



## MOAKLEY'S EFFORTS ECHO IN EL SALVADOR 20 YEARS ON

MUCH HAS CHANGED in the two decades since the Nov. 16, 1989, murders of six priests, their housekeeper, and her teen-age daughter on the campus of the University of Central America in San Salvador.

In the aftermath of the Jesuit massacre, U.S. Rep. John Joseph "Joe" Moakley directed a Congressional investigation that implicated the military. His efforts led to the cessation of U.S. aid to the Salvadoran military and an end to civil war in the impoverished Central American country.

Yet the right-wing ARENA political party stifled the sorts of social and economic parity sought by the Jesuits and others in the Liberation Theology movement. And while lower-level officers were found guilty in the Jesuit murders, critics said that justice was not served.

El Salvador did a political about-face last March when it elected a new president, Mauricio Funes, a member of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, or FMLN party, which evolved out of the guerrilla cause.

The Jesuit victims, once labeled subversives by their government, are now looked upon in a different light. During commemoration ceremonies at the University of Central America, or UCA, where the priests had served, Funes posthumously awarded them his nation's highest honor, the order of Jose Matias Delgado, citing their "extraordinary service to the nation."



A witness talks with Joe Moakley, Jim McGovern, investigator Leonel Gomez, and U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador William Walker during the Moakley Commission investigation, 1991. (Moakley Archive photo)

Moreover, Gen. David Munguia Payes, minister of defense, surprised the gathering by saying that the army was prepared to seek forgiveness. The general, who had fought in the war against the guerrillas, also announced that he would allow judicial investigators access to military archives.

Meanwhile, the Spanish National Court has charged 14 former Salvadoran military officers in the deaths, and the Moakley Archive is a resource for the organization bringing the case.

This issue of the Moakley Archive and Institute newsletter will focus on the events surrounding the anniversary of the Jesuit murders and on Moakley's Salvadoran legacy.

### Human Rights Group Taps Archive in Jesuit Case

THE CENTER FOR JUSTICE and Accountability is using information gleaned from the Moakley Archive in building a criminal case against 15 people for their roles in the Jesuit massacre at the University of Central America in San Salvador.

The international human rights group brings cases in the United States and before the Spanish National Court on behalf of survivors of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. In 2008, the Center for Justice and Accountability, or CJA, filed a criminal case in Madrid against former Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani Burkard and 14 former military officers



Laying the cement blocks for the Habitat for Humanity house, 2010. (Photo by Natalia Amaya)



Graduate student Chris Dolan with Elias and Mario in El Sitio, 2010. (Photo by Derek Lomba)

## Service Learning Group Builds a Home

SUFFOLK STUDENTS, FACULTY, and staff were immersed in the history and politics of El Salvador during an Alternative Winter Break service-learning visit in January.

The Suffolk delegation this year met with key Salvadoran political figures, businesspeople, community organizers, and former guerrillas. It also worked with Habitat for Humanity to build houses in an impoverished community.

In preparation for the trip, the students met weekly to learn about El Salvador's history, with a specific focus on the country's civil war (1980-1992) and the work of Congressman Joe Moakley.

Since 2007, the Moakley Institute has co-sponsored annual service-learning trips to El Salvador, retracing the late congressman's steps and continuing his legacy of helping the Salvadoran people.

In 2009, a Suffolk delegation made improvements to a cultural center, known as La Concha Acústica (Acoustic Shell), in the community of La Hacienda El Sitio, during the service portion of the trip.

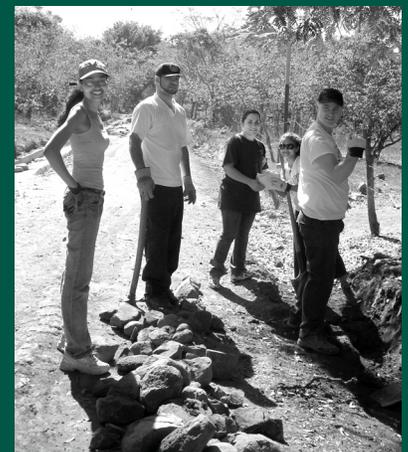
The Moakley Institute has co-sponsored these delegations with Suffolk's Organization for Uplifting Lives Through Service, or S.O.U.L.S. The delegations have received generous support from the John Joseph Moakley Charitable Foundation.



