, "In El Salvador there are groups and individuals who insist on defending the terrorism of the FMLN-FDR and its front groups." An ARENA press release calls Montes "inhuman and immoral."

April 20. Col. Juan Orlando Zepeda, then commander of the First Brigade, said the UCA is a "refuge for terrorist leaders, from where they plan the strategy of attack against Salvadorans." Zepeda charges specifically that the FMLN killing of the Attorney General on April 19 was planned at the UCA.

April 28. Three bombs explode at the UCA printing press and the gate off Avenida Einstein and the Southern Highway. No one is injured, but all the windows are broken in the gatekeeper's home.

July 3. Open letter to President Cristiani from the Crusade for Peace and Work demanding capture and summary justice for Fathers Ignacio Ellacuría and Segundo Montes "because they are responsible for all the destruction of the infrastructure and all the vile and cowardly assassinations that have been committed in the name of liberation theology and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine that they want to impose," and the labor movement. The letter also calls for the imposition of a death penalty, a state of siege and martial law.

July 22. Four bombs explode at the UCA printing press, the most powerful explosion of the last decade. Three more bombs are deactivated. Footprints of military boots are found. Computers, a photocopier, office equipment, transformers, printing press are all destroyed. The damages exceed $60,000.

November 11-15. Radio Cuscatlán broadcasts threats against the Jesuits and Archbishop Rivera y Damas and Monsignor Rosa his head" (que le corten la cabeza). "Ellacuría should be spit to death!" Francisco Mendoza accuses Ellacuría on the nationwide radio hook-up of Externdom San José.

November 13. La Prensa Gráfica reports on the broadcast threats, saying, "...it is of utmost urgency that the Jesuits are thrown out of the country because the UCA has been hiding weapons for about the last 10 years. The Spanish Jesuit priest, Ignacio Ellacuría, was named as the principal person responsible."

November 16. Six Jesuits – Ignacio Ellacuría, Ignacio Martín-Baró, Segundo Montes, Joaquín López y López, Amando López and Juan Ramón Moreno – and two assistants – Elba Ramos and Celina Ramos – are murdered at the Jesuit residence on the UCA campus around 2:30 a.m. Six members of the Atlacatl Battalion and two officers attached to the Military Academy are arrested in January 1990 and charged with the killings. The Center for Theological Reflection is also assaulted with an M-60 machine gun. Offices are burned and ransacked.

1990

March 13. An article entitled "El Salvador: The Bishop-President Speaks," which was published in Spain, is reprinted in Salvadoran newspapers as an op-ed and later as a paid advertisement. An attack on Father Ellacuría, the article also mentions Father Jon Sobrino, S.J., and a Jesuit at the Jesuit Santa Clara University, which has a "sinister" history, according to the piece.

July 19. In a paid ad in Diario de Hoy, the Crusade for Work and Peace denounces "pastors who dedicate themselves to serving Satan through Liberation Theology." The same list of persons mentioned in the group's July 3, 1989 letter to President Cristiani is repeated, minus three who were killed in the last year: Ignacio Ellacuría, Segundo Montes and Febe Velásquez, a labor leader who died in the October 1989 bombing of the FENASTRAS office.

August 9. A column in Diario de Hoy attacks liberation theology and mentions "prominent members of the Society of Jesus, who helped design this ill-fated theology in Europe and Latin America, which has caused so much damage to the peoples of the Third World and especially Indo-Latin America."

August 27. La Prensa Gráfica publishes "Guerrillas are the Jesuits of War," an article suggesting that such Jesuitical qualities as "treachery, surprise, and nocturnal habits" are "essential elements in the guerrilla struggle."

August 28. An article signed "Don Quijote" in Diario de Hoy asserts that the Jesuit Provincial for Central America has "confessed" that Jesuits "have participated and are participating in a war" and that the murdered Jesuits were "involved with the guerrillas." The "majority of these missionaries are foreigners," writes the author, and "nobody likes
that... foreigners come and stick their noses and hands in our matters." According to "Don Quijote," the Jesuits are to be blamed for the "disrespectful form" in which Salvadoran peasants have chosen to rename their communities after the assassinated priests.

September 6. Diario de Hoy publishes an article entitled, "Ellacuría was a Strategist for Marxism, ex-Jesuit Affirms." The article says that Father Ellacuría used the UCA to promote "his strategic militancy in support of Marxism," as well as the theoretical-practical defense of the tactics of the so-called "dialogue negotiation" and the identification of Catholic curia with communism.

1991

April 11. Diario de Hoy publishes an article denouncing "exalted priests, many of them mad, who made calls to the revolution," excited disobedience of laws and customs, encouraged theft and fomented class hatreds.

September 18. A Diario de Hoy column summarizes the historical period when the Jesuits were expelled by the King of Spain, "in order to preserve the tranquility of his people." Motivating the "very Catholic" king, said the column, was that "Jesuits were rebellious, insubordinate and dangerous subjects." The author proposes that Salvadoran historians bring this history up to date, "given... that Jesuit themes are very timely in the media these days."

October 8. "Of the Jesuits, A Brief Account," in El Mundo, again tells how the Jesuits were expelled and suppressed and says, "The order is still powerful and... dedicates itself to teaching and political intrigue."

October 15. A Diario de Hoy columnist attacks Father Tojeira and others for their efforts to identify those who ordered the UCA murders. "We all know that it's very difficult to investigate - if in fact they exist - who are the intellectual authors of these deaths. But that is not what is important. What these people really are interested in is discrediting the Armed Forces, to expose it in the eyes of television viewers abroad as an institution of people with no scruples."

November 11. A Diario de Hoy article blames the growth of evangelical sects on liberation theology and says "Liberation theology is but debris of the collapse of communism, of the collapse of the utopias."

1992

March 13. Father Steve Kelly, S.J., is deported from El Salvador after having been arrested in the course of a police operation seeking to expel peasants from lands they occupied.

September - October. A series of seven paid advertisements attacking the Jesuits is placed by the Civic Movement for a Free El Salvador in San Salvador daily newspapers Diaro Latino and La Prensa Grafica. The first installment summarizes a 1981 ECA article by former UCA rector Román Mayorga Quiroz, who outlined steps toward a negotiated settlement to the war and social reform. Six subsequent articles signed by Mauricio Morales note the group's surprise at the "almost prophetic analysis" of the "Jesuit document" in predicting many of the reforms that have been realized or are covered by the peace accords. The ECA article is called "insurgent, subversive, apologetic and morally bankrupt." The series ends with an appeal to "honest entrepreneurs, businessmen, workers, small merchants, the Salvadoran people... for the future of your children and the honor of the Nation, to take matters into your own hands so that our glorious country will not be submitted into this disgraceful future that the Jesuit document lays out, to demand of the government, politicians, leaders, to boldly guard the security of the state, to maintain the system in which we live... that we shall not be victimized by permanent slavery..."

1993

January 13. Government press secretary Ernesto Altchul responds on television to an Ad-Hoc Commission's findings. Many of the UCA Jesuits are "foreigners," he says. "They should look for political opportunities in their countries of origin.... It is not the business of the Jesuits to evaluate a process of a political nature."