Emilia Losowska and Natalia Amaya react to crime scene photos from the Jesuit murders, 2010. (Photo by Derek Lomba)



The Suffolk delegation taking a break at the Concha Acústica work site, January 2009. (Moakley Archive photo)



The Suffolk crew helps pave the road to the Concha Acústica in El Salvador, January 2009. (Moakley Archive photo)



Congressman Jim McGovern meets with Suffolk University students, November 2009. (Photo by Joseph Viamonte)

## A Congressman’s Lessons

CONGRESSMAN JAMES P. MCGOVERN met with Suffolk University students in November to discuss and field questions about current affairs and a historic moment.

Some of the students were in the planning stages of a service-learning trip to El Salvador, and others were from a Legislative Politics class.

McGovern gave students a synopsis of the health care debate in Congress days after the House passed the Affordable Health Care for America Act. He noted that the United States spends more on health care than any other nation. Yet, pointing out that Cuba has lower infant mortality than we do, he said that the United States often lags when it comes to health outcomes.

On the eve of the 20th anniversary of the Jesuit murders in El Salvador that led to a congressional investigation, McGovern also discussed his role in the Moakley Commission. He marveled at the opportunities presented by the new Salvadoran government and shared anecdotes about Joe Moakley and the Salvadoran people who helped in the investigation.

McGovern was on campus at the invitation of the Moakley Institute.

## McGovern Honored at UCA Commemoration

CONGRESSMAN JAMES MCGOVERN was awarded an honorary degree by the University of Central America in November during the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the Jesuit murders.

As one of Joe Moakley’s key aides, McGovern was asked to look into the issue of Salvadoran refugees in Massachusetts during the 1980s and later was the principal investigator probing the Jesuit murders for the Moakley Commission.

Both missions brought him to UCA.

“As I stand before you today, my heart is filled with many memories. Some of them are of the tragic and painful times that occurred in El Salvador during the

war. ... But most of my memories are about good things: The courage of those who work here at the UCA – and the spirit and endurance of the Salvadoran people,” said McGovern, in a speech at the university.

McGovern traveled to El Salvador for the anniversary ceremonies with his wife – whom he married less than two weeks before the priests were slain – and his two children. He has said he wanted them to be part of a special moment in history.

“I want President Funes to succeed. And I think everyone in this country, whether from the FMLN, ARENA, or other political parties, should want the same. Because, as a result of this election, the world is



“Hearing Congressman McGovern’s memories added a whole new dimension to the things we are learning about, making people in the ‘story’ of history real.”

*Jamie Livenick, Suffolk student, 2010 El Salvador delegation member*

(Photo by Derek Lomba)

once again focused on El Salvador. El Salvador faces daunting problems. ... But if all the political forces in El Salvador can join together to address them ... the people and the nation of El Salvador will succeed.”

“And if El Salvador succeeds, it will be a model and a leader, not only for Latin America, but for the rest of the world,” said McGovern, who visited days after mudslides and flooding wrought death and destruction on the nation. “Maybe this sad and tragic moment of natural disaster might be the opportunity – the doorway – for everyone to work together for the common good of the nation and the Salvadoran people.”

## Moakley Charitable Foundation Honors William M. Bulger



William Bulger and scholarship recipients at the Moakley Charitable Foundation event, May 2009. (Photo by John Gilooly)

**THE JOHN JOSEPH MOAKLEY** Charitable Foundation awarded its Public Service Award to William Bulger, the longest serving state Senate president in Massachusetts history, at the Foundation's Eighth Annual Scholarship Award Ceremony held at Suffolk University Law School in May 2009. The event was co-hosted by the Moakley Archive and Institute.

Twenty-eight scholarships, totaling more than \$110,000, were presented to vocational students and to students pursuing higher education at the undergraduate or graduate level.

Bulger and Moakley, both lifelong residents of South Boston, were colleagues and friends. Both studied law and made it their mission to put it to work for the public good.

"The Moakley Foundation is proud to honor President William M. Bulger with the 2009 Moakley Foundation Public Service Award in recognition of his long and distinguished service to the people of Massachusetts," said Fred Clark, president of the John Joseph Moakley

Charitable Foundation and Executive Officer of the Council of Presidents of the Massachusetts State Colleges.

"Given that education has long been a focus of President Bulger's public service and that his erudition is seldom matched in public life, it is fitting that we will honor him as we award these scholarships to deserving students," said Clark.



The *In Service to his Country* exhibit installed at Bridgewater State College. (Moakley Archive photo)

## Preparing Legislative Staff for Effective Service

THE SAWYER BUSINESS SCHOOL Center for Public Management and the Moakley Archive and Institute co-sponsored a Massachusetts State Legislature Staff Training Program in September.

The daylong session offered 80 State House staffers information on a range of pertinent issues, from legislative process and the state budget to ethics and dealing with the press.

Center for Public Management Director Marie "Sandy" Matava introduced the program, which featured Suffolk University faculty and a host of policymakers from across the state, including Senate President Therese Murray, House Speaker Robert DeLeo, Rep. Charles Murphy, and Sen. Steven Panagiotakos.

Moakley Charitable Foundation President Fred Clark put the day's lessons into perspective through his discussion of "The Public Service Legacy of Congressman Joe Moakley."

## TRAVELING EXHIBITS

**The Moakley Institute has created traveling exhibits based on two of its gallery exhibits:**

***John Joseph Moakley: In Service to His Country***  
and

***El Congresista: Joe Moakley en El Salvador***

In addition to being on display on Suffolk University's campus, these exhibits also travel around Massachusetts to bring Moakley's legacy into local communities. Past exhibit locations have included the John F. Kennedy Hyannis Museum, the Salem Maritime National Historic Site, and Boston City Hall, as well as colleges, libraries, and other community organizations. Most recently, the exhibit was hosted by UMass Boston and the Moakley Federal Courthouse in South Boston.

*Please contact us if you are interested in hosting one of our traveling exhibits.*

## Celebrating Service Learning Connections

THE 2009 S.O.U.L.S. SERVICE DAY dinner highlighted the partnership among S.O.U.L.S.—Suffolk’s Organization for Uplifting Lives through Service, the Moakley Institute, and the nation of El Salvador.

The dinner caps off the annual Service Day in April, during which members of the Suffolk University community volunteer at service agencies throughout Greater Boston.

The keynote speaker was filmmaker Esther Cassidy, who produced and directed *Enemies of War*, a documentary

examining the Salvadoran civil war, Congressman Joe Moakley’s investigation into the murder of six Jesuit priests, and the struggle to reestablish civility after the war’s end in 1992. Cassidy had donated her *Enemies of War* collection to the Moakley Archive in 2008.

The celebration included a screening of *Enemies of War*, a performance by a Salvadoran dance troupe, and a silent auction. The money raised will

provide books and shelving for a library in the rural community of La Mora, El Salvador, a town visited by Congressman Moakley and the Suffolk University delegations.



Filmmaking team Esther Cassidy and Rob Kuhn at a screening of their documentary, *Enemies of War*, April 2009. (Photo by Derek Lomba)



Members of the Salvadoran troupe Danza Folklórica Nahuatl perform a traditional harvest dance during the S.O.U.L.S. Service Day celebration, April 2009. (Photo by Derek Lomba)



S.O.U.L.S. Director Carolina Garcia presents children’s books and funds raised to La Mora’s community organizer Eliseo Zamora, 2010. (Photo by Derek Lomba)

“We spent \$6 billion down there helping to destroy the place, I think we should spend a couple of dollars putting it back together again.”

CONGRESSMAN JOE MOAKLEY

## Reflecting on the Busing Conflict in Boston

SOUTH BOSTON residents revisited a tumultuous time as they joined Suffolk University students and faculty for the session “Busing Struggle: Mobilizing at the Fault Lines of Race, Class, and Gender,” sponsored by the History Department and the John Joseph Moakley Archive and Institute in April 2009.

Kathleen Banks Nutter of Stony Brook University’s History Department, a Boston Public School student during the busing crisis, presented “Militant Mothers’: Boston, Busing, and The Women of ROAR.”

Archive and Institute Director Julia Collins presented “Boston Voices: Perspectives on the Garrity Decision,” discussing the Archive’s efforts to interview people directly involved or affected by desegregation, including students, teachers, administrators, bus drivers, parents, and political leaders. She described the oral history interviews as providing fresh perspectives that often are overlooked in the historical record.

Members of the family of the late Louise Day Hicks, a city councilor, congresswoman, and anti-busing activist, were among those on hand for the discussion.

## GARRITY DECISION INTERVIEWS

Hear the voices of teachers, students, parents, school officials, and policy makers as they discuss the fallout from the Garrity Decisions by visiting [www.suffolk.edu/archive](http://www.suffolk.edu/archive).

Interviewees include: Henry Allen, Michael Dukakis, Barbara Faith, Mary Ann Hardenberg, Hubie Jones, Jimmy Kelly, Joe Moakley, Doc Reid.



Boston City Council President Mike Ross meets with Connection 2 College students and staff, July 2009. (Moakley Archive Photo)

## Connections 2 College

SINCE 2005, Suffolk University has partnered with the Bird Street Community Center in Dorchester to offer Connections 2 College, a summer program designed to help prepare low-income and first-generation students for the pursuit of higher education.

The Moakley Institute co-sponsored the 2009 program with Suffolk’s Organization for Uplifting Lives through Service, or S.O.U.L.S.

Twenty students attended classes weekday mornings, then headed to the State House for legislative internships. They got a feel for campus life by staying in a Suffolk University residence hall weekdays during the six-week program. Suffolk University student mentors lived alongside them, offering the students help with homework and SAT preparation, joining them as they enjoyed cultural programming, and demonstrating the joy and value of higher education.



**“It was the worst political time that I have ever gone through in my life. Some days, I just didn’t want to get up in the morning and put my shoes on. ...One young lady I went to the prom with... she just spat as I walked by one day.”**

***Joe Moakley, oral history interview***

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and soldiers connected to the slayings of the six priests, their housekeeper, and her daughter.

The Spanish National Court formally charged the former officers with crimes against humanity and state terrorism in January 2009 and reserved the right to indict Cristiani, depending on the evidence.

The judge has been given Congressman Joe Moakley's Task Force interim report, according to CJA Senior Legal Adviser Carolyn Patty Blum. This report also had been used as evidence in the earlier trial in El Salvador and by the U.N. Truth Commission

"We are continuing to review the materials we obtained from the Moakley Archive," she said in an e-mail. "We hope to conduct interviews with some of the people whom Congressman Moakley and the task force interviewed. And we will use the materials to help us prepare for those interviews."

Spain adheres to a civil law system; thus, at this stage of the proceedings, the judge is conducting an investigation of the defendants. He has agreed that there is sufficient evidence warranting this investigation, but the case has not yet been bound over for the trial phase, said Blum. The investigation is analogous to the discovery phase of an American civil case.

CJA expects that the investigation will proceed over the course of one to two years, at which point the judge will decide whether the defendants should face a full criminal trial. Because Spain does not allow for trials in absentia, the court would have to obtain jurisdiction over one or more defendants to proceed.

To assist with the research, thousands of documents were scanned by the Boston law firm Mintz Levin Cohen Glovsky & Popeo PC, which is helping with the case on a pro bono basis. These documents now will be readily available to researchers.

## Archivists in the Classroom

THEORY IS ONE THING, but the ability to insert a real person – Joe Moakley – into legislative scenarios has been an eye-opener for Suffolk University student Mitchell Vieira and his classmates in Assistant Professor Ken Cosgrove's Legislative Politics class.

Cosgrove is partnering with University Archivist and Moakley Institute Director Julia Collins and Assistant Archivist Nicole Feeney to bring case studies from Moakley's career to his students.

Collins and Feeney presented material regularly to the class, demonstrating how the legislative system works. For a class on legislative process, they introduced Moakley's 20-year push to mandate fire-safe cigarettes. Students watched the "60 Minutes" television segment "Up in Smoke," viewed the legislation that Moakley sponsored repeatedly in Congress, and learned that the effort Moakley began in 1979 has yet to lead to federal law.

Cosgrove required that students do original research in completing a course paper focusing on an aspect of Moakley's career, which resulted in increased student visits to the Archive and use of online documents.

Vieira's paper focused on Congressman McGovern's career, beginning with his work as an aide to Moakley.



Archivist Julia Collins works with Stephanie Spano, 2009. (Photo by Joseph Viamonte)

"This was my first exposure to archival research," Vieira said during a visit to the Archives. "It's opened my eyes to different research techniques, and you look at an issue through new eyes because the documents in front of you were in [Moakley's] hands. There aren't many universities that have a congressman's papers available to students."

In the past year, the Archives has worked with 19 classes, introducing students to the issues central to Joe Moakley's career and introducing them to primary source research.

### MOAKLEY LEGACY COMMITTEE

*Suffolk University's Legacy Committee evaluates the efforts of the Moakley Archive and Institute.*

ROBERT J. ALLISON, *Chair, History Department*  
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A selection of photographs by Derek Lomba who has documented Suffolk University's trips to El Salvador since 2008.